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REPORT

OF THE

Twenty-Second

Annual Conference

OF

The Labour Party

Edinburgh, 1922.

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THE LABOUR PARTY.

REPORT

OF THE

Twenty-Second Annual Conference

HELD IN THE

United Free Assembly Hall, Edinburgh, on June 27th, 28th, 29th and 30th, 1922.

33, ECCLESTON SQUARE, LONDON, S.W. 1.

THE LABOUR PARTY,

33, Eccleston Square, London, S.W. 1.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, 1922-1923.

NATIONAL SOCIETIES' SECTION.

Chairman:
MR. SIDNEY WEBB
(Fabian Society).

Vice-Chairman and Treasurer:
MR. J. RAMSAY MACDONALD
(Independent Labour Party).

MR. CHARLES G. AMMON
(Union of Post Office Workers).

MR. A. G. CAMERON
(Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers).

RT. HON. J. R. CLYNES, M.P.
(National Union of General Workers).

MR. C. T. CRAMP
(National Union of Railwaymen).

MR. M. B. FARR
(United Textile Factory Workers' Association).

MR. FRANK HODGES
(Miners' Federation of Great Britain).

MR. W. H. HUTCHINSON
(Amalgamated Engineering Union).

MR. F. W. JOWETT
(Independent Labour Party).

MR. F. O. ROBERTS, M.P.
(Typographical Association).

MR. JAMES SEXTON, M.P.
(Transport and General Workers' Union).

MR. F. B. VARLEY
(Miners' Federation of Great Britain).

MR. ROBERT WILLIAMS
(Amalgamated Marine Workers' Union).

LOCAL CONSTITUENCY ORGANISATIONS' SECTION.

MR. R. J. DAVIES, M.P.
(Manchester Borough Labour Party).

MR. MORGAN JONES, M.P.
(Caerphilly Divisional Labour Party).

MR. GEORGE LANSBURY
(Poplar Trades Council and Borough Labour Party).

MR. HERBERT MORRISON, L.C.C.
(London Labour Party).

MR. BEN C. SPOOR, M.P.
(Bishop Auckland Divisional Labour Party).

WOMEN MEMBERS.

MRS. F. HARRISON BELL
(National Amalgamated Union of Labour).

DR. ETHEL BENTHAM
(Islington (East) Labour Party).

MISS A. SUSAN LAWRENCE, L.C.C.
(Fabian Society).

MISS MADELEINE J. SYMONS
(National Union of General Workers).

Secretary:
RT. HON. ARTHUR HENDERSON, M.P.,
33, Eccleston Square, London, S.W.1.

Telegrams: "LABREPCOM, CHURTON, LONDON."
Telephone: VICTORIA 8016, 8017 and 8018.

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1922-1924. Stacks

Report of the Executive Committee,

1921-1922.

NATIONAL JOINT COUNCIL.

The scheme of co-ordination with the General Council of the Trades Union Congress, approved by the Brighton Conference, was submitted to the Trades Union Congress at Cardiff in September last and was similarly approved. Those proposals included the institution of a National Joint Council, representative of the two National Committees and the Parliamentary Party, which at present is constituted as follows :—

General Council of the Trades Union Congress : R. B. Walker, H. Gosling, C. W. Bowerman, M.P., A. Pugh, Robert Smillie.

Parliamentary Labour Party : J. R. Clynes, M.P., W. Graham, M.P., J. Hodge, M.P., T. Shaw, M.P., H. S. Lindsay.

Executive Committee of the Labour Party : F. W. Jowett, C. T. Cramp, J. R. MacDonald, Sidney Webb, Arthur Henderson, M.P.

Mr. R. B. Walker was appointed Chairman, the Rt. Hon. Arthur Henderson, Secretary, with Messrs. Fred Bramley and J. S. Middleton as Assistant Secretaries.

Numerous meetings of the Joint Council have been held since its institution and a number of subjects obviously demanding joint consideration have been remitted to the Council from time to time by the constituent bodies.

CARDIFF TRADES UNION CONGRESS RESOLUTIONS.

The General Council of the Trades Union Congress remitted a series of resolutions passed by the Cardiff Congress, which have been dealt with as indicated below :

Emergency Powers Act : Remitted to the Parliamentary Party for consideration.

The Board of Trade Index Number on the Cost of Living : Referred for joint consideration with the Parliamentary Party.

Inquiry into the Methods of Investment and Inflation of Capital : The Joint Research Department was requested to consider the preparation and publication of a pamphlet on this subject.

Hours of Labour in Shops : The Joint Research Department at the request of the Council has prepared a memorandum on this subject.

Pensions for Mothers : This subject has already been brought before the House of Commons by the Labour Party, both by Bill and Motion, and a Special Joint Committee appointed to report on the Endowment of Motherhood, with which the problem of Pensions for Mothers is associated. An Interim Report entitled " Motherhood and Child Endowment " was placed before the National Conference of Labour Women at Leamington on May 9th and 10th, 1922, and, after discussion, was approved. It is intended that this Report shall be issued as a pamphlet for general circulation.

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Old Age Pensions: The general question of amending the Old Age Pensions Act had been the subject of a Parliamentary Motion in 1921, and has also been raised in a similar form during the present Session. In view of the doubts as to the practicability of the Cardiff proposals, which suggested the conversion of State Unemployment Benefit to Old Age Pension purposes for all persons at 60 years of age and upwards, the Joint Research Department prepared a memorandum explaining the financial and other implications of the resolution. It was apparent from this memorandum that the proposals were financially unsound.

Blind Persons Act, 1920: The Parliamentary Party was requested to secure information from the Ministry of Health respecting the Local Authorities which have adopted this Act, and to communicate with the League of the Blind, with a view to the promotion of an amending Bill. Affiliated Labour Parties were also circularised with a view to securing information respecting the adoption of the Act. As a result, considerable data has been secured, and the Joint Research Department is engaged in compiling a memorandum on the subject.

Labour Day: The proposal of the Cardiff Trades Union Congress that the first Saturday in May should be observed as a National Labour Holiday, was endorsed, and the question of its being made a statutory holiday was remitted to the Parliamentary Party.

Electoral Reform: This resolution was remitted to the Parliamentary Party.

Amending of Factory and Workshops Act: The Joint Research Department has been asked to report on the question and is now engaged in an enquiry into the whole question of the State Regulation of Industry.

National Production.

The Council has appointed a Committee of Inquiry with the following terms of reference:

(1) To consider what causes are impeding maximum production in industries and services, from the standpoint of the interests of the community; and what improvements in organisation and direction can be suggested.

(2) To advise the National Joint Council on a Labour policy for those industries to which nationalisation cannot for the present be applied, such a policy to have regard to the efficiency of the industries, the status and welfare of the producers, and the best interests of the consumers.

The Committee has been constituted as follows: Messrs. Arthur Pugh, George Hicks, A. G. Walkden, E. L. Poulton, F. W. Jowett, W. H. Hutchinson, Frank Hodges, Tom Shaw, M.P., W. Graham, M.P., Sidney Webb, Emil Davies, L.C.C., and John A. Hobson, M.A., with Mr. Arthur Greenwood as Secretary.

Foreign Affairs.

On various occasions the Joint Council has had under consideration the subject of Anglo-American Relations, the proposed Anglo-French Pact, Indian affairs, and the situation in Georgia. Pronouncements on each of these subjects were made and published and the full text of each will be found in the International Section of the present Report.

National Conference on Unemployment and the International Situation.

A Special Emergency Conference on Unemployment and the International Situation, with particular reference to the Russian Famine and the Economic Clauses of the Peace Treaty, was held under the auspices of the National Joint Council, in the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, London, E.C., on Thursday, December 8th, 1921, under the Chairmanship of Mr. R. B. Walker, Chairman of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress. The Conference was well attended, and the following resolution submitted by the Joint Council was discussed and adopted :—

That this Conference of the united industrial and political Labour Movement reiterates the claims that the Trades Union Congress and the Labour Party Conference have made from time to time that Unemployment should be a national charge and concern, and emphasises at this crisis the fact that our present industrial misfortunes are largely owing to the international policy which our Government has been pursuing, particularly as regards Russia and Central Europe, and that a reversal of that policy, so as to include the recognition of the Russian Government, is necessary in the interests of the wage earners of this country.

UNEMPLOYMENT AND THE RUSSIAN FAMINE.

The Conference pledges its support to the Russian Workers and extends to them its sympathy in their terrible distress arising primarily out of food shortage which, however, is not only a failure of nature but a consequence of a policy of blockade and refusal to trade, and therefore calls upon the Government :

(1) To assist in a substantial way the distress for which it must accept some considerable responsibility, and so enable this country to range itself alongside the humanitarian efforts now being made to save life and relieve the suffering ;

(2 To take steps at once to re-open trade, particularly for the export of articles required for immediate use in Russia, which might be made in this country, as part of a policy to relieve our own unemployed and restart industry.

UNEMPLOYMENT AND THE ECONOMIC CLAUSES OF THE PEACE TREATY.

The Conference emphatically condemns the foreign policy of the Government since the armistice as being largely responsible for the present industrial condition of the country, and draws attention specifically to the following, which have had a direct and disastrous effect upon British Employment :

(1) The destruction of Central European trade and markets in pursuit of a policy of punishing by poverty the workers of the late enemy countries ;

(2) The scheme of reparation imposed on Germany, which has clearly damaged British production and imports, as in the case of the deliveries of coal and ready-made shipping ;

(3) The trade policy which has kept the mark and the coinage of Central Europe in such a fluctuating condition that international trade is almost impossible ;

(4) The clauses in the Versailles and other Treaties relating to territorial distributions which have prevented peace and have kept Europe economically unsettled.

The Conference, therefore, calls upon the Government

(1) To take immediate action with a view to the stabilisation of the exchanges

(*a*) by the removal of all the artificial political impediments to international trade that now exist, and

(*b*) by promoting normal conditions of production on the Continent of Europe by a system of credits or an international loan ;

(2) To take steps at once in conjunction with our former Allies to revise the territorial and economic clauses in the Treaty of Versailles that are necessitating an armed occupation of a large part of Central Europe ;

(3) To come to an immediate arrangement with the Allies for a revision of the indemnity obligations which, whilst providing for reparation of actual destruction done in Northern France and Belgium, will frankly recognise that any general payments made by enormous exports of goods only injure the industry of the receiving nation and are indeed borne by its wage earners in the shape of low wages and unemployment, and will therefore abandon such payments;

(4) To promote an arrangement among all the nations associated in the war for the cancellation of their mutual indebtedness created by and during the state of war.

The Conference finally declares that until such a change in policy has taken place, British industry cannot be healthy and British Labour will continue to be threatened with Unemployment and wage reductions, and it holds the Government which declines to pursue this change responsible for the serious industrial condition of the country.

Subsequently a request was made to the Prime Minister to receive a deputation to present the resolution in anticipation of his conversations with M. Briand, the French Premier at that time, and the Conference at Cannes immediately afterwards. This interview took place at the House of Commons on December 15th, 1921, when, in the course of discussion, the Prime Minister expressed a desire to have a memorandum dealing at greater length with the points raised in the resolution. This Memorandum, which was submitted to the Government in reply to this request, is reprinted as Appendix I. of this Report.

Geddes Committee on National Economy.

Prior to the issue of what is familiarly known as "The Geddes Report," rumours appeared in the Press that proposals were to be made in the direction of amalgamating the administration of the National Health and Unemployment Insurance Schemes, with the adoption of a single contribution card and the merging of the respective Departments. The National Joint Council promptly sent a protest against the proposal to the Prime Minister, and, in response to an invitation to elaborate its objections, the following Memorandum was submitted :—

Memorandum to the Prime Minister on National Insurance and the Geddes Report.

The National Joint Council's reasons for opposing an amalgamation of the administration of the National Health and Unemployment Insurance Services may be summarised as follows :—

I. Neither Health Insurance nor Unemployment Insurance have yet attained their final form, and to unite the administration of both services would be to hamper the introduction of necessary changes or desirable developments in the future. The proposal which, it is said, the Geddes Committee have made on the supposition that it will secure economy, will impose a handicap on Health and Unemployment Insurance and tend to stereotype the existing systems. Amalgamation means mortgaging the future for the sake of problematical financial savings at the present time.

II. Health Insurance and Unemployment Insurance are quite different services, which have been given a certain superficial similarity because of the method by which contributions are paid. But the device of insurance cards and stamps does not make the two schemes similar. All persons holding Health Insurance cards are not insured against unemployment. The character of the benefits is different. In the case of Unemployment Insurance, the benefits are in cash and kind. The purpose of the former is to grant assistance towards the maintenance of unemployed workers, and to ensure that wherever possible unemployed workers are found work, the benefit being paid only if suitable employment is not

available. The purpose of the latter is to grant assistance towards the maintenance of sick persons and to secure their recovery. The machinery and the personnel required for the two services are therefore widely different, and the administration has developed on different lines. Unemployment Insurance has been administered by national officials distributed throughout the Kingdom with very substantial assistance from the Trade Unions. Health Insurance has been administered partly by State officials, but largely by local officials and local Health Insurance Committees, and with the assistance of Approved Societies, some of which are Trade Unions and some Friendly Societies and Assurance Companies. Each scheme has had its own headquarters staff. As regards Unemployment Insurance, this staff must necessarily be in close touch with other State officials concerned with allied Labour questions. As regards Health Insurance, the headquarters staff must clearly be in contact with the Department concerned with other health questions.

III. From this brief consideration of the fundamentally different character of the two services certain points clearly emerge :—

(*a*) Unemployment Insurance benefit is paid only to those for whom no suitable employment is obtainable. There must, therefore, be some organisation for mobilising the available employment. The Employment Exchanges provide such an organisation. Hence it would appear that this machinery in some form must be retained.

(*b*) Health Insurance necessitates a diffused administration and the services of a large number of doctors and chemists. This organisation clearly cannot be dispensed with.

(*c*) Nor can the headquarters staffs be merged, as the work is of quite different character.

(*d*) The proposal to amalgamate the administration of the two schemes would involve the use of a single insurance card for both Health and Unemployment Insurance.

(*e*) The use of a common insurance card may ultimately complicate administration. The classification of health records must obviously be on different lines from that used for unemployment records. The proper examination of records, from which much knowledge of great value may be obtained, and on which the continuing and increasing efficiency of the insurance services depends, would become almost impossible, unless there were duplicate records and the necessary staff, in which case the object of amalgamation would be defeated.

(*f*) Another important question arises. Who would retain the insurance card when it was not in the hands of the employer ? At present, as regards Health Insurance, all insured persons are members of an Approved Society ; but all persons insured under the Unemployment Insurance Acts are not members of Trade Unions which pay out State benefits. The procedure would probably be that cards would be kept by Approved Societies. When a worker was unemployed, his card might be required for health purposes, and it would not therefore be possible to present it at an Employment Exchange. Consequently, the Approved Society, perhaps the Prudential Assurance Company, would be required to issue a certificate to an unemployed worker stating his eligibility for unemployment pay, which certificate the worker could present at the Employment Exchange when he would be able to draw his benefit. The Approved Societies would become involved in the Unemployment Insurance system, and on the basis of this they might even devise a system of additional unemployment benefits which could not but affect the Trade Union Movement adversely.

IV. The proposal to amalgamate the administration of Health and Unemployment Insurance is open to three criticisms :—

(1) It would render difficult the modification, extension and development of Health and Unemployment Insurance in the future.

(2) It would not achieve economy, but would either complicate administration or result in inefficient services.

(3) It would probably prejudice the fundamental interests of Trade Unionism.

If, therefore, the proposal is proceeded with, it must be strenuously opposed by the Labour Movement.

When the Reports of the Geddes Committee were available, the Joint Research Department was requested by the Joint Council to prepare memoranda upon the proposals embodied therein. These were subsequently issued as a pamphlet, entitled "Labour and National Economy." (Price 6d. ; post free 7d.). Tables were included contrasting the proposals of the Geddes Committee with the economies proposed by the Government. The proposed economy in Education was dealt with at considerable length, and the further proposals affecting Housing and the Public Services were also examined.

The following resolution dealing with the Reports was passed by the Joint Council at its meeting on February 21st, 1922 :—

> The National Joint Council representing the Trades Union Congress, the Labour Party, and the Parliamentary Labour Party, having considered the Interim Reports of the Committee on National Expenditure, is of opinion that, important as the reduction of national expenditure may be, a more fundamental problem is that of production. The waste entailed by the enforced idleness of nearly two million workers, together with the drain which their maintenance even on the most modest scale, imposes upon the country, constitutes the largest item of economic waste at the present time. Their useful employment would clearly be of greater economic value to the community than any possible reduction of the national expenditure.
>
> The International and Unemployment policies on which Labour has long insisted, and which would have prevented much of the burden from which the community is suffering to-day, provide a programme of true national economy. The National Joint Council declares that until a constructive policy for dealing with the economic situation at home and abroad is put into operation there can be no adequate solution of the nation's financial difficulties.
>
> The Labour Movement, realising that the interest on the National Debt, now involving an annual charge of £350,000,000, constitutes the heaviest item of our national expenditure, demands as a measure of national economy the liquidation of a substantial portion of the War Debt by means of a graduated levy on accumulated wealth.
>
> The National Joint Council recognises that it is essential to avoid wasteful expenditure at all times, and particularly during the present period of financial difficulty. Therefore, Labour will support the maximum retrenchment on the Navy, the Army, and the Air Force, the elimination of all waste in public expenditure, and measures designed to secure the fullest efficiency in the public services.
>
> Organised Labour will strongly oppose all "cuts" which impair the usefulness and efficiency of the socially-productive services, such as Education, Housing, and Public Health, all proposals which could only be carried into effect by the violation of pledges, and all spurious economies resulting in the transference of the burden from the taxpayer to the ratepayer.

The Lock-out in the Engineering Industry.

Among the duties imposed upon the Joint Council in its constitution is that of "considering all questions affecting the Labour Movement as a whole, and the making of provision for taking immediate and united action on all questions of national emergency." In accordance with this obligation communications were made to the officials of the Amalgamated

Engineering Union on the threat of the issue of the lock-out notices to their members by the Engineering and National Employers' Federation at the end of February. It was not until other Trade Unions with members involved were brought into the dispute, however, that a consultation with the National Joint Council was agreed to. A very representative Conference of Executives and delegates of the Amalgamated Engineering Union, the Engineering and Shipbuilding Trades Federation, the National Union of Foundry Workers, and the National Federation of General Labourers, with the National Joint Council, under the presidency of Mr. R. B. Walker, was held at the House of Commons on March 9th.

Explanatory statements were made by Mr. John Hill, Mr. Harry Porter, Mr. W. H. Hutchinson, and Mr. J. T. Brownlie. It was stated that the A.E.U., after sixteen hours' incessant negotiations with the Employers, had agreed to recommend the following Memorandum for acceptance by their membership :—

MEMORANDUM OF CONFERENCE BETWEEN THE ENGINEERING AND THE NATIONAL EMPLOYERS' FEDERATIONS AND THE AMALGAMATED ENGINEERING UNION, HELD AT BROADWAY HOUSE, TOTHILL STREET, WESTMINSTER, LONDON, S.W. 1., ON NOVEMBER 17TH AND 18TH, 1921 :—

I.—GENERAL.

1.—The Trade Union shall not interfere with the right of the Employers to exercise managerial functions in their establishments, and the Federation shall not interfere with the proper functions of the Trade Union.

2.—In the exercise of these functions the parties shall have regard to the Provisions for Avoiding Disputes, of April 17th, 1914, which are amplified by the Shop Stewards and Works Committees Agreement of May 20th, 1919, and to the terms of other national and local agreements between the parties.

3.—Instructions of the management shall be observed pending any question in connection therewith being discussed in accordance with the Provisions referred to.

II.—OVERTIME.

It is agreed that in terms of the Overtime and Nightshift Agreement of September 28th and 30th, 1920, the Employers have the right to decide when overtime is necessary, the workpeople or their representatives being entitled to bring forward, under the Provisions referred to, any case of overtime they desire discussed. Meantime, the overtime required shall be proceeded with.

It was reported that on a ballot vote these proposals had been rejected by the A.E.U., 35,525 voting for, and 50,240 against. As a result, lock-out notices had been posted to operate as from March 11th. The other Unions, hitherto not involved, had been presented by the Employers with the same terms, with the request that they should sign same on behalf of their members, or, alternatively, recommend them for acceptance by ballot of their members, or be subject to lock-out notices being posted on March 11th.

The Joint Council offered the services of the Council as a Mediation Committee, and those of the Joint Publicity Department, should either, or both, be desired.

The members of the Joint Council then left the Trade Union representatives to discuss the situation separately, and later in the day it was announced that the services of the proposed Mediation Committee would be accepted, but that all negotiations should be conducted by the representatives of the Unions affected, and that a Publicity Committee had been appointed to co-operate with the Publicity Department.

Subsequently the Joint Council appointed Messrs. R. B. Walker, J. R. Clynes, M.P., C. W. Bowerman, M.P., and Arthur Henderson, M.P., to discuss the situation with the Minister of Labour, Dr. T. J. Macnamara, and as a result it was reported that arrangements had been made whereby the Employers had agreed to receive representatives of all the Unions affected on the following morning.

This Conference with the Employers took place as arranged, but resulted in a breakdown, the Employers not being prepared to depart from the proposals put forward in the above Memorandum.

Subsequent consideration was given to the situation by the General Council of the Trades Union Congress and the Parliamentary Party and again remitted to the National Joint Council, which, at a meeting held on March 15th, appointed a deputation to seek an interview with the Leader of the House of Commons (Rt. Hon. Austen Chamberlain, M.P.), with a view to pressing for the institution of a Committee of Inquiry into the dispute, under the Industrial Courts Act, or, failing that, to endeavour to secure a day for a Parliamentary debate in accordance with the desires expressed by the representatives of the Unions concerned. This interview took place on March 16th, when Mr. Chamberlain stated that the Government had no right to assume what the result of the ballot then proceeding among the membership of the Unions other than the A.E.U. would be and urged that where it was possible for a dispute to be settled without the interference of the Government, such intervention was not desirable. In the opinion of the Government the institution of a Court of Inquiry at that moment would be to prejudge the decision of the Unions; the same reasons, in the opinion of the Government, made it inexpedient to have a Parliamentary discussion on the subject. Later, however, it was announced that the Government were prepared to afford facilities for a Parliamentary debate on Monday, March 20th. In the course of the debate the case for the Engineering Trades was put forward by Mr. J. R. Clynes, M.P., Mr. Robert Young, M.P., Col. J. Wedgwood, M.P. and Mr. Arthur Henderson, M.P., and the views of the Employers' Federation were voiced by their Chairman, Sir Allan Smith, M.P. In the course of his speech Sir Allan Smith appeared to indicate a readiness to resume negotiations while the ballot was proceeding and the men affected were at work, and as a result Messrs. J. R. Clynes, M.P., R. B. Walker, C. W. Bowerman, M.P., and Arthur Henderson, M.P., were appointed to seek an interview with him in order to elucidate the Employers' position.

Protracted conversations with Sir Allan Smith followed and a basis of conference was arrived at on March 24th, which, upon being reported to a Conference of all the Unions, led to negotiations between all concerned being re-opened on March 27th. These broke down almost at the outset, however, on the Employers' Federation declining to withdraw the lock-out notices against the membership of the A.E.U.

At this point the ballot vote of the other sections was reported, when it transpired that the Employers' proposals had been rejected by 164,759 to 49,405 votes, a majority of 115,354.

Further efforts at mediation were pursued for several days, and on April 1st, other formula was agreed upon in consultation with Sir Allan Smith. Upon this basis being reported to the Trade Union Conference its terms were approved by the Unions other than the A.E.U. The latter registered their opinion that the implications contained in the new basis were, in essence, those embodied in the Memorandum which had been rejected by the ballot of their members.

At this stage the Prime Minister intervened at the suggestion of the Minister of Labour. Discussions took place at Downing Street between Mr. Lloyd George and representatives of all the Unions affected, with the Mediation Committee in attendance, and as a result of further consultation a basis of negotiation with the Employers was agreed upon by the Unions other than the A.E.U. These negotiations were pursued on April 10th, 11th, 12th and 13th, but at an all-night sitting, the Employers put forward an ultimatum to the Unions which led to another breakdown at five o'clock on the morning of Good Friday, April 14th.

Upon this rupture being considered by the Trade Union Conference, the Mediators were authorised to continue their task, and as a result of an exchange of a series of letters and memoranda, it was found that there was no immediate possibility of any reduction of the Employers' terms.

Pressure upon the Government was then resumed with a view to securing a Court of Inquiry, which was conceded on April 27th by the Government appointing Sir William Mackenzie to proceed under the terms of Part II. of the Industrial Courts' Act. The Commission opened on March 28th, and evidence was heard, in the presence of the press, on May 3rd, 4th, 5th and 6th. Sir William Mackenzie concluded his report on May 10th, and it was promptly issued by the Government. Its terms were carefully considered by the Negotiating Committee of the Unions in consultation with the Mediation Committee of the Joint Council, the A.E.U., however, declining to take part in the discussion with the representatives of the Joint Council present. Simultaneously the Minister for Labour communicated with the Employers' Federation and the various sections of the Unions, indicating the desirability of further negotiations taking place in the light of Sir William Mackenzie's findings. These were resumed on May 16th, but again the Executive Council of the A.E.U. could not see their way to approve of a Memorandum upon which the Employers and the other Unions' representatives had agreed. This document was submitted to a ballot vote of the Unions and agreed to by an aggregate vote of 99,313 to 46,881.

Separate negotiations between the Employers and the Executive Council of the A.E.U. subsequently took place, and proposals similar to those accepted by the other Unions were submitted to a ballot vote of the members and accepted by 75,478 votes to 39,423.

The National Union of Foundry Workers have also accepted similar terms, but the United Society of Boilermakers have not yet reached a settlement with the employers.

The terms of settlement are embodied in a memorandum put forward by the Engineering and National Employers' Federation on May 20th.

The essential provision relates to alterations of working conditions which result in one class of workpeople being replaced by another class. Under the settlement the employers agree that the management shall give ten days' notice of such alterations, and discussion shall take place with a view to agreement.

If no settlement is reached, the management is entitled to give a temporary decision, upon which work shall proceed pending the recognised procedure being carried through, the decision not being prejudicial to either party in any subsequent discussion that may arise.

The employers also agree that where any class of workpeople is displaced by any act of the management, consideration shall be given to the case of the displaced workpeople with a view to providing work for them, if practicable, according to their qualifications, in the establishment.

Questions which do not result in such displacements are to be dealt with when they arise in accordance with the Provisions for Avoiding Disputes, work having to proceed pending discussion under the altered conditions resulting from the managerial instruction.

It is agreed that the Provisions for Avoiding Disputes are applicable, when appropriate, to general alterations in wages, and alterations in working conditions which are the subject of agreement, as well as alterations in the general working week ; but the settlement provides that such alterations shall not take effect until the appropriate procedure has been exhausted.

It is also agreed that systems of payment by results shall not be introduced for a period of one month in the case of Unions not already parties to such agreements ; the month's interval is to be used by the employers and Trade Union representatives in negotiating for an agreed basis for the introduction of such systems.

Systems at present in operation are to continue whilst these negotiations are proceeding.

Under the Provisions for Avoiding Disputes, an effort is first to be made by the management and the workpeople directly concerned to settle any question that may arise.

Where the Shop Stewards and Works Committee scheme is operating, discussion in the shop takes place in accordance therewith ; which means reference to a body equally representative of management and workpeople.

Failing settlement, the matter is referred to the employers, the deputation of workpeople being accompanied by an official representative of the Union, a representative of the Employers' Federation also being present.

It is competent for either party, if no settlement results, to bring the dispute before a local conference, to be called within seven working days, or to a Central Conference, which is held on the second Friday in each month, and may make joint recommendations to the constituent bodies.

Until this procedure has been exhausted there is to be no stoppage of work either of a partial or local character.

The following letter was reported to the meeting of the National Joint Council, on June 13th, 1922, and instructions given for it to be communicated to the constituent bodies :—

FEDERATION OF ENGINEERING AND SHIPBUILDING TRADES.
also
H.M. DOCKYARDS AND RAILWAY CRAFT UNION MOVEMENTS.

15-16, Sicilian House,
Southampton Row,
London, W.C. 1.
June 13th, 1922.

Dear Mr. Henderson,

Engineering Dispute.

I am elected by the above Federation to convey to the National Joint Council, their sincere thanks and appreciation for its efforts since the commencement of the negotiations with regard to Managerial Functions, the subsequent dispute, the Court of Inquiry and settlement arrived at on June 2nd, 1922.

I am directed by the Federation to say that while they do not desire to mention individuals of your Council, they feel a special note of praise should be extended to Mr. Walker, your Chairman, and yourself for your strenuous and untiring efforts throughout the proceedings. While differences of opinion may have been shown on policy, there certainly were not any differences as far as principles were concerned. We feel that the work of your Joint Council was undoubtedly the means of obtaining a much better and more speedy settlement than it had been left to the trades themselves.

This being the first occasion on which the Joint Council has used its good offices for this Federation, we can appreciate at full value the important work it has effected to-day. Whatever work it may have in the future it has certainly justified itself if only by what it has done in these negotiations.

Trusting you are well, and with all good wishes to you and your colleagues of the Council,

Yours faithfully,
(signed) FRANK SMITH,
Secretary.

The Rt. Hon. A. Henderson,
Secretary to the National Joint Council.

INTERNATIONAL DEPARTMENT.

At the Brighton Conference the Party Executive was instructed by resolution :—

> "To take steps to secure that the position of the Second International shall be strengthened, that its democratic foundations as opposed to dictatorship shall be accepted, and that invitations shall be sent out to all Labour and Socialist bodies throughout the world inviting them to attend a conference from which a comprehensive International may arise."

At the same time, the Conference called :—

> "For a consultation between the Vienna International Committee and the Executive of the Second International Committee to promote unity and prevent further division."

This resolution was communicated without delay to the Executive Committees of the International Working Union of Socialist Parties (Vienna Union) and the Second International, and to the Executive Committees of the Labour and Socialist Parties. The National Labour and Socialist Parties were invited to inform us whether, in the event of our convoking such an International Reconstruction Conference in London early in October, they would agree to be represented. The Executives of the Internationals were asked to support the Conference and recommend their affiliated parties to attend.

The Executive of the Second International agreed to support the Conference, and from the members of the Executive was obtained the assurance that, in the event of the Conference taking place, they would agree to tender their resignations should this be necessary in order to secure a united International, provided the Executive of the Vienna Union were prepared to do the same.

The reply from the Vienna Union, dated July 14th, 1921, was, however, a refusal to co-operate in our scheme for a general conference. There could be no acceptance of our proposal, they said, on the part of Parties affiliated to their Union, because these Parties had engaged not to enter into separate negotiations for joining with other International organisations. They were in agreement with the object of creating a comprehensive Labour International. This International, however, could only be created on the basis of fundamental conceptions common to all, and in their view, this community of fundamental conceptions was unfortunately not yet realised. "An obvious symptom of this," they wrote us, "is the antagonism existing between the principles of the Second International and those of the Parties affiliated to our International Working Union of Socialist Parties, which is, in a word, to be traced back to the antagonism between the reformist and revolutionary conceptions of the class struggle." For these reasons, the Vienna Union considered that the time for convoking a conference on an extended basis had not yet come.

On the other hand, the Vienna Union declared that they were always ready to respond to invitations to interviews of a consultative character, and at London, on the 19th and 20th October, 1921, the Party Executive and the Bureau of the Vienna Union met to exchange opinions upon the divisions existing within the International Socialist Movement.

The Vienna Union were represented on that occasion by :—

Comrades Grimm (Switzerland), Adler (Austria), Longuet (France), Bracke (France), Ledebour (Germany), Kaplanski (Poale-Zion), Wallhead and Shinwell (British I.L.P.).

We repeated our proposals during these conversations. We suggested for example, that at first all the bodies not connected with the Communist International should be called together. The British Labour Party would ask the Vienna Union, on its part, to recommend its affiliated Parties to come together without prejudice, and by coming together, try to find a solution of the present difficulties. If that proposal were considered to be too ambitious, we asked whether it would not be possible for a few representatives of the Vienna Union to meet a few representatives of what is known as the "Second International," to arrange preliminaries for a conference. As the Vienna Union were not prepared to accept either of these alternatives, we invited them to make counter-proposals. The Vienna Union maintained their standpoint. Our invitation was not as comprehensive as they should have liked it to be. The time had not yet arrived when a more comprehensive conference could be convoked with any possibility of success. Briefly, the Vienna Union insisted that the Communist Parties would have to be invited to any general conference for the reconstruction of the International. We did not propose, for the moment, to invite the Communist Parties, because their methods were so diverse as to make co-operation impossible.

The two points of view were subsequently embodied in a written declaration by the Vienna Union in reply to our proposals, and a rejoinder on behalf of the Executive by the Secretary. These two documents are now reproduced for your information.

I.

DECLARATION OF THE EXECUTIVE OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING UNION OF SOCIALIST PARTIES IN REPLY TO THE PROPOSALS OF THE BRITISH LABOUR PARTY.

We recognise with great satisfaction the complete agreement of the Labour Party Executive and our own Executive with regard to the present unsatisfactory condition of the International Organisation of the class-conscious proletariat. We are at one with the representatives of the British proletariat in the keen desire to put an end to the present humiliating weakness of their international proletariat by reconstructing an all-inclusive International.

The goal is a common one. The difference lies in the estimate which we make of the actual possibilities, and in the methods of reaching the goal. Unlike the Labour Party, we are of opinion that under present conditions it is impossible to deal with new forms of organisation, but rather that International unity must be sought through common action and in the common class struggle. We are therefore not of the opinion that the summoning of a general conference at an early date would serve to strengthen International relations. On the contrary we think that it would rather hinder a subsequent advance towards International organisation. But even if such a conference were opportune we should be unable to accept, as we regard the basis as much too narrow. The aim of the Vienna Working Union is a much more far reaching one than that which is expressed in the Labour Party's plan. Our desire is to unite at the appropriate moment *all* the forces of the class-conscious proletariat in an International union, while the proposal of the Labour Party not only leaves out for the present the Parties affiliated to Moscow, but it would not, for example, even enable the Italian Socialist Party, indispensable as it is for International action, to take part in the conference. We must therefore continue to pursue, with determination, the much higher aim which the Vienna Conference of February, 1921, has set before us.

The representatives of the Labour Party have declared that the members of the Executive Committee of the union of Parties known as the Second International are prepared to resign provided that the Executive of the Working Union would do the same, and even that they are prepared to dissolve entirely the Second International provided the union of the world proletariat can be facilitated thereby. The representatives of the Vienna Working Union have no mandate to make a similar declaration nor are they of opinion that under present circumstances a step of this kind on the part of the Working Union would serve the purpose of International unity. We are rather of opinion that the hope of creating an International which will embrace the whole revolutionary proletariat is rendered more possible of fulfilment by the existence of our Vienna Working Union which we regard only as a means of creating an all-inclusive International.

Our standpoint on the question of possibilities and methods with regard to the creation of an all-inclusive International is laid down without ambiguity in the resolutions of the Vienna Conference of February, 1921, and in the letter which we sent to the Labour Party on July 11th, 1921. It is true that we regard the difficulties in the way of the creation of a true International as being more serious than the Executive of the Labour Party considers them, which takes as its starting point the conditions prevailing in England, conditions which are far less complex than those on the Continent. Nevertheless we are convinced that the union of all proletarian forces in definite common action, especially in the fight against counter-revolutionary reaction, imperialist warmongers and imperialist exploiters, against the growing misery of the working-class and the famine in Russia, will develop in an ever increasing degree. The union of the proletarian forces which took place in Germany after the Kapp Putsch, and after the murder of Erzberger, appears to us as an example of common action that can be promoted in a high degree through discussions for purposes of information, such as that which we have had to-day with the British Labour Party. As we have already made clear to the Labour Party in our letter of July 11th, 1921, we are always ready for such discussions with any Parties to whatever international grouping they may belong.

We recognise that the important position occupied by the British Labour Party in the world proletarian movement entitles it to promote such discussions, and therefore the Vienna Executive will be interested to hear from you respecting any further proposal you may make.

II.

The Reply of the British Labour Party.

To the Bureau of the International
Working Union of Socialist Parties.
October 21st, 1921.

Dear Comrades,

We are in receipt of your communication following upon the discussion we had with you yesterday, and we regret that you have decided to refuse co-operation in an immediate attempt to bring together the disrupted sections of the International Working-Class Movement, but rather that you will continue to put obstacles in the way of such a meeting.

We must point out to you that it is not correct to suggest that we intended to place difficulties in the way of the Italian Socialists attending the proposed Conference ; in fact, we had already extended to them an invitation.

We did not propose, for the moment, to invite the Communist Parties because their methods are so diverse as to make co-operation impossible.

Your own declaration contains evidence of our strong desire for unity, but we would again remind you of the position, as stated at the Conference on our behalf. The present position of the Socialist and Labour Movement in Europe is an extremely painful one. We have warring sections, no unity of effort, division of energy, sections working against each other instead of helping each other ; and the desire of the British Labour Party is, if at all possible, without recrimination, to bring together all the parties who are seriously desirous of having a united movement in order that they may work out a basis on which we can have one International.

We proposed to send Invitations to all the Socialist Parties to meet together, without prejudice to their existing International relations, to work out this basis for a unified International, and we requested the Vienna Union on its part to recommend its affiliated organisations to come together and by coming together try to bring about a solution of the difficulty. The Vienna Union declined to make that recommendation.

It has always been the intention of the Executive of the British Labour Party to make the basis of the proposed Conference as wide as possible, and to endeavour to secure that any agreed basis for the future Socialist International would secure to each Socialist group freedom to work in its own country in accordance with its own means towards its Socialist goal, but with the common determination to bring about Socialism.

As further evidence of the desire for a unified International, the officials of the " Second " International, as your declaration shows, were prepared to recommend the dissolution of the " Second " International immediately the new basis of agreement had been accepted, and provided the Vienna Union were prepared to take the same steps in order to secure unity.

What we have stated is complete evidence of our anxiety to attain whatever concentration of Socialist forces is possible at the present moment. It is clear from your declaration that the object of the Vienna Union is to prevent any substantial progress towards International Unity until the Communists have so modified their position as to make their co-operation with all other Socialist parties in the world possible.

This indefinite postponement is indefensible, and the Executive of the British Labour Party therefore regrets that its efforts towards an all-inclusive Socialist International which had succeeded so far as the "Second" is concerned to the extent stated in this communication, should have been prevented from coming to a satisfactory conclusion by obstacles presented by the Vienna Union.

On behalf of the Executive of the British Labour Party,

(Signed) ARTHUR HENDERSON, *Secretary.*

At a meeting of the Executive of the Second International held in Brussels on November 22nd and 23rd, 1921, the British members explained what had happened in London during the Conference of the Vienna Union and the British Labour Party. A discussion then took place on the reconstruction of the International. In view of the unsettled differences of opinion, it was agreed that any immediate result from the negotiations initiated by the Labour Party was not to be expected; the obstacles to International unity were still serious. At the moment, the chief thing was to create a frame of mind favourable to the re-establishment of unity by common action, in Western Europe at least, between Parties affiliated to both Internationals. It was believed that the critical situation over Reparations was an occasion for a conference of all the Socialist Parties of the countries directly affected, whatever their international associations. The following resolution was adopted :—

"The Executive of the Second International has considered the present European outlook with a view of discovering how common Socialist action can be taken upon it, and resolved that the two problems pressing for immediate attention are general disarmament and national finance. The Washington Conference will leave the former in a position far from satisfactory to the international Socialist movement, which must continue to press for complete disarmament on the sea, the land, and the air; and a pronouncement on the subject, with the authority of a united international movement behind it, is necessary for the guidance not only of the workers but of the Parliamentary Parties of the various nations. The present financial position is not only hampering international trade and, in consequence, causing wide-spread unemployment, but is threatening to involve whole nations in bankruptcy, and to provoke new and serious international conflicts.

The Executive therefore is of the opinion that a conference of Labour and Socialist Parties should be held without delay and declares that the paramount duty of all Socialist Parties is to further the calling and promote the success of such a conference."

The French Socialist Party had shown at their Annual Conference just held, that they were favourable to this form of co-operation. It was therefore agreed that if the French Party should take the initiative in calling such a conference, the Parties concerned in the Second International would respond to that initiative.

Five Country International Conferences on Reparations and Disarmament were held in Paris and Frankfort, and are referred to in a later part of this report.

At the Paris Conference there was an informal debate about the reconstruction of the International. A change in Communist tactics had created a new starting-point for these deliberations. In August, 1921, the Executive of the Communist International had referred in a public manifesto to the effort at closer relations between the Vienna Union and the Second International, initiated at our Brighton Conference. It had declared that it was the business of the proletariat "not to

let itself be taken in by these sham fights between the Siamese twins but to deal with them as one and the same body." The manifesto took note at the same time :—

> " that the watchword of unity in the mouths of these champions is a symptom. In the mouths of these leaders it is a dirty business. In the mouth of the masses of the workers it is a healthy effort towards the real unity of the proletariat. This is something new. It is a fact that must be grasped. *The Communists must place themselves at the head of this movement.*"

Clearer and more definite expression of the new tactics of the Communist International was given in the thesis on the " United Working-class Front," adopted by the Executive Committee of the Communist International on December 18th, 1921. They would now support the watchword of a United Working-class Front, take the initiative in the question into their own hands, permit agreements of separate sections of the Communist International with Parties and groups of the Second, Two-and-a-Half, and Amsterdam Internationals, and contract similar agreements on the international scale. The object of this tactical manœuvre was explained by Radek in a letter to German colleagues :—

> " By the split we have created a strengthened vanguard. Now by the rallying cry of the ' United Front ' we are trying to get hold of reserves."

An opportunity of putting these tactics into practice was provided by the Bureau of the Vienna International when they resolved on January 15th, 1922, to enter into negotiations with the Executive Committees in London and Moscow, and thus, by mutual agreement of all the international central organisations, to call a general conference in the Spring of 1922, with an agenda limited to the most imminent questions. They proposed that the main items of the agenda should be :—

(1) The economic situation of Europe and the action of the working-class.

(2) The defensive struggle of the working-class against reaction.

When the delegates of France, Belgium and Great Britain assembled in Paris on February 4th, to discuss Reparations and Disarmament, they received telegrams from the two German Parties saying that they could not reach Paris because of the railway strike in Germany. Deliberations upon the subjects on the agenda had therefore to be of a purely preparatory nature, and a considerable amount of time was given by the delegates to a debate around the proposal of the Vienna Union for a general international conference with a limited agenda, at that time still under consideration by the Communists and the Second International. At the conclusion of the debate there was an informal conference of the Executive members of the two Internationals, when it was arranged that a joint meeting of the Executive Committees of the Second International and Vienna Union should take place in Frankfort. These special meetings of the Executive Committees of the two Internationals, summoned upon the recommendation of the members who attended the Paris Conference, were held in Frankfort on February 23rd and following days.

Two meetings of the Executive Committee of the Second International were held separately and two jointly with the members of the Bureau of the Vienna Union.

Representatives of the non-Communist working-class political Parties in nine European countries took part in one or other of these meetings, as follows :—

Second International : Vandervelde, Huysmans (Belgium), Shaw, Jowett and Tillett (Great Britain, Labour Party and Trades Union Congress), Braun and Wels (Germany, Majority Socialists), Andersen (Denmark), Vliegen (Holland).

Vienna Union : Wallhead (Great Britain, I.L.P.), Ledebour and Crispien (Germany, Independents), Longuet and Bracke (France), Socialist Party, S.F.I.O.), Adler (Austria, S.D.P.), Grimm (Switzerland, S.D.P.), Schreider (Russia, Left Social Revolutionary Party).

The Italian Socialist Party, which is not affiliated to any international Socialist organisation, was represented during the second of the joint conferences by their secretary, Serrati.

The continued pre-occupation of the British Movement with the question of international unity was explained at these joint meetings, but unfortunately the latest pronouncements of the Communist International made it absolutely essential that we should know whether they were willing to meet us in a spirit of solidarity and good comradeship. The first essential, therefore, was an exchange of declarations of good faith and loyalty. Also the united front could not be established until certain elementary Socialist principles were observed by all parties—freedom of expression, freedom of the ballot-box, &c. Generally it was declared on behalf of the Second International that no question of principle separated the Vienna Union from the Second International ; that the members of the Second International were prepared to make sacrifices from the standpoint of persons and organisations, in order to make possible a fusion of the Second International and the Vienna Union. They did not refuse absolutely to entertain the idea of a general conference with a concrete agenda, but they could not forget the mixture of candour and cynicism in the letter of Radek. Questions would have to be put to the Communists in order to ascertain whether they wanted a conference to prepare common action, or to provide a platform to enable them to fight us better.

At the adjourned joint meeting, the reply of the Executive Committee of the Second International was handed to the Vienna Union in the form of a letter, as follows :—

Dear Comrades,

In reply to your proposal to bring together a general conference of the working-class parties, we have the honour to confirm our adhesion to a preliminary meeting of the three committees of London, Moscow and Vienna, with the object of examining the possibility of a joint convocation of this Conference.

We reserve the right, however, in the eventual meeting of the three committees, to raise :

(1) the question of Georgia and the right of peoples to dispose of themselves, and

(2) the question of the liberation of political prisoners.

In any case, it will only be possible for us to meet the representatives of the Third International in a common Conference if, as a result of the meeting of the Executive Committees, we become convinced that all will go to that Conference with the firm intention of adding to the strength of working-class action, and not with the object of lending support to new efforts to create "nuclei," divisions and splits.

It goes without saying that, apart from these reservations concerning the Third International, we adhere to the proposals contained in your manifesto all the more willingly because they coincide with the resolution which we ourselves voted at Brussels in November last.

Whatever may be the outcome of the negotiations with the Executive Committee of Moscow, we are ready to meet you in a Conference which would appeal to all the working-class parties and which would have the agenda proposed in your manifesto.

Fraternal greetings,

Emile Vandervelde (Belgium).
Otto Wels (Germany).
Thomas Shaw (Great Britain).
Alsing Andersen (Denmark).
W. H. Vliegen (Holland).
F. W. Jowett (Great Britain).
Ben Tillett (Great Britain).
Camille Huysmans (Belgium).

It will be observed that in this letter the Executive Committee of the Second International still reserved complete liberty of action with regard to the proposed general conference with the Communists, and made their final decision depend upon the impressions that they received from the joint meeting of the three Executives of London, Vienna and Moscow, to which they unanimously agreed. At this joint meeting, the representatives of the Second International would raise the questions of the political prisoners, and self-determination. This conference of the Executives of the three Internationals was held in Berlin on the morning of Sunday, April 2nd, and concluded at midnight on Wednesday, April 5th. The delegates were as follows :—

Labour and Socialist (Second) International: Vandervelde and Huysmans (Belgium), Wels (Germany, S.P.D.), Gosling, Macdonald and Shaw (British Labour Party and Trades Union Congress), Vliegen (Holland), Stauning (Denmark), Moeller (Sweden), Tseretelli (Georgia).

International Working Union of Socialist Parties (Vienna Union): Adler and Bauer (Austria), Crispien (Germany, U.S.P.D.), Longuet and Faure (French Socialist Party, S.F.I.O.), Wallhead (British I.L.P.), Czermak (Czecho-Slovakia, German S.D.P.) Martoff (Russian Mensheviks), Kalin (Latvia), Grimm (Switzerland.

Communist (Third) International: Bucharin and Radek (Russia), Clara Zetkin (Germany), Frossard (France), Smeral (Czecho-Slovakia), Katayama (Japan), Stojanowits (Jugo-Slavia), Rosmer (France), Warski (Poland).

Italian Socialist Party: Serrati.

The verbatim report of the public proceedings and the texts of all official documents have been published.

The position of the three Executives as presented to the Conference at Berlin, was as follows :—

1. The Communist International made an explicit declaration against any idea of uniting the three Internationals. The organic unity of these organisations differing as to principle was entirely "Utopian and injurious." It pressed for an immediate general conference to inaugurate their policy of the "united front," with the idea of uniting the working-class for the "defensive struggle against the offensive of world capital." It desired meanwhile to keep its hands free to pursue the various policies that had brought it into conflict with European Socialism.

2. The Vienna Union presented a memorandum which, whilst condemning the policy of the Third International both as regards Trade Unionism, and its conduct to States adjoining Russia and to political prisoners, declared for a meeting of a general conference without any preliminary agreement as to conditions.

3. The Second International, whilst willing to agree in principle to the summoning of a general conference, took the position that whilst the Third International was pursuing a policy which was splitting the Trade Union movement in every country and so weakening the international working-class offensive against capitalism, whilst it was suppressing Socialist governments by military force and pursuing a policy of military and economic imperialism as in the case of Georgia, and similar States, and whilst it held in its prisons members of Socialist organisations simply because they were Socialists and was contemplating a trial of Social Revolutionaries for which no guarantees of judicial fairness had been given, the success of a general conference was not assured and no action issuing from it could be truly united.

After a session of the open conference on Sunday, these points of difference were considered by a committee of nine elected equally from the three delegations, and also by frequent meetings of the Executives separately. In the end a document was signed by the representatives of the three delegations which, briefly, provided :—

1. That it was desirable that a general conference should be held, but that in order to prepare it and remove obstacles in its way the three Internationals should be asked to consult their affiliated bodies and ascertain from them whether they were willing that the joint committee of nine should continue.

2. That an attempt should be made to remove the differences between the Amsterdam and the Moscow Trade Union Internationals and thus secure guarantees that the policy of *noyautage* hitherto pursued by the Third International should cease.

3. That a committee should be appointed which should have all documents relating to Georgia placed before it for consideration and report.

4. That as regards the political prisoners of Russia, no death sentences would be asked for ; that they would be allowed any defenders they wished ; and that the representatives of all three Executives would be allowed to attend the trial and take shorthand reports of the proceedings so as to inform the international Socialist movement of what took place.

It was agreed that if the Committee of Nine were set up again, it would come to no decisions unless it were unanimous.

In order that its position might be put on record, the Second International handed in a statement at the end of the proceedings reiterating its conditions. This statement, with the preliminary declaration of the Second International, the final joint declaration, and the final declarations of the Communist International and the Vienna Union are reproduced for information.

I.

THE PRELIMINARY DECLARATION OF THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL.

We accept the principle of a general conference with a limited objective under the conditions, and with the agenda proposed by the Vienna Union. We declare further that this conference must be preceded by the acceptance of the following conditions by the Third International.

(1) The renunciation of the " noyautage " (cell-building) tactics.

(2) The nomination of a Commission from the delegates of the three Executive Committees for the examination of the case of Georgia and other States similarly circumstanced with a view to reaching an agreement among the Socialist Parties.

We make this suggestion with a desire to expedite the Conference, but we wish it to be plainly understood that the resolutions we have passed demanding the right of the Georgian people to decide, free from military pressure, their own form of government still hold good.

(3) The liberation of prisoners detained for political reasons and the trial of those who are the objects of criminal accusations with rights of defence under the control of International Socialism.

II.

The Joint Declaration.

The Conference is agreed that, however desirable the unity of the class-conscious organisations of the proletariat may be, at the present moment the only thing that can be done is to hold deliberations between all the sections represented at this Conference for the purpose of common action towards a concrete goal. The Conference therefore proposes that the Executives should agree to the setting up of an Organisation Committee of nine, which shall undertake preparations for further conferences of the three Executives, as well as conferences on a wider basis to include parties which are not affiliated to either of the three International organisations. Each Executive is free to appoint as it thinks fit the three representatives to whom it is entitled. In this Organisation Committee no majority resolutions will be allowed ; its task will be to express the general point of view of the three Executives as far as this is declared.

The Conference recommends that this Organisation Committee should try to bring about conversations between the representatives of the Amsterdam Trade Union International and the Red Trade Union International, to consider the question of how the maintenance and restoration of Trade Unity of front can be secured, nationally and internationally.

The Conference notes the declaration of the representatives of the Communist International that the forty-seven Social Revolutionaries who are to be tried will be allowed any defenders they wish ; that, as already announced in the Soviet press before the conference, no death sentences will be inflicted in this trial ; that, as the trial will be public, representatives of all three Executives will be allowed to attend to listen to the proceedings and will be allowed to take stenographic reports for the information of their affiliated parties.

The Conference declares that all the three Executives have expressed their readiness to collect and examine the material to be submitted by the different sections on the question of Georgia. The Conference authorises the Committee of Organisation to draw conclusions from this examination and to present a report to a later Conference of the three Executives.

The Conference notes that the representatives of the Second International have declared that they do not consider it possible to hold a general conference in April, that is to say at the same time as the Genoa Conference. The Conference, however, agrees in principle upon the necessity for calling a general conference as soon as possible. The Executives undertake to inform their affiliated Parties of the progress which the idea of a general conference has made during the Berlin negotiations, and they will give their representatives on the Committee of Organsation full power to conclude favourable negotiations for the calling of a general conference

As the organisation of the general conference is impossible this month for the reasons above stated, the present Conference declares that it is an imperative duty, in view of the advance of international imperialist capitalism, to demonstrate the united will of the international class-conscious proletariat. The Conference therefore calls upon the workers of every country to organise great mass demonstrations, with as much unity as possible, during the Genoa Conference, either on the 20th of April or, where this is technically impossible, on the first of May :

For the eight-hour day.

For the struggle against unemployment, which has increased immeasurably on account of the reparations policy of the capitalist powers.

For the united action of the proletariat against the capitalist offensive.

For the Russian revolution, for starving Russia, for the resumption by all countries of political and economic relations with Russia.

For the re-establishment of the proletarian united front in every country and in the International.

III.

The Final Declaration of the Second International.

The Executive Committee of the Second International, whilst accepting the principle of a general conference as soon as a common ground of action can be found is however convinced that a desirable conclusion can only be reached when the Third International abandons the tactics of the formation of " nuclei " and the splitting of the Trades Union movement, when they accept and show respect for the principle of self-determination of nations wherever they are in power, and when they respect the right of freedom of opinion for others.

Therefore, the Executive Committee of the Second International insists upon a written and precise answer being given by the Third International to the three conditions which have been put before them.

It agrees that this answer should be addressed to the Committee of Nine (three from each Executive), whose task it shall be to examine it and arrange matters in such a way as to remove all obstacles in the way of a general conference and to prepare for the convocation of such a conference.

IV.

The Political Prisoners.

The Commentary of the Vienna Union and Second International.

The Executive of the Vienna Union asked that the following passage should be incorporated in the joint declaration of the three Executives :

> " The Conference declares that it is the duty of all proletarian Parties to do all that lies in their power in their respective countries to secure the immediate release of all political prisoners, more especially of those who have been in prison, whether convicted or not, since the period of open civil war."

The delegation of the Communist International declared that they would not agree to this passage. In order to prevent failure of the outcome of the joint conference on account of this difference, the Vienna Union is compelled to forego the incorporation of this passage in the joint declaration and states that the Communist International attaches so much importance to the further detention of Socialists in Russia that it was prepared for this reason to abandon the fight for the release of proletarian political prisoners languishing in the prisons of capitalist states.

The Executive of the Second International agreed to the declaration of the Vienna Union and adopted it.

V.

The Final Declaration of the Third International.

After much hesitation the delegation of the Executive of the Communist International has resolved to agree to the joint declaration submitted by the Vienna Union. Their hesitation was due primarily to the fact that the Second International refused to adopt the watchwords for the demonstrations of the workers, the watchword of annulment of the Versailles Treaty, so that a great international Labour assembly was therefore far behind intelligent Western European Liberals. This does not permit us to believe that the Second International is really desirous of fighting against the danger of a fresh Versailles Peace at Genoa, that it is prepared really to make use of all weapons against the offensive of capital.

The delegation of the Executive of the Communist International has nevertheless resolved to agree to the joint resolution although the attempt to convoke an international Labour conference during the Genoa Conference failed owing to the opposition of the Second International.

In spite of all these serious considerations, the delegation of the Executive of the Communist International has agreed to the resolution because of its desire to further and not to obstruct the slightest step in the direction of the united front. For this reason it has renounced at this preliminary conference the demand for an enquiry into the murder of Rosa Luxemburg, Liebknecht, Jogiche, Levine, and all the attendant phenomena of the civil war in Germany. For this reason it has foreborne, at this preliminary conference, to throw light upon the part played by the Social Democratic Parties in the prosecution of the Communists in Latvia, Poland, Yugo-Slavia, and Hungary and reserves the right to demand of the Commission of Nine the appointment of a Commission of Enquiry for this and similar cases. For this reason it has foreborne at this preliminary conference to demand of the German Social Democratic Party the release of the proletarian militants in Germany. For this reason, too, it has forborne at this preliminary conference to demand an enquiry into the attitude of the Labour Party towards Ireland and the Colonies and reserves to itself the right to raise all these questions later on. For it is convinced that unless there is a break with the policy of coalition with the bourgeoisie which lies at the root of all the unprecedented occurrences described, a real united front of the working class will be impossible.

The delegation of the Executive of the Communist International has resolved to agree to the joint declaration and to the first feeble steps towards the united front expressed therein, in the firm conviction that the pressure of events will drive the working masses to arise and fight, and will teach them to compel their reformist leaders to change their policy if they do not wish to be set on one side by the working classes.

After consideration of these documents, the Party Executive and the General Council of the Trades Union Congress decided to inform the Executive Committee of the Second International that they agreed to the setting up of the Committee of Nine, referred to in the joint declaration

of the Berlin Conference ; to recommend that Vandervelde, Otto Wels and J. Ramsay MacDonald should continue to represent the Second International on this Committee ; and that the conditions of common action with the Communist International, laid down by the Second International at Berlin, should be maintained.

It was reported that representatives of the Second International would attend the trial of the Social Revolutionaries in Moscow, including Vandervelde, whom the Second International had proposed, and the prisoners had accepted as the principal advocate for the defence. The two National Committees have agreed to make a contribution towards the expenses of the defence authorised and incurred by the Executive Committee of the Second International.

The Committee of Nine again met in the Reichstag at Berlin, on Tuesday, May 23rd, 1922, when there were present : for the Second International : MacDonald (Great Britain) ; Wauters (Belgium) ; Otto Wels (Germany) ; for the Vienna Union : Adler (Austria) ; Crispien (Germany) ; Bracke (France) ; for the Third International : Radek (Russia) ; Zetkin (Germany) ; Heckert.

In a memorandum submitted by Mr. MacDonald, the Second International surveyed what had happened since the last meeting from the point of view of the fulfilment of the three conditions which they considered to be indispensable to united action.

As to the trials, they were watching with doubt the nature of the procedure. Extracts were read from the Press consisting of official attacks upon Vandervelde, and appeals by leading Moscow Communists for mob action at the trials. Lenin was reported as having said that a judge who gave anything but the death sentence was a traitor. They would therefore await the report of their representatives at the trials.

As to Georgia, the Socialists had again risen in rebellion and defeated the Moscow troops, but had been brought under the yoke by strong reinforcements sent from Moscow, and by the imprisonment of their leaders. On the other hand, at Genoa, the representatives of the Russian Soviet Government had assumed the position of the ordinary capitalist imperialist plenipotentiaries, and treated Georgia as though it were nothing but an oil well or an oil pipe.

The delegates of the Second International proposed the appointment, without delay, of the Committee on Georgia, to which the Third International had assented, and asked that the documents promised to be presented should be supplied immediately.

With regard to the question of " good faith," the seven weeks which had passed since they last met had thrown some light on the matter.

In Britain it was being declared, in order to pacify the Communist Party there, that the Moscow leaders had devised this catchword in order to expose and entangle us and to accuse us face to face ; in France the policy of splitting the Trade Union Movement was still actively pursued ; in Norway, since they last met, orders had been issued by the Communist leaders, after consultation with Moscow, that the Trade Unions must be split rather than be allowed to continue affiliation with Amsterdam ; in Sweden, a feeble Communist Party, whilst behaving with great wisdom and discretion in Parliament, and supporting with exemplary loyalty and devotion the Social Democrat Government, as propagandists continued their disruptive attacks ; in Hungary, the organisation of a united political and industrial working-class power to counteract the tyranny of Horthy was still made impossible by Communist propaganda ; in

Czecho-Slovakia, disruptive tactics had been as active as ever; in Georgia, military force had been used to break up demonstrations of a united proletariat. From every one of the affiliated Parties of the Second International such reports had been received and conflicts at meetings leading to their disruption had been continued, evidently with the approval of the leaders.

Fuller details were given with regard to what had happened in Germany. The break-up of meetings by Communist violence continued, and had been carried to such a length that a Conference of the Building Trades, held in Leipzig, was the occasion of so much violence that the delegates left the town and returned only on guarantees of security given by the leaders of the Leipzig Trades Council. The virulence of the Press attacks had not been diminished one iota, and extracts were read showing that the Communists were continuing to explain that all they meant by the "united front" was tactics for the purpose of assailing and hampering the Second International.

The Executive of the Second International had again put on record that they would be no party to deceiving the working-class by appearing to take part in a unity which was a fraud, and was nothing more than an underhand tactic to allow "noyautage" and disruption to be pursued with greater effectiveness.

It was compelled to emphasise most strongly the differences between the Second and Third Internationals in fundamental conception of Socialist liberty and methods, and was of opinion that a General Conference would be possible only when the difficulties pointed out had been removed.

In their reply, the Third International would only agree to lay the promised documents on Georgia before a Commission of the three Executives when the General Conference had been convoked, and declared that if this Congress were not convoked within the shortest possible time, the Commission of Nine would have lost all justification for its continued existence. In any case, the freedom of defence granted by the Soviet Government for the trial of the Social Revolutionaries would not be curtailed.

Adler stated that the Vienna Union had now realised that it was impossible to have a General Conference. His Executive agreed that the minimum of agreement did not exist for the Conference or for the continuation of the Committee of Nine. He asked that the three delegations should report to their Executives.

Thereupon Radek announced that the Third International withdrew from the Committee.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE, LONDON.

The Second International convoked an International Conference in London, on Saturday, 17th June, to consider:—

(1) The political situation:
    (*a*) internally, (*b*) internationally of the countries represented.
(2) The industrial and economic situation, with special reference to the state of employment, Reparations, and the liquidation of international war obligations.
(3) The future of the International, in view of the break-up of the Committee of Nine.

The Vienna Union were informed that the Second International were perfectly willing to co-operate with them in every possible way to make it a full International Conference. The French and Italian Parties were invited to consider whether, in view of the terrible state of Europe, they

would waive all minor considerations and agree to co-operate. The Amsterdam Trades Union International was also asked if and how it could co-operate, so that whatever decisions were come to should carry the double weight of the political and industrial movement.

The two National Committees accepted the invitation to attend this Conference, and decided that they would be represented by :—

R. B. Walker ; Miss M. Bondfield ; J. B. Williams ; Jack Jones; M.P.; Neil Maclean, M.P. ; J. R. Clynes, M.P. ; and F. W. Jowett,

in addition to the British members of the Executive Committee of the Second International :—

A. Henderson, M.P. ; J. H. Thomas, M.P. ; H. Gosling, L.C.C. ; J. R. MacDonald ; and T. Shaw, M.P.

Five Country International Conference on Reparations and Disarmament.

The French Socialist Party convoked a conference on Reparations and Disarmament, and the invitation was accepted by the two National Committees. The Conference opened in the Salle Géographie, Boulevard St. Germain, on February 4th, 1922. There were present :—

France.—Paul Faure, Bracke, Leon Blum, Lebas, Auriol, Longuet, Dumoulin, Evrard, Varenne, Grumbach, Renaudel, Sembat.

Belgium.—De Brouckere, Vandervelde, Van Roosbroeck, De Man, Hubin, Bondas, Dejardins, Anseele.

Great Britain.—Purcell, Tillett, Wallhead, Riley, Shaw, Jowett, Gillies (*Secretary*).

The French Socialist Party had also invited the Italian and French Communist Parties. The Italian Communists sent a courteous but negative reply, and the French Communists explained that previous decisions prevented them from taking part.

Three German Parties had made arrangements to be represented—the Independents, affiliated to the Vienna Union ; the Social Democratic Party, affiliated to the Second International ; and the German Communist Party (Paul Levi Group) excommunicated by Moscow. The delegations of these Parties were unable to be present, however, because of the railway strike in Germany.

The Italian Socialist Party, which was one of the Parties to the letter of convocation, did not attend.

In view of the situation created by the ministerial crisis in Italy and the strike in Germany, it was considered inopportune to proceed with the debate on Reparations and Disarmament. The memoranda on these subjects submitted by the French Party were referred to special commissions, and the remainder of the conference was given to a debate on International Unity. The Conference, however, invited the French Socialist Party to call another conference of the interested countries in Frankfort within the shortest possible time for the purpose of discussing the economic situation of Europe with reference to the problem of Reparations.

The two National Committees agreed to be represented at the Frankfort Conference, which took place on February 25th, 26th and 27th, 1922. The following were present :—

COUNTRIES AND DELEGATES.

FRANCE.

French Socialist Party : Leon Blum, Paul Faure, Longuet, Auriol, Grumbach, Bracke, Renaudel and Evrard.

BELGIUM.

Belgian Labour Party : Vandervelde, Anseele, Dejardin, Hubin, Bondas, Huysmans, De Man, Van Roosbroeck.

GERMANY.

Social Democratic Party : Adolph Braun, Molkenbuhr, Hildenbrand, Wels, Stampfer, Bernstein, Hue, Silberschmidt, Sollman, Vogel.

Independent Social Democratic Party : Breitscheid, Dissman, Dittman, Crispien, Hilferding, Ledebour, Rosenfeld, Mathilde Wurm.

Communists : Paul Levi, Kurt Geyer.

GREAT BRITAIN.

Labour Party : Shaw and Jowett.

Trades Union Congress : Tillett and Purcell.

Independent Labour Party : Wallhead and Johnson.

Secretary : Gillies.

ITALY.

Italian Socialist Party : Serrati.

The Conference was a practical contribution towards a solution of the problem of International unity. Parties affiliated to the Second International conferred with parties affiliated to the Vienna Union. The Italian Socialists came out of their isolation and, for the first time since the Basle Congress, 1912, discussed international problems with German Socialists in an international conference.

The artificiality of the present disunity was exposed by the debates, since whenever differences of opinion were revealed, it was never found that parties ranged themselves on one side or another according to their respective Internationals.

Only the French and British Parties submitted written memoranda to the Conference for consideration.

The French documents resolved the question of reparations into one of the reconstruction of the devastated districts of France and Belgium. They proposed to create an international organisation of reconstruction including

(1) An International Reparations Bureau for the technical organisation and general administration of reconstruction;

(2) An International Credit and Issue Institute which would raise the necessary credits for the joint undertaking and control the movement of liquid securities, and

(3) An International Statistical Bureau which would direct the productive efforts of each country with a view to reconstruction, and bring about the balance of production and consumption which would (internationally) put an end to unemployment.

The British delegation asked that the proposals contained in the memorandum recently submitted to Mr. Lloyd George should be incorporated in the resolution.

The two following resolutions were finally adopted unanimously, apart from two reservations made by the British delegation :—

THE RESOLUTIONS.

On the eve of the Genoa Conference the delegates of the Socialist and Labour Parties of Germany, Belgium, Great Britain, France and Italy ;

Proclaiming the manifest failure of the policy of constraint and violence which has so far prevented the economic reconstruction of the world ;

Having the full conviction that Socialism alone, by establishing conditions that will allow and promote complete harmony amongst the nations and ensure universal sovereignty of labour, can provide a complete solution of difficulties created by the rivalries and anarchy of capitalism ;

But having also the conviction that a solution, even partial and temporary, can only be found by economic means founded on international solidarity ;

Convinced also that the question of Germany's capacity to pay is inseparable from the reconstitution of the economic life of the world, and especially of Russia, and in these conditions, that it is imperative to discuss these problems at the Conference of Genoa, have adopted unanimously the following resolution :—

The Reconstruction of the Devastated Regions.

The restoration of the devastated regions, in particular in Belgium and in France, must be assumed by Germany to the full extent of her capacity. The Trade Unions and Socialist organisations of Germany again proclaimed the necessity of these reparations at the Conferences held in Amsterdam in April, 1921, and pledged themselves to assist in carrying them out with all their energy, and with all the means at their disposal.

Actual experience, however, has demonstrated the failure of the reparation system conceived at Versailles. Germany's exports have not developed sufficiently to provide her with means of payment in gold. The German exchanges have collapsed to the extent of making the purchase of foreign currency extremely difficult. The general buying capacity of the world has shrunk to such an extent that German exports, whilst insufficient to provide her with the means to make the payments that had been imposed upon her, have yet sufficed to bring about a general unemployment crisis in the other industrial countries.

With regard to all these points, however, the weakness of the German Government in relation to the German capitalist class bears a part of the responsibility.

The problem is thus, on the one hand, to free France and Belgium from the burden which actually weighs upon them at present and, on the other hand, to enable Germany to make reparation without having to engage in operations which have a crushing effect on her exchanges and impoverishing and degrading the German working-class, and increase still more the export premium which, for the most part, strikes at the wages of their workers.

The solution of these problems can only be reached through measures of an international character such as those already laid down in detail by the Socialist and Trades Union Conferences of Amsterdam.

These measures pursued the two-fold aim of the rapid restoration of the devastated regions thus relieving France and Belgium from the burden of the necessary advances of money and of expenses already incurred, and of facilitating the financial rehabilitation of Germany by the granting of the necessary time and facilities for payment.

These measures would be :

(1) The adoption of a system of reparations in kind and in labour wherever it can be applied.

(2) The creation by all the Governments concerned of an international organisation for the reconstruction of the devastated areas.

(3) The cancellation of the burdens which have been imposed upon Germany under the heading of military pensions and separation allowances, contrary to the 14 points of President Wilson, which had been mutually accepted as the basis for the Armistice.

(4) The general cancellation of the inter-allied debts arising out of the war.

(5) Credits to the countries which are at present incapable of buying and of producing, *e.g.*, Russia, Austria, &c., of foodstuffs, machinery, and means of transportation, which are indispensable to them in order to fight famine and reconstruct their industry.

(6) The creation of an international organisation for reconstruction and credit in order

(*a*) To assure to the devastated countries advances of the sums which are indispensable for their restoration,

(*b*) To assist the countries ravaged by famine and enable them to re-enter the economic community of the nations,

(*c*) To internationalise the payment of pensions to the victims of the war, within the limits of possibility.

(7) The submission to impartial arbitration of all points arising out of this plan of reconstruction which gives rise to disputes.

To realise the work of the reconstruction of Europe, with which the problem of reparations is indissolubly connected, the world (as the delegates of the 39 countries represented at the International Conference at Brussels unanimously declared) must put an end to the rivalry and feelings of animosity which are the inevitable outcome of the world war.

In the first place, it is the duty of the Socialist and Labour Parties to combat that state of mind, to denounce the attempts of the capitalists to lay hands upon the countries ruined by war, and to make the utmost effort to frustrate such attempts.

Whilst waiting for the General International Socialist Conference, whose early meeting we greet and hope for, the Socialist and Labour Parties represented at Frankfurt are resolved to do whatever is in their power to oppose to the policy of compulsion and violence a policy of mutual help and international solidarity.

Disarmament.

The policy of recourse to force stands condemned in principle and by the facts.

The policy of international mutual aid necessary to the economic restoration of the world and the bringing into operation of the system of reconstruction by the solidarity of all our efforts, presupposes, in the first place and in any case, the immediate raising of the military penalties imposed at the time of the London ultimatum, and, immediately afterwards the cessation of the military occupations, which may involve new occupations, injure the feelings of the people in the occupied territories, absorb the sums collected by Germany for the reparation of the devastated countries and, nourishing the spirit of hatred, risk giving rise to new conflicts.

The policy of general disarmament which has always been followed by the whole working-class, belongs to the province of a general conference of all the Socialist Parties of the world, but the present conference declares that the most urgent duty, as a step towards total disarmament, is the immediate and effective reduction of military expenditure everywhere, and of armaments on land, on sea, and in the air.

Consequently, on the one hand, the German working-class will continue its effort to exercise through the trades union organisation, a vigilant control over the disarmament of the German armed forces, in men and materials, in order to prevent any manufacturing and any dissimulation, and thus maintain this disarmament.

On the other hand, the Labour and Socialist Parties of Great Britain, France and Italy, in order to combat armaments, will introduce through their Parliamentary representatives precise bills including these reductions. They will appeal to the working-class to support them with all its means and strength in this struggle against armaments.

The policy of the individual armament in each country, and also the policy of alliances which often and in fact by creating new hegemonies of groups of states should be replaced by an international understanding having for its aim disarmament by land and sea, and the guarantee of peace between the peoples.

It is necessary to realise international arbitration and the establishment of a true sovereign League of Nations, including all peoples, representing them and not their Governments, which will have authority to settle all conflicts between peoples, at the same time assuring and protecting free international economic traffic by land and sea.

The international understanding will be realised in a certain and lasting manner by the solidarity of the workers of all countries. The Conference affirms its complete solidarity with the decisions of the International Federation of Metal Workers, Miners and Transport Workers, and of the Trade Union International, declaring themselves ready to respond by a general strike to any new war.

Internationalisation of Pensions.

The British delegation divided the conference against the recommendation in favour of the Internationalisation of War Pensions, within the limits of possibility. It was impossible to read this paragraph except as interpreted by the more detailed proposals of the French Socialist Party.

All the delegates were unanimously of the opinion that it was wrong to demand that Germany should repay to the Allies the amounts which they have spent, and may yet spend, on pensions and separation allowances. But, according to the French, one consequence of the adoption of this policy would be the serious financial embarrassment of the countries whose casualties were greatest. The burden of pensions would be distributed according to the number killed and wounded; the greater the casualties the greater the burden to the mother country. In the French view this was morally indefensible, and they proposed that the burden of pensions should be pooled and that all countries, including neutrals, should co-operate in making contributions according to their means to a common fund for the payment of pensions. To the British delegation this was not practical politics. Moreover, as the British delegates had renounced all reparations whatever to Great Britain by the resolution adopted, and had also renounced the hundreds of millions of war debt owing to Great Britain by the Allies, they did not feel called upon to adopt a proposal which would in addition transfer to us part of the French burden for war pensions. If, on the contrary, the British Exchequer were to gain by the internationalisation of pensions, it could only do so at the expense of neutral countries, whose assistance for this purpose would not be invited, at any rate by the British Labour Movement.

Separate Treaties and Alliances.

An even more fundamental and serious divergence of opinion presented itself during the debate on the second resolution, the one on Disarmament. In this resolution it is stated that "the policy of alliances would often end in fact in creating new hegemonies of groups of states and should be replaced by an international understanding having for its aim disarmament by land and sea, and the guarantee of peace between the peoples."

The British delegation desired the substitution for this equivocal declaration of an explicit and outright condemnation of military alliances and conventions which would commit the Parties represented to oppose them in their Parliaments. Shaw, therefore, moved an amendment to the resolution with that object.

The Belgians found a difficulty in supporting the British because they had already agreed to a military convention with France. Camille Huysmans made it clear, in Frankfurt as in Paris, that this convention merely said that in the event of the invasion of Belgian soil certain military measures would be taken. The Belgian Socialists would welcome similar agreements with other countries. Vandervelde was concerned lest the French-Belgian Treaty should mean that Belgium would be dragged in the wake of French policy as typified by the word "Poincarism." He therefore desired a compensating treaty with Liberal England, and would vote for the Anglo-Belgian treaty. He declared that the Jingoes in Belgium were really opposed to this treaty, as they desired a free hand with France. For him to oppose the treaty in Belgium was to join the Jingoes. He took the decisions of conferences like this seriously. If the

conference asked the Belgians to oppose this treaty they would oppose it, but Vandervelde was convinced that it would be one of the greatest of political errors that the Belgian Labour Party had ever committed.

The German Independents (Ledebour) agreed with the British in principle, but they did not desire a condemnation of the Belgians for their actions in the past and asked us to withdraw our resolution. The invasion of Belgium was the greatest of the crimes committed, at the outbreak of the war. These treaties were a consequence of that crime.

The Majority Socialists of Germany (Wels) also called attention to the exceptional war psychology in Belgium, and declared that they thoroughly understood the Belgian position. They were satisfied with the resolution.

At this point in the debate Grumbach gave an exposition of the general attitude of the French Socialist Party on disarmament, and in reply the German Socialists made declarations of the highest importance.

Wels (Majoritarians) said that they looked back with horror and shame on the years of war lying behind them, and their watchword was " never again " shall there be a war. They felt the need for the restoration of the devastated areas in France exactly as the French did. Thanks to German Social Democracy, militarism in Germany was dead and would remain dead ; revival was impossible because the source of militarism, compulsory military service, had been suppressed. German Social Democrats were working in favour of the actual and moral disarmament of the German people.

Rosenfeld (Independents) laid stress on the fact that his party had fought the war, when the war was in their midst, and were proud to have fulfilled their obligations towards the International proletariat. They were doing that again by co-operating in the building of a new International. He pointed to a resolution of his party endorsing resolutions of the Trade Unions, including the metal workers, &c., in favour of the control of the production and transport of munitions, and calling upon the German workers to refuse to make any munitions, and to help the authorities to seize any munitions or arms forbidden by the Treaty.

Upon the resumption of the debate Tillett restated the case of the British Delegation for the amendment, drawing attention at the outset to the significance of these German declarations. There was more safety in the strength of our movement, he said, than in any pact that may be sealed by Parliaments or Presidents. Directly you began to speak of treaties, directly you began to move the military castes, the financial castes and the naval castes. We had been speaking as if Germany were still a great military power, whereas, even if the German people wished it, they could not create an army. As the German declaration had shown, the material disarmament of Germany was almost complete and her moral disarmament was in progress.

In deference to the opinions expressed the British Delegation withdrew their amendment, declaring at the same time that they reserved complete liberty of action to oppose all these military alliances involving a return to the pre-war conditions of a balance of power.

The French Socialist Party did not take part in the general debate on this subject.

FRANCO-BRITISH-BELGIAN RELATIONS.

Proposed Franco-British Pact.

The National Joint Council at a meeting on February 2nd, 1922, adopted and published the following manifesto :—

" This National Joint Council, representing the Labour Party, the Trades Union Congress, and the Parliamentary Labour Party, considers it necessary in the present emergency to make its position absolutely clear with regard to the proposed Pact with France. Two proposals have been made (1) of a general treaty of alliance, (2) of an agreement limited to a guarantee by this country that we will give military assistance to France in case of unprovoked aggression by Germany against French soil.

The Council is absolutely opposed to any treaty of alliance with any particular country for two reasons ; one, such a treaty inextricably involves the policy of Britain with the policy of some other country and that means that the people of this country may find themselves involved in a war owing to the policy or actions of their Ally over whom they have no control ; two, the Council is in favour of a real and inclusive League of Nations, and military alliances are fundamentally inconsistent with the idea of such a League.

The form of common action between Great Britain and France which is desirable is not any kind of military pact or guarantee but agreement, with the other Powers concerned, (*a*) to fix either by international agreement or by arbitration the reparation claim at a figure which Germany might reasonably be expected to pay, (*b*) to withdraw the armies of occupation from Germany, (*c*) to join with Great Britain in an effort to create a real League of Nations which will include Germany and Russia, will guarantee France equally with other nations, and will undertake the economic restoration and pacification of Europe.

The Council is absolutely opposed to any Pact involving a guarantee of military assistance by this country, and it demands that the Government do not enter into any such Pact without an appeal to the country. The Council believes that the only safe policy is that of a League of Nations in which all countries would reciprocally guarantee one another against unprovoked aggression and invasion. Until that League is created, the country should keep its hands absolutely free from any obligation of military assistance to any single Power or group of Powers."

Upon the return of the British Delegation from the Frankfurt Conference, a Joint Meeting of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress and the Executive Committee of the Labour Party once again condemned the proposed Alliance in the following resolution :—

" That this Joint Meeting of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress and the Executive Committee of the Labour Party, once again expresses the condemnation by the British Labour Movement of any Pact with France involving naval or military co-operation, and if the proposed Pact is proceeded with it calls upon the Government to submit the Pact to Parliament for its opinion before it becomes a Treaty binding the peoples of Great Britain and France.

" Only an international understanding having for its aim disarmament by land and sea and air, and the guarantee of peace between the peoples, can preserve the peoples from the menace of a new war.

" This understanding will be realised only through international arbitration, and a true League of Nations, including all peoples, and will be endangered by special military alliances between certain States over and against other States for the purpose of creating a balance of power."

In order to avert the danger of the French Labour Movement supporting the Pact whilst the British Labour Movement was at the same time denouncing it, it was later agreed that a delegation representing the two National Committees and the Parliamentary Party should proceed to Paris as soon as possible and interview representatives of the French General Confederation of Trades Unions and the French Socialist Party.

Conversations upon the subject took place in Paris between Tom Shaw, M.P., and Ben Tillett, M.P., representing the British Labour Movement, and representatives of the French Socialist Party and a Special Executive Council of the French General Confederation of Labour. Resolutions were exchanged between London and Paris.

Two representatives of the French Socialist Party, Leon Blum and Auriol, made a return visit and conferred with the Parliamentary Labour Party at the House of Commons. The interchange of opinion was still proceeding when the Genoa Conference was taking place and an extension of the military occupation of Germany was being threatened. The proposed Franco-British Pact had become of only relative importance, and it was proposed that a meeting of representatives should take place to discuss the more general problem of Franco-British Relations.

Conversations, therefore, took place at Brussels on May 17th, 18th and 19th, 1922, between representatives of the British, Belgian and French Parties.

There were present during these conversations :—

BELGIUM : De Brouckere, Huysmans, Wauters, Van Roosbroeck, Vlamynck and De Man.

FRANCE : Blum, Renaudel, Longuet, and Sembat.

GREAT BRITAIN : Henderson, MacDonald, Shaw, and Gillies.

Upon the conclusion of these conversations, the following resolution was unanimously adopted :—

THE RESOLUTION.

Recent international political events have shown once again, and more clearly than ever, the present danger of Europe and the world. The incapacity of existing governments to establish peace and effect economic restoration is every day more evident and now appears under a glaring light.

On the one hand, the 31st May approaches and the negotiatons between Germany and the Reparation Commission are not yet ended. The speech at Bar-le-Duc has placed the peoples under a menace of new military operations of which no one can foresee the fearful consequences.

On the other hand, the Conference at Genoa has been marked successively by the conflict of the majority of the Powers with Germany, the conflict with the Russian Soviet Government, the conflict with France and Belgium, the conflict between the Allies themselves. It has now separated without having realised the great hopes to which the convocation gave birth. The Conference has barely touched the economic problems which are essential to the reconstruction of Europe, although it has shown the half-concealed capitalist interests in action over all. The opposition of thought, of tendency, of interests between governments represented have been irritated instead of being allayed. By many signs which can be recognised in the East and in Central Europe, one can see the imminent danger of war.

Under the pressure of this condition of affairs, the representatives of the British Labour Party, the Socialist Party of France and the Labour Party of Belgium, have met at Brussels on the 17th and 18th May.

They affirm the strong determination of the people whom they represent to work in common for the maintenance and consolidation of close co-operation between their respective nations in order to reinforce peace, which has been seriously compromised by imprudent and mischievous statements and actions of governments. They recognise that they will only succeed in attaining their object if, in the first place, close co-operation between their respective organisations in brought about :

(1) By the exchange of precise information on the exact situation in their different countries, with the object of destroying the false impressions so often created by the campaigns of the bourgeois Press and news telegrams issued by official agencies, impressions which in their turn aggravate the misunderstandings and at times excite quarrels.

(2) Further, by the organisation of political action and campaigns, and more especially by common Parliamentary action undertaken at the same time in the three countries with the same programme and in the same spirit.

The Conference decides to make this co-operation effective, to undertake this work and to carry it through without delay.

Its attention has been specially drawn to the possibility of a military occupation of the Ruhr, in regard to which it unanimously affirms the following principles :—

(*a*) It reaffirms the resolutions unanimously voted at Amsterdam and Frankfort by the representatives of the working-classes of Germany, Great Britain, Belgium and France, declaring the economic and moral necessity of reparations, and showing that their execution depends upon the economic and financial co-operation of all the interested nations.

(*b*) It declares that Article 18, annexe 2, part 8 of the Treaty of Versailles cannot be interpreted by us to give to a Power the right of executing any penalty whatever against Germany, even if in default.

The delegates cannot accept the idea that it is in accordance with the conception of justice in a civilised world that the debtor can be handed over to the mercy of the creditor, as under the primitive Roman law.

(*c*) Strongly determined as they are to avoid the recurrence of war, they cannot admit military penalites which would really be war under a sinister form.

(*d*) They particularly condemn the practice of isolated actions which would quite clearly be an even more imminent danger to peace.

(*e*) They declare that the difficulties arising from the execution of treaties must be solved in conformity with the ideas of modern justice, by the arbitration of an impartial court appointed by an all-inclusive League of Nations.

The Parties represented pledge themselves to begin immediately a campaign in their respective countries on the lines formulated above. Each of the three Parties will organise, with the least possible delay, public demonstrations in which representatives of the two other Parties will take part.

On the other hand, the three Parties consider it to be indispensable that the organised working-class should keep a strict watch over the work of the Hague Conference. They pledge themselves to take the necessary steps—the British and Belgian Labour Parties, with the Executive Committee of the Second International, and the French Party with the Executive of the Vienna Union—to call a Labour Conference at the Hague during the sittings of the Conference of the Governments. In order to assure the necessary continuity of action amongst themselves and to continue the task of mutual enlightenment already commenced in the present meeting, and to dissipate the misunderstandings which exist, they decide to exchange precise information concerning the position of their respective Parties, and of public opinion in their countries. If circumstances demand it, a new sitting of this Conference will be immediately called by the Belgian Labour Party, or at the request of any of the Parties.

In any case, a new session will be held before the 26th June, the date for which the official Hague Conference has been called.

The speakers at these meetings gave a frank exposition of the state of public opinion in their respective countries.

Public Opinion in Great Britain.

The British speakers showed the connection between the present unemployment situation in Great Britain and the pacific international policy which the Government were now pursuing. The financier and the unemployed workman in Britain were not in conflict on this question. They both desired the speedy and complete revival of international trade relations. British eyes saw in Germany a future market, the French seemed to see in Germany only a future army of invasion. Britain was really no longer interested in reparations ; on the other hand it seemed, according to British opinion, that the French were willing to push their demand for reparations to a point which would end in the economic enslavement and political dismemberment of Germany.

To the British people the French policy was militaristic—the relations between Poland and Russia, for example, were the relations of an Ally trying to push Poland into war, that the French were endeavouring to maintain peace in Europe by establishing an equilibrium of military force. The British point of view, generally, was that this policy would inevitably bring about a new war. This was the moment to begin a new era in foreign policy and not simply to repeat the errors of the past.

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The British public did not believe that France was in any real danger, but rather that French policy was provoking danger by encouraging the anti-democratic forces in Germany, and driving her in despair into the arms of any other country that would help her. There were very few people in Great Britain who did not believe in the justice of the demand for the restoration of the devastated regions of France and Belgium at the expense of the German people. The British working-class were especially convinced that the only policy which would bring reparations to France and Belgium was one which retained the sympathy of the German working-class who alone could get reparations.

In brief, to English eyes, France was seen as the obstacle to the general economic reconstruction of Europe, which was a matter of life or death to the British people, and was pursuing a militarist policy for the sake of reparations and security; which was leading inevitably to new combinations and future wars. Hence the hostility in Great Britain to the French policy.

Public Opinion in France.

The French delegates explained how the French mind was dominated by the fear of the rapid economic recovery of Germany, and as a consequence, the revival of her military strength and the possibility of revenge. It was a morbid condition of the nerves which would exist even if there were no facts to justify it. The British people had not known the same fear since the days of Napoleon. One speaker (a Belgian) stated that the difference in the British and French standpoints with regard to security was to be attributed to the fact that the North Sea was wider than the Rhine, and that the German Fleet was at the bottom of the sea.

The Government of the day could and did play upon that fear of Germany, which had been aggravated by the discovery of hidden arms in Germany and by the Treaty of Rapallo, both dramatised by the Press. The French Socialists had to combat this fear on the lines that France should be guaranteed security, but by an international organisation that would guarantee the security of all nations. It was, however, difficult for the Socialists to get a hearing when they preached that doctrine.

Another strong idea in the French mind was that the French Government would speedily become bankrupt unless help reaches them from outside. This belief in the impending bankruptcy of France was said to be justified by the actual condition of French finances. Our French comrades were of opinion that higher taxation would prevent the economic recovery of France.

With this fear of bankruptcy there was a general belief that Germany could pay, and that France was being left in the lurch by her Allies, especially Great Britain. The average Frenchman believes that the British are selfish. They have had the German colonies and the German mercantile marine; they had seen the German Navy disappear; they had, therefore, not the same interest as the French in making Germany pay.

Despite all this the French comrades believed that the only possible French policy was contained in our Amsterdam and Frankfort resolutions.

The general position, therefore, was that in France there was no unemployment, but there was a financial crisis due to the cost of reconstructing the devastated regions, and a feeling of insecurity existed. In Great Britain there was unemployment, but, relatively speaking, no financial crisis and no feeling of national insecurity.

Our French comrades denied that France was imperialistic in the true sense of the word. There was nationalism and militarism, national pride and belief in military power, but no imperialism, no desire for conquest, aggression or expansion, not even amongst the reactionaries.

The occupation of Cilicia had to be terminated under pressure of public opinion because of the expense. A similar decision might be taken at any time with regard to Syria.

There were people in France who were actuated by the idea of overstressing the demands for reparation in order to find motives for extending the political influence of France. But they formed a negligible minority. There was no chance of their ever getting a majority so long as the French people were as much opposed to mobilisation as they now are.

The arguments of the militarists, however, were reinforced by the belief that Germany was trying to re-build the military machine, that a strong arm was necessary to compel her to pay what she has agreed to pay. There were two Germanys. In France the strength of the militarist party in Germany was not under-estimated.

The French Socialists condemned the policy of their Government in the use of violence for the solution of problems which could not be solved by violence. In the event of an invasion of the Ruhr, Socialists would have powerful allies in French business circles, and in the hostility to mobilisation amongst the masses.

Therefore, as we had to make a distinction between the two Germanys, so we had to recognise that more than one opinion was held by the French people.

Both the French and Belgian comrades were of opinion that oil had played a big part at Genoa. The Russians used their oil to blackmail the others. The British Government had interests in the Shell Company. Jaspar was merely a spokesman for the Standard Oil Company. In many questions the French Government were merely voicing the opinion of the Standard Oil Company.

Public Opinion in Belgium.

Unlike France, Belgium had an unemployment problem. The foreign policy of Belgium had two main economic motives. From the financial standpoint, they were with the French on reparations; they were with the British in the reconstruction of Europe for industrial and commercial reasons.

Nearly all the Belgians believed that reparations were a necessity. They had expounded the Frankfort programme on reparations in their Chamber and there was no reply from the bourgeois benches. But in the lobbies, agreement with their views was expressed even by leading political personages.

Their worst reproach was that their Government lacked initiative and had not pressed their point of view strongly, especially against the French. But British Socialists ought to realise the undoubtedly strong French influence acting upon Belgian public opinion. The leading papers in Belgium were inspired by the French Embassy. The French Press had a circulation in Belgium of 150,000 copies daily.

With regard to Genoa, it ought to be remembered that numbers of workmen held the opinion that if it appeared that Belgian property in Russia could not be recovered, it should at least be made certain that no other capitalists were going to get that property. If the idea were to hand over Belgian property to British capitalists then the Belgian attitude was justified.

The working-class knew that they would pay very heavily if they followed the adventurous policy of the French in regard to the further military occupation of Germany. On the other hand, there was a strong desire that Belgium and France should get reparations, and that some of the financial burdens that now weigh on Belgium and France should be taken up by countries in a more favourable financial position, especially England and the United States.

The Egyptian Situation.

A declaration on the policy of the Government in Egypt was made in the following terms by a Joint Meeting of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress and your Executive Committee on January 4th, 1922, as follows :—

British Labour and the Egyptian Situation.

The present policy of the Government in Egypt is producing in that country precisely the same effect as its similar policy did in Ireland.

The Milner Commission, a Commission appointed by the Government itself, presented its report nearly a year and a half ago. It explicitly recognised the right of the people of Egypt to independence, and proposed measures " in order to establish the independence of Egypt on a secure and lasting basis."

It was incumbent upon the Government to take immediate steps to act upon the Report of this Commission and to establish Egyptian independence through a treaty negotiated between itself and a duly-elected Government of the Egyptian people. It did nothing of the sort.

After long delay, which naturally made British intentions suspect, and played into the hands of Egyptian extremists, it at last entered into negotiations with the Ministry of Adly Pasha.

As soon as these negotiations began, it was clear that no real independence was to be offered to Egypt ; the army of occupation was to remain in Egypt ; the power of the Egyptians to control their foreign relations is reduced to a shadow ; Judicial and Financial Commissioners were to be given wide powers of interference in the internal administration.

Even so moderate a politician as Adly Pasha, who was friendly in every way to the British Government, refused to agree to these proposals, and resigned.

There is no Egyptian of any power or repute who will now even form a Government in Egypt.

The British Government has, therefore, once more had to resort to a military government and extreme forms of repression, and the natural result has been a recrudescence of riots and violent reaction against British rule.

The British Administration has now deported Zaglul Pasha to Ceylon.

The General Council of the T.U.C. and the Executive Committee of the Labour Party protest against this deportation which is a challenge to the right of the Egyptian people even to express their national aspirations. The deportation of Zaglul Pasha is moreover futile because in Egypt, as in Ireland, the oppression of nationalist leaders by the foreigner stimulates nationalist feeling.

The Egyptians should be given a full and free opportunity to elect a Government to represent them, and a treaty should be negotiated with that Government " in order to establish the independence of Egypt on a secure and lasting basis."

Georgia.

At the Brighton Conference, the Party expressed its sympathy with the Georgian people, and its conviction that they should be allowed a choice, free from military pressure, in determining the form of government under which they are to live. It supported the proposal for the taking of a free vote of the Georgian electorate under the auspices of a Mixed Commission representing the Socialist and Communist Parties of the rest of the world, or by any other means that might be found practicable.

This proposal was made to the Communist International through the Executive Committee of the Second International, and rejected. The Second International thereupon adopted the following resolution, which your Executive Committee endorsed on December 7th, 1921 :—

" That after considering the reply of the Georgian Communist Party to the suggestion of the Executive Committee of the Second International in favour of a referendum in Georgia under the control of a mixed commission, and ignoring the insults directed against the international Socialist movemeut in that reply, the Executive Committee declares :—

(1) That the territory of Georgia has been occupied by the troops of Moscow, whose Government is supporting in Georgia a power foreign to a hostile population and is alone responsible, in the eyes of the world proletariat, for the destruction of the Georgian republic and for the regime of terror which has been set up in that country.

(2) That the responsibility thus resting on the Moscow Government is becoming more serious in view of recent events in Georgia, in particular the strikes of protest among the workers, which have been stifled by violence following the example of reactionary Governments.

(3) That at a time when the Moscow Government is asking for recognition among other States, it should, if it wishes its own rights to be respected, respect equally the rights of other peoples and not violate the elementary principles which should form the basis of the community of civilised nations.

In consequence. the Executive Committee

(1) Renews insistently its demand that the troops of the Russian Government be withdrawn from Georgia and an opportuinty be given to the Georgian people to decide their own fate.

(2) Recommends all affiliated Parties, when the time comes for them to determine their attitude towards the recognition of the Moscow Government, to take into account the bearing of this question upon the problem of the liberation of the neighbouring peoples and, in particular, of the Georgian democracy, which asks to be set free from all foreign yoke."

The subject of Georgia was again considered by the National Joint Council on February 2nd, 1922, in view of the forthcoming Conference at Genoa, and the following resolution was adopted :—

" The National Joint Council representing the Labour Party, the Trades Union Congress, and the Parliamentary Labour Party, re-affirms the conviction expressed from time to time by their respective National Conferences that only on the basis of a free democratic vote of the people concerned can any stable or satisfactory settlement of territorial questions be arrived at. The Council declares that this principle is applicable to the disputed question of the national status of Georgia and urges the Briitsh Government, which has recognised the independence of Georgia, to bring about a solution of the Georgian question at the Genoa Conference in conformity with the principles of democracy."

India.

A resolution upon the situation in India was adopted by the National Joint Council on February 21st, 1922, and published, as follows :—

" In the opinion of the National Joint Council, representing the General Council of the Trades Union Congress, the Executive Committee of the Labour Party, and the Parliamentary Labour Party, the antagonisms now growing in India are disastrous to the future relations of the British and Indian peoples.

Whilst realising the necessity of preserving order in India, the Council deplores the political arrests that have taken place and the " blood and iron " policy which the recent speech of the Prime Minister seems to foreshadow.

The Council deplores no less the action of the Non-Co-operators in boycotting those Parliamentary institutions recently conferred upon India, by means of which grievances should be ventilated and wrongs redressed.

As it is the settled policy of Great Britain (under the Government of India Act, 1920) to place India, as soon as may be, in the position of a self-governing Dominion, and in order to re-establish good relations between the peoples, the Council urges both Indian Democrats and H.M. Government to join in a conference, composed of all shades of political thought, to consider the possibilities of a peace based upon :

(1) An Amnesty ;
(2) The dropping of the practice of non-co-operation ;
(3) A time limit for the transition stages of partial self-government ;
(4) Fresh elections, at least to the Legislative Assembly."

BRITISH-AMERICAN RELATIONS.

The National Joint Council on November 18th issued the following statement on relations between Great Britain and the United States of America :—

British Labour has viewed with regret certain tendencies which have lately made themselves felt in the relations between Great Britain and the U.S.A. All observers agree that the relations between the two countries tended to become less close and cordial after the war, and that on certain points of foreign and domestic policy feelings of hostility actually grew up in some circles. What those points are, and what are the causes and grounds of the ill-feeling are well known.

In view of the Washington Conference, British Labour proposes to make a frank statement of its position with regard to the situation and of its policy with regard to the particular causes of hostility. It is aware that in doing this its action may be misinterpreted or misused, particularly by groups and interests in one or other country which are deliberately fomenting hostility. But the advantages from a frank statement of policy will outweigh the obvious dangers.

Friendliness for America.

British Labour speaks for that class in this country which, at the great crisis in American history, admittedly gave solid proof of its friendly feelings towards the American people, and of its sympathy with their political ideals. The labouring class in Great Britain is still animated by the same feelings and sympathy, and that is why it has always supported a policy of friendship and co-operation between Great Britain and the United States. The main questions which led to friction between the two countries are four: Ireland, Disarmament, the Anglo-Japanese Alliance and the Peace Settlement; each of these must be dealt with separately.

Ireland.

The Irish situation has accounted for a large part of the hostility which has lately grown up between the U.S.A. and Britain, and we realise that there can be no solid friendship and co-operation between the two countries until the Irish question is equitably settled.

British Labour has always opposed the policy of coercion which led to such disastrous results in the last few years. It is now about twelve months ago that it began a great campaign throughout the country urging the necessity of a truce and the peaceful settlement of the Irish question by means of negotiations between the British Government and the Sinn Fein leaders.

If Conference Fails.

These proposals met with considerable support in the country, and there is no doubt that this evidence of the feeling among the masses of the population led up to the present truce and negotiations. This has itself been followed by a marked change in the attitude of the House of Commons.

Should the present Conference fail, Labour will continue to demand for the Irish people whatever Constitution for Ireland the Irish people desire, subject only to two conditions, that it affords protection to minorities and that the Constitution should prevent Ireland from becoming a military or naval menace to Great Britain—a policy which has been accepted by Irish Labour.

We are convinced that the main volume of British opinion is not materially at variance with American opinion on the Irish question.

One of the most disquieting symptoms in international affairs is that within a year of the end of the war all the old questions of competition in armaments should have begun again under new forms.

Disarmament.

British Labour has steadily stood for a policy of general disarmament, and would support any proposals, from whatever quarters, in this direction. It would oppose absolutely any idea of this country entering a competition in naval armaments with the U.S.A.

As regards the special question of naval armaments which peculiarly concerned this country, the U.S.A. and Japan, Labour would support any agreement between the three countries imposing an obligatory and drastic reduction and limitation of naval armaments. It is also in favour of an extension of this agreement to other countries and also to military armament.

The facts with regard to complete disarmament must be faced. Labour has always held that complete disarmament depends upon the acceptance by the various nations, and particularly the Great Powers, of certain principles of international policy and organisation.

First, nations will not disarm unless they know that there are a regular method and machinery in existence for equitable settlement of international disputes, and unless they have, irrespective of their military strength or weakness, a guarantee against aggression. Labour has, therefore, always supported the idea of an Association of all nations as the only practicable alternative to armaments and war. But such an Association must be open to all nations, and all the great nations must join such an Association prepared to undertake these obligations—without which wars are inevitable.

Secondly, complete disarmament is not practicable unless there is a general international settlement of an equitable and permanent character. No nation will permanently accept conditions which penalise it racially, politically or economically. Such conditions exist to-day inside and outside Europe as the result of the Peace Treaties and Labour holds that a revision of these unjust and penal terms is a condition precedent to any complete disarmament.

Equal Economic Opportunities.

Thirdly, it is improbable that there can be any complete disarmament, or indeed, any sure foundations of a world peace, unless a considerable measure of equality of economic opportunity is assured to all nations. Labour opposes the idea that the possession of territory by one nation gives it the right to deny to the citizens of other nations access across it, or to its ports or to its raw materials. It has given and will again give proof of its adherence to this idea by opposing attempts to deny equal economic opportunity to the citizens of all nations in non-self-governing territory under British control. It realises that if nations see themselves shut out in these ways from the world's highways, riches, trade and markets. they will inevitably take the earliest opportunity of claiming a share by force of arms.

Equality of economic opportunity to the citizens of all nations, whether in Africa or Mesopotamian oil fields, or on the Panama Canal, is therefore a condition precedent to real peace and complete disarmament.

Anglo-Japanese Alliance.

British Labour recognises the existence of, and the reasons for, the widespread hostility in the U.S.A. against the continuance of this Alliance.

Under no Alliance could Labour contemplate being dragged into a war with America.

Labour stands for reliance upon a real and general Association of all Nations as a guarantee of peace both in Asia and the rest of the world. Such an Association would show all partial alliances unnecessary and dangerous.

Labour, therefore, holds that, since both Japan and Britain are members of the existing League, the Treaty of Alliance should not be renewed, a policy in which it has the support of the public opinion of British Dominions.

The Peace Treaties.

Labour has from the first protested against many of the economic and territorial terms imposed by the Treaties. It holds, as is pointed out above, that, unless these penal clauses are revised, and a settlement founded upon impartial justice substituted, there can be no firm foundation for international peace and disarmament.

The terms of the settlement, however, which peculiarly concern this country and its relations with the U.S.A. are those which deal with the proposal of the overseas possessions of Germany and certain parts of the Ottoman Empire.

Removing Friction.

Labour is opposed to the incorparation of any of this territory in the British Empire ; it proposes that these areas shall be dealt with under the Mandate system, and that that system shall be applied to them strictly in accordance with the spirit and letter of Article 22 of the Covenant.

If that course be pursued, there can be no cause for friction between the two countries either over African or Mesopotamian territory, and indeed they would welcome the acceptance by America of any of the mandates at present " enjoyed " by this country.

British Labour has in the above paragraphs expressed itself frankly on the four questions particularly affecting the relations of Britain and the U.S.A. It has stated its own policy and outlook, which it believes to be shared by the great mass of British workers.

Signed on behalf of the National Joint Council,

R. B. WALKER, *Chairman.*

ARTHUR HENDERSON, *Secretary.*

RUSSIAN FAMINE FUND.

A request having been made for the British Labour Movement to co-operate to a greater extent than hitherto in the securing of relief to meet the needs of the Russian peasants in the famine area, the Joint International Committee, on February 1st, agreed that the most appropriate and effective action that could be taken was for the two National Committees to urge the British Government to grant relief credits on a more considerable scale than had been previously provided. The Prime Minister was accordingly requested to receive a deputation representative of the National Committees and the organisations especially concerned with famine relief work. The Prime Minister, however, could not see his way to receive the deputation, but explained that he was in possession of full information of the state of affairs in Russia, as a result of personal conversation with Dr. Nansen, who, at that time, was appealing for a sum of £3,000,000 to cope with what he termed "the most appalling famine in recorded history." Unfortunately the Government failed to put forward any proposal calculated to minimise to any considerable extent the mass of "human poverty, wretchedness, desolation, hunger, pestilence, horror and despair" which Mr. Lloyd George has more recently described in the House of Commons as being Russia's present lot.

Fraternal Delegates to Conferences of Foreign Parties.

At the Jubilee Celebrations of the Danish Social Democratic Party in July, Mr. A. Henderson, M.P. and Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald, acted as delegates for the Labour Party.

Mr. F. W. Jowett represented the Labour Party at the Annual Conference of the Polish Socialist Party at Lodz.

Mr. T. Shaw, M.P., and Mr. F. B. Varley represented the Party at the Annual Conference of the French Socialist Party (S.F.I.O.) in Paris, and also at that of the Belgian Labour Party in Brussels.

Joint International Department.

The International Department is now one of the Joint Departments of the Trades Union Congress and the Labour Party, with Mr. Gillies as the responsible officer, and Secretary of the Joint International Committee.

The Joint International Committee consists of the following :—

Trade Union Congress.	*Labour Party Executive.*
R. B. Walker (*Chairman*).	Jack Jones, M.P.
Miss Margaret Bondfield.	J. Ramsay MacDonald.
E. L. Poulton.	Neil Maclean, M.P.
J. B. Williams.	Tom Shaw, M.P.
	W. Gillies (*Secretary*).

JOINT RESEARCH AND INFORMATION DEPARTMENT.

On January 1st of this year the Advisory Committees, Information Bureau and Library of the Labour Party were merged in the Joint Research and Information Department of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress and the Labour Party Executive Committee, in accordance with the co-ordination scheme adopted by the Labour Party Conference last June, and by the Trades Union Congress in September. It is impossible to separate the work of the Advisory Committees and the Information Bureau before the transference took place from the general activities of the Joint Research and Information Department of which

they now form a part, and the following paragraphs therefore deal with the past year as a whole, as far as the Advisory Committees and the Information Bureau are concerned.

The Committee of the new Department consists of the following representatives of the Labour Party Executive and the General Council of the Trades Union Congress :—

Labour Party Executive.	*Trades Union Congress.*
Sidney Webb (*Chairman*).	J. W. Bowen.
Frank Hodges.	A. B. Swales.
W. H. Hutchinson.	John Turner.
A. Susan Lawrence.	A. G. Walkden.
	Arthur Greenwood (*Secretary*).

The staffs of the Advisory Committees, Information Bureau and Library were appointed to the Joint Department, and Mr. W. Milne-Bailey, B.A., Research Officer of the Union of Post Office Workers, and Mrs. Barbara Wootton, Director of Economic Studies, Girton College, Cambridge, were appointed as research workers. The former joined the Staff in March and Mrs. Wootton took up part-time work in April, pending full release from her duties at Cambridge.

The establishment of the Research Department entailed a considerable amount of preparatory work, and as the staff has only recently been strengthened, it will be seen that, apart from the Advisory Committees and the Information Bureau, the Report represents the work done during the past few months.

The Department prepared the greater part of the material for the forthcoming Handbook for Speakers, which is designed to provide in convenient form the material which may be useful for speakers on Labour platforms. The material collected has been derived from official sources and authorities on the several subjects. It is hoped that the information contained in the Handbook will be kept up to date by the issue of supplementary material.

The Department is now preparing material for the Labour Year Book, the publication of which is to be resumed with the issue of a Year Book for 1923.

During last autumn when the Labour Party Executive and the General Council of the Trades Union Congress were giving due consideration to the question of unemployment, the Secretary of the Department acted in a secretarial capacity to the delegation appointed to meet the Prime Minister.

The National Joint Council has referred to the Department a number of questions on which memoranda have been prepared for the Council. These include :—

(1) " Labour and National Economy." This memorandum contains an examination of the proposals of the Geddes Committee so far as they affected the social services, and of the Government's policy, and was published by the National Joint Council in pamphlet form.

(2) Unemployment Insurance. This memorandum includes a history of unemployment insurance in this country and a statement of the arguments for and against insurance by industry. The document is now in the press.

(3) The suggested amalgamation of health and unemployment insurance.

(4) Old Age Pensions.

(5) Shop Hours.

(6) The position in the Shipbuilding Industry.

Other memoranda in preparation for the National Joint Council include :—

(1) The operation of the Blind Persons Act, 1920.

(2) The State Regulation of Industry (an examination of the scope and defects of existing labour legislation).

(3) The administrative defects of the Unemployment Insurance Acts.

The National Joint Council has set up a special committee of enquiry into the causes impeding production and to advise upon a Labour policy for industries not ripe for nationalisation The Secretary of the Research Department has been appointed Secretary of the Committee and the Department is preparing material for the use of the Committee.

The following Reports have been prepared for the General Council of the Trades Union Congress :—

(1) The attack on Wages and Hours.

(2) The Machinery of Negotiations and Methods of Remuneration with special reference to the Sliding Scales based on the cost of living. This report, which is a lengthy document, is now being printed.

A memorandum on the Trade Union Act (1913) Amendment Bill was prepared for the two National Executives and the Department was instructed to prepare a pamphlet dealing with the attack upon trade unionism.

The following memoranda are in course of preparation for the General Council :—

(1) The Operation of the Fair Wages Clause.

(2) The influence of unemployment insurance and health insurance upon trade unionism.

The Department has also prepared for the Joint Research Committee a Memorandum on the Legal Minimum Wage, and the Committee of the Department has been in consultation with representatives of the General Council on the question of the Minimum Wage.

The Information Bureau has continued throughout the year its regular work of answering enquiries from correspondents in regard to Labour policy and facts of interest to Labour speakers and writers. Until the cessation of the Labour Party Bulletin, material was supplied in that form. In particular information was collected concerning the finances of local authorities. The Bureau has been able from time to time to assist Labour Members of the House of Commons with necessary material.

The preparation of the schedules for the voting records of Members of Parliament has been continued. The records contain an account of all the divisions during each Parliamentary session, which are important from the Labour point of view, and the number of votes on each division. A record is kept of the voting of all members of the House of Commons on these divisions. Those who are interested may obtain for each Parliamentary session the actual voting record of any Member of Parliament as regards the divisions included in the list.

The Committee of the Joint Research Department reconstituted the Advisory Committees as follows :—

Agricultural and Rural Problems ..	*Chairman :* Walter Smith, M.P. *Vice-Chairman :* Mr. Geo. Dallas. *Secretary :* Arthur Greenwood (*pro tem.*).
Army, Navy and Pensions Problems ..	*Chairman :* F. O. Roberts, M.P. *Vice-Chairman :* Capt. E. Gill, M.C. *Secretary :* Dr. H. B. Morgan.
Education	*Chairman :* Tom Myers, M.P. *Vice-Chairman :* R. H. Tawney. *Secretary :* G. S. M. Ellis.
Finance and Commerce ..	*Chairman :* W. Graham, M.P. *Vice-Chairman :* Ald. Emil Davies, L.C.C. *Secretary :* Mrs. C. D. Corbett Fisher.
Home Office and Mines ..	*Chairman :* Rt. Hon. W. Adamson, *M.P.* *Vice-Chairman :* Vernon Hartshorn, M.P. *Secretary :* R. Page Arnot.
Industrial Affairs ..	*Chairman :* W. Lunn, M.P. *Vice-Chairman :* W. H. Hutchinson. *Secretary :* A. S. Firth.
International Questions ..	*Chairman :* Tom Shaw, M.P. *Vice-Chairman :* H. N. Brailsford. *Secretary :* L. S. Woolf.
Legal System and Administration of Justice	*Chairman :* C. J. Mathew, K.C. *Secretary :* H. H. Slesser.
Local Government	*Chairman :* Stephen Walsh, M.P. *Vice-Chairman :* F. W. Jowett. *Secretary :* Mrs. W. Bolton.
Machinery of Government ..	*Chairman :* Rt. Hon. J. R. Clynes, M.P. *Vice-Chairman :* H. B. Lees-Smith. *Secretary :* H. Shayler.
Public Health	*Chairman :* Jack Mills, M.P. *Vice-Chairman :* Dr. Bygott. *Secretary :* G. P. Blizard.

A conference on agricultural and rural policy was called by the Labour Party Executive last summer, and the drafting committee which prepared the report on "Labour and the Countryside" was constituted as the nucleus of a Standing Advisory Committee. This new Committee has under consideration the milk question, rents of ex-service settlers, agricultural credit banks, agricultural insurance, and land drainage. There can be little doubt that the Agricultural and Rural Problems Committee will be of great service to the Labour movement in advising upon a wide range of important economic and political questions.

In addition to the foregoing standing committees, *ad hoc* committees have been set up to report upon specific questions. The Labour Party Executive appointed a Committee to report upon the Douglas-New

Age Credit Scheme. This Committee has presented an Interim Report on the Scheme and proposes in a further report to examine the banking and credit system in greater detail and to submit a Labour policy.

Following upon the appointment of the Royal Commission on the Government of Greater London, the Executive set up an Advisory Committee to consider the problem from the Labour point of view and to submit a policy. The draft Report was submitted to a Conference of Labour representatives from the areas concerned, and at a second Conference the Report, after amendment, was adopted and has now been published. The Report contains much valuable information and a coloured map of the Greater London area.

In view of the appointment of a General Committee on the question of percentage grants to Local Authorities (arising out of the Report of the Geddes Committee) the Joint Sub-Committee of the Local, General and Finance and Commerce Advisory Committees dealing with local finance is giving careful attention to the questions raised by the terms of reference of the General Committee.

The Labour Party Executive also set up during the year a Committee on Currency.

The various Advisory Committees have submitted their memoranda on current problems from time to time to the Executive, the General Council and the Parliamentary Party. The memoranda prepared and discussed by the Advisory Committees during the past year number in all 184, covering a wide range of subjects. Some of these memoranda have been published in the Labour Press Service, the Bulletin or in pamphlet form.

The following publications prepared by Advisory Committees have been issued since the last Annual Report of the Labour Party Executive was presented :—

" Secondary Education for All." (Education Advisory Committee, edited by R. H. Tawney, Vice-Chairman of the Committee, and published in book form.)

" The Labour Movement and the Hospital Crisis." (Public Health Advisory Committee.)

" The War for Coal and Iron." (International Questions Advisory Committee.)

" The Citizens' Charter : Why the Vested Interests oppose the Labour Party's Enabling Bill." (Local Government Advisory Committee.)

A revised edition of " The Preventive and Curative Medical Services " has been prepared by the Public Health Committee and a pamphlet on " The Training of Teachers " has been completed by the Education Committee. A pamphlet on " Nursery Schools " is in the press and the International Committee has in preparation a pamphlet on " Foreign Policy."

Leaflets on a number of subjects have been prepared for election and other purposes.

The Legal Advisory Committee, in conjunction with the Industrial Affairs Advisory Committee has prepared an amending Workmen's Compensation Bill, and redrafted the Prevention of Unemployment Bill.

Thanks are due to the Chairmen, Vice-Chairmen, Secretaries and members of the Advisory Committees for their voluntary services during the past year.

The Fabian Society offered to place Heathfield, Ilkley, at the disposal of the Joint Research Department for the week ending August 12th, for the purposes of a Summer School under the auspices of the Labour Party and the General Council of the Trades Union Congress. The offer has been accepted and arrangements are being made for a Summer School on Labour Problems and Policy.

An effort has been made to improve the Library, more particularly on the trade union side, and affiliated organisations are requested to supply the library with copies of their journals, agreements, reports and other documents.

Reference has been made above to some of the enquiries which are already in progress. The Research Department is also preparing a syllabus of study on Labour policy in response to enquiries for a guide to groups, study circles and individuals.

The Department co-operated with the Joint International Department and the Joint Press Department, on the Handbook for Speakers, and is in co-operation with these Departments regarding the Labour Year Book. It has been arranged that the Research and International Departments will co-operate in the preparation of reports for the guidance of British Labour delegates to the International Labour Conference. The Research Department is supplying a regular contribution to the "Labour Magazine" and has occasionally contributed to the "Labour Woman." The Department has co-operated through the Advisory Committees with the Standing Joint Committee of Industrial Women's Organisations.

JOINT PRESS AND PUBLICITY DEPARTMENT.

The Labour Party Press and Publicity Department has, during the past year, become the Joint Press and Publicity Department of the Trade Union Congress General Council and the Labour Party National Executive. The Literature, Research and Publicity Sub-Committee of the Labour Party, which was responsible for supervising the general activities of the Department, has ceased to exist, its work having been taken over by a new Joint Press and Publicity Committee composed as follows:—

Labour Party Executive.	*Trades Union Congress.*
Geo. Lansbury (*Chairman*).	Geo. Hicks.
C. G. Ammon, M.P.	A. A. Purcell.
Mrs. F. H. Bell.	Ben Turner.
R. J. Davies, M.P.	Miss J. Varley.
	W. W. Henderson (*Secretary*).

Mr. W. H. Stevenson and Mr. Herbert Tracey have been appointed Parliamentary Correspondent and Industrial Correspondent respectively.

The principle of unified editorial and business control having been established, the Joint Press and Publicity Department is now responsible for the editorial, printing, publishing and advertising arrangements connected with all publications—regular journals, books, pamphlets, leaflets, &c.—issued by the Trades Union Congress General Committee and the Labour Party Executive Committee jointly and severally. *The Labour Woman*, which is still being issued as a Labour Party publication, is the only exception, but provision has been made for this publication to be taken over by the Joint Department and published as a joint monthly journal for women.

The Labour Press Service.

The Labour Press Service, which was issued by the Publicity Department first in the form of galley slips, and later as a single page, was changed in July, 1921, to a double crown four-page publication, printed only on one side, that is to say, two pages containing matter and two pages blank.

A circular letter was sent to local Labour organisations on August 1st setting forth the details of a scheme whereby the *Labour Press Service* could be utilised as the basis of local Labour papers—either weekly, monthly, or on special occasions. Subsequently, other circulars were issued giving further particulars with regard to circulation, editorial and advertisement matters, with a view to placing at the disposal of the local organisations information relating to newspaper production. In addition the question of the establishment of a network of local Labour papers was dealt with by the Secretary of the Press and Publicity Department at the series of district electoral preparation Conferences, which were held in different centres of the country during the summer and autumn of 1921. The number of communications which have been received and the general interest displayed at the Conferences warrant the statement that the scheme formulated by Headquarters is regarded by a considerable number of local organisations as affording the help which will make it possible for them to proceed with the experiment of trying to establish local Labour newspapers.

Several organisations have the scheme still under consideration, and are in communication with the Department with regard to the launching of local Labour newspapers. A considerable number are now producing weekly or monthly publications based on the *Labour Press Service*. There are two methods of localising the *Labour Press Service* :—

(*a*) Where the paper is supplied by Headquarters, a local title substituted and the sheets then despatched to the local organisations, who use the blank pages for local news and advertisements. The following papers have adopted this method of localising *The Labour Press Service* :—

Weekly.—*Bradford Pioneer, Leeds Weekly Citizen, Swansea Labour News, Derby Democrat.*

Monthly.—*Bury Pioneer, Carlisle Labour News, Finchley & Friern Barnet Citizen, Middleton Divisional Labour News, Pontefract Citizen, North Staffs Labour News, York Forward, The Labour Searchlight* (Warwick).

(*b*) By an alternative scheme for localisation the local papers are printed entirely by the local printer, and the *Labour Press Service* features are taken in stereos. Papers sometimes change to this method when they have been running for some time and require more room for local news and advertisements than is provided under scheme (*a*). The following papers take the whole of the *Labour Press Service* stereos each week :—

Blackfriars Press Series consisting of *Birmingham Town Crier, Leicester Pioneer, Derbyshire Worker ;* National Labour Press for the *Accrington Labour Weekly.*

Several stereo columns are also taken weekly by *Huddersfield Worker,* and until recently were taken by *Bath Pioneer, Merthyr Pioneer,* and *Woolwich Pioneer.*

Several papers which were founded on the *Labour Press Service* model, have since been able to proceed independently as entirely local papers, though still maintaining the *Press Service* format and taking "copy" from the *Service* when required, *e.g., West Cumberland Labour Gazette, West Lothian Labour News, Birmingham District Commonwealth.*

The *Labour Press Service* is sometimes localised for one or two issues on such occasions as by-elections, local elections, or for some propaganda purpose. During the Municipal Elections of November, 1921, such editions were produced in Barnsley, Cambridge, Carlisle, Chippenham, Halifax, Maldon and Heybridge, Middleton, Pontefract, North Staffs, Swansea, Workington, making a total circulation of over 100,000 despatched from Headquarters. For other local elections special editions have been run by Royston, Skipton, and North Staffs, for the Parliamentary By-election at Tamworth, two weekly editions were issued, while for other purposes editions have been issued by Don Valley Divisional Labour Party and the Park Labour Party.

About 2,500 copies of the *Labour Press Service* are printed each week for Headquarter's purposes. About 1,700 of these are taken by local Labour Parties in quantities of 50 or 100 or less to be sold or distributed, while the remainder are sent to Trade Union Congress and Labour Party Committee members, M.P's., candidates, &c. In addition many trade union journals and ordinary local weeklies use signed articles and special features from the *Labour Press Service*, and several of the independent weeklies contain a standing weekly feature derived from the *Service.*

The monthly circulation of local Labour newspapers which use the *Labour Press Service*, entirely or in part, is approximately 180,000 copies.

"The Labour Magazine."

Under the scheme of Co-ordination it was decided to issue a joint monthly Magazine which would incorporate *The Bulletin* (published by the Labour Party), and the *British Trade Union Review* (published by the Trades Union Congress General Council and edited by Mr. Fred Bramley). *The Labour Magazine* is crown quarto size—48 pp. and 4 pp. cover, and is primarily an informative and instructive magazine for persons keenly interested in the national and international trade union and Labour Movement, and of general interest to others who desire to keep themselves informed as to the industrial and political Labour developments. It is a magazine which should be in the hands of every trade union and local Labour Party official, for in addition to special features of general interest it provides the most complete review of Trade Union, Labour Party and Parliamentary activities published in the country. At the time of writing this report, the first issue only of *The Labour Magazine* has been published. The first edition was disposed of within five days, and three extra printing orders were necessitated before the second week had expired. The two National Committees strongly appeal to all affiliated organisations to make this new venture a success and to place it on a permanent footing by giving standing orders for bulk quantities, which will be supplied at special reduced rates on application to the Secretary of the Joint Press and Publicity Department.

The "Daily Herald."

The decision of the two National Committees to accept responsibility for the continuance of the *Daily Herald*, pending the decisions of the Labour Party Conference and the Annual Trades Union Congress, has also involved the Joint Press Department in a considerable amount of additional work. During the past few weeks the Joint Press and

Publicity Committee, together with a special Sub-Committee appointed by the two National Committees early in the year to deal with the question of the *Daily Herald*, has been responsible for carrying on the work which was necessary for the preparation of the scheme which is to be submitted to the Labour Party Conference and the Trades Union Congress. The administrative work involved in preparing this scheme and in giving effect to the various decisions regarding appeals for financial contributions, the establishment of the *Daily Herald* Maintenance Fund, the *Daily Herald* Special Campaign, and the issue of special articles, news items, paragraphs and publicity work generally, has fallen largely upon the Joint Press and Publicity Department. The scheme which the Annual Conference will be asked to consider provides for the Joint Department functions being augmented in connection with the future publication of the *Daily Herald*.

General.

The Joint Press and Publicity Department has also co-operated with the other Joint Departments in preparing and producing *The Speaker's Handbook*, and arrangements have been made for the joint production of *The Labour Year Book* in the future.

In addition, the Department has carried on its routine work in connection with the Press, interviewing newspaper correspondents, arranging interviews, providing special articles, news items, information on political and industrial affairs at home and abroad, preparing and issuing official communiques, and carrying on the general Press propaganda of the two National Headquarters. At the beginning of the Engineering Lockout, the services of members of the Department were placed at the disposal of the Executive Council of the A.E.U. and later at the disposal also of the other Unions involved in the dispute. A great deal of publicity work was undertaken by the Department in this connection, besides assistance being given in the drafting of documents, statements, interviews, communiques, &c.

FINANCE.

The Statement of Accounts will be found on pages 88-92 of this Report. From this it will be seen that the year began with a balance of £20,798 13s. 11d. and closed with one of £23,033 3s. 6d. The Party, therefore, has kept within its income, having spent £58,943 17s. 8d. as against receipts from all sources of £61,178 7s. 3d.

As intimated in last year's report the expenses of Organisation have very largely increased. This was unavoidable and absolutely necessary in order to meet the great and growing needs of the constituencies. The number of National Organisers has been increased and the Party now has eighteen allocated to various areas. In addition, three Propagandists have been temporarily employed to assist in districts in need of more intensive work. During the year sixteen Regional Conferences were held in the larger centres of the Provinces and were a great success, and it is felt that the £1,200 3s. 8d. which these cost was money well spent.

The Campaign towards Peace in Ireland, begun in 1920, was carried on with increased vigour into 1921 at a cost to the Party of £5,650 1s. 8½d. Against this item must be placed the sum of £850 11s. 5d. which came in as a result of an appeal for funds to meet this special expense.

As regards literature, which for convenience is now shewn separately in the accounts, the apparent loss on the year of £6,798 5s. 7½d. is compensated for by stocks and amounts owing to the Party. The value

of the stocks in hand is given in a footnote as £5,241 17s. 7d. This is a conservative estimate after making all possible allowances for out-of-date and obsolete matter and, in addition, writing down the value of current literature by 30 per cent.

MEMBERSHIP.

	Trade Unions.		Trades Councils and Local Labour Parties.	Socialist, &c. Societies.		
	No.	Membership.	No.	No.	Membership.	*Total.
1900–1 ..	41	353,070	.. 7 ..	3	22,861 ..	375,931
1901–2 ..	65	455,450	.. 21 ..	2	13,861 ..	469,311
1902–3 ..	127	847,315	.. 49 ..	2	13,835 ..	861,150
1903–4 ..	165	956,025	.. 76 ..	2	13,775 ..	969,800
1904–5 ..	158	855,270	.. 73 ..	2	14,730 ..	900,000
1905–6 ..	158	904,496	.. 73 ..	2	16,784 ..	921,280
1906–7 ..	176	975,182	.. 83 ..	2	20,885 ..	998,338
1907 ..	181	1,049,673	.. 92 ..	2	22,267 ..	1,072,413
1908 ..	176	1,127,035	.. 133 ..	2	27,465 ..	1,158,565
1909 ..	172	1,450,648	.. 155 ..	2	30,982 ..	1,486,308
1910 ..	151	1,394,402	.. 148 ..	2	31,377 ..	1,430,539
1911 ..	141	1,501,783	.. 149 ..	2	31,404 ..	1,539,092
1912 ..	130	1,858,178	.. 146 ..	2	31,237 ..	1,895,498
1913 ..	†	†	.. 158 ..	2	33,304 ..	†
1914 ..	101	1,572,391	.. 179 ..	2	33,230 ..	1,612,147
1915 ..	111	2,053,735	.. 177 ..	2	32,838 ..	2,093,365
1916 ..	119	2,170,782	.. 199 ..	3	42,190 ..	2,219,764
1917 ..	123	2,415,383	.. 239 ..	3	47,140 ..	2,465,131
1918 ..	131	2,960,409	.. 389 ..	4	52,720 ..	3,013,129
1919 ..	126	3,464,020	.. 418 ..	7	47,270 ..	3,511,290
1920 ..	122	4,317,537	.. 492 ..	5	42,270 ..	4,359,807
1921 ..	116	3,973,558	.. 456 ..	5	36,803 ..	4,010,361

* This column includes the membership of the Co-operative and Women's Labour League affiliations, in addition to those of the Trade Unions and Socialist Societies.

† Owing to the operation of the Osborne Judgment it was impossible to compile membership statistics for 1913.

NATIONAL AGENT'S REPORT.

THE PARTY'S GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT.

There have been four main features in the work of the Party throughout the country during the year under review. The first has been the series of By-elections which are dealt with in detail later in this report, and which have yielded a substantial increase in the number of the Parliamentary Labour Party. The second has been the series of Mass Conferences held throughout the country. The third has been the development and expansion of organisation in the constituencies by reason of the attention and service of the District Organisers and the Women Organisers in the nine districts into which the country has been divided for this purpose; and the fourth has been a new departure by special assistance rendered in the propaganda work of the Party, especially in the remote county constituencies. There are now over 2,400 Divisional and Local Labour Parties and Trades Councils throughout the country, and the establishment of new branches is a matter of daily occurrence and report. There has been a continuous development in the individual membership of the Party through our local organisations, and on the women's side the number of women's sections has increased to over 800, and the individual women's membership is estimated at about 100,000. The number of constituency Labour Parties affiliated shows a steady increase and the obligation to maintain this affiliation is now more generally recognised.

At the date of the last Conference there were 320 candidates, including the sitting Members of Parliament, endorsed by the Executive, and at the present time there are 384 endorsed candidates including sitting Members, as compared with 361 for which the Party was responsible at the last General Election. In several other constituencies the procedure for selection of candidates is now in operation, and in still other constituencies organisation with a view to the selection of candidates is being developed. The work of organisation has been continuous throughout the year, although the industrial disputes have proved serious interruptions, and the prevalent unemployment has caused financial difficulties for many of our local Parties.

The series of By-elections has also absorbed a good deal of energy, and the services of our District and Women Organisers have been diverted from their ordinary work during these contests, which have taxed the resources of the Party to the utmost.

GENERAL SCHEME OF ORGANISATION.

The general scheme of organisation as reported in the last annual review of the Party's activities, has now had a further year of operation, and the anticipations of the good effect of this method have been fully realised.

There is a continuous visitation of the constituencies by the District and Women Organisers, with the result that advice and counsel is available to our constituency organisations, their work is stimulated, and personal touch between the Parties in the constituencies and the National staff is well maintained.

DISTRICT A. (North Eastern) :—Coun. E. J. Gibbin, J.P., and Mrs. Anderson Fenn, are in constant touch with the constituencies in this area, and the work of the Party is being steadily extended, and several new Divisional Parties have been established.

District B. (North-Western) :—Mr. J. H. Standring and Mrs. Anderson have covered the ground in their district on several occasions, and this area shows an intensive interest in the work of organisation, and here also further Divisional Parties have been established.

District C. (Midlands) :—Mr. H. Drinkwater and Mrs. Fawcett have covered their wide area by visits, and a forward movement with regard to organisation has been started in several of the difficult portions of the Midland area.

District D. (Southern and Home Counties) :—Mr. G. R. Shepherd and Miss G. Tavener have been continuously at work throughout the South-Eastern Counties, where special difficulties exist. A series of constituency conferences have given an impetus to organisation throughout this area.

District E. (London) :—Mr. R. T. Windle and Miss A. Somers have rendered assistance to all the Borough and Divisional Parties throughout the administrative County, and a considerable improvement in the methods of and attention to organisation in the Metropolis is reported.

District F. (South-Western) :—Mr. J. H. Edwards and Mrs. A. Townley have worked hard under difficult circumstances in this wide and rural area. Much of the work has been of a propaganda character, but substantial progress is being made in the upbuilding of permanent organisation.

District G. (Eastern) :—Mr. W. Holmes and Miss Francis have covered the East Anglian counties and Lincolnshire, and here again special difficulties have been overcome by patience and attention. Several new Divisional Labour Parties have been established, and considering the scattered and rural character of most of the divisions much activity exists.

District H. (Wales and Monmouth) :—Mr. T. C. Morris and Mrs. Andrews have continued their work in the Principality. In South Wales they have had the assistance of the political agents of the South Wales Miners' Federation, but they have given also special attention to organisation and propaganda campaigns in the difficult constituencies of Mid Wales and North Wales, where several new Parties have been established.

District J. (Scotland) :—Mr. Ben Shaw, J.P., and Mrs. A. Hardie acting in conjunction with the Executive Committee of the Scottish Council of the Party, have been steadily at work by visitation, advice and counsel in the development of organisation throughout the Scottish constituencies, as will appear from the next paragraph in this report.

SCOTLAND.

The Annual Meeting of the Scottish Council of the Labour Party was held in Glasgow on Saturday, September 24th, 1921, and a full report of the proceedings has been issued. Mr. F. W. Jowett (Chairman) and Mr. F. B. Varley represented the National Executive at this representative and successful gathering. The Report presented to the Conference recorded a good deal of activity on the part of the Executive and a record development in the constituencies. The following were elected at the Conference as the Executive Committee of the Scottish Advisory Council for the ensuing year :—

J. R. Bell, J.P., Chairman (National Union of Railwaymen), 96, East Claremont Street, Edinburgh.

Representing the Fabian Societies :—

C. Graham Hardy, Vice-Chairman, 3, Brandon Terrace, Edinburgh.

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EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF SCOTTISH ADVISORY COUNCIL—*continued.*

Representing the Trade Union Group :—

BAILLIE GEO. KERR, (Workers' Union) 69, Ingram Street, Glasgow.
JAMES C. WELSH (Scottish Mine Workers' Union), Stanley Cottage, Low Waters, Hamilton.
COUNCILLOR W. G. HUNTER, J.P. (Scottish Operative Bakers), 58, West Regent Street, Glasgow.
H. PILKINGTON (Dist. and Allied Workers), 156, St. Vincent Street, Glasgow.
MISS M. C. STEEN (Shop Assistants, Warehousemen and Clerks), 12A, Synod Hall, Edinburgh.

Representing the Trades Council and Labour Parties Group :—

COUNCILLOR WM. SHAW, 95, Bath Street, Glasgow.
COUNCILLOR JAMES BALFOUR, 47, Belmont Street, Aberdeen.
WILLIAM ELGER, 39, Brunswick Road, Edinburgh.
PARISH COUNCILLOR M. KELLY, 47, Calder Street, Blantyre.

Representing the Women's Sections :—

MRS. CLARICE MCNAB SHAW, 1, Portland Terrace, Troon.
MRS. SARAH AULD, 151, Crossloan Road, Govan.
MISS J. COUTTS, 111, Spital Street, Old Aberdeen.
MRS. HALLEY, " Roycroft," Broughty Ferry.

Representing the Scottish I.L.P. Council :—

MRS. K. BEATON, 144, W. Graham Street, Glasgow.
W. W. REID, Brigend House, Dalry.

Representing the S.D.F. :—

T. E. MCDONALD, 21, Waverley Park, Edinburgh.

At the request of the Executive Committee of the Scottish Council the National Executive agreed to an alteration of the date of the Scottish Annual Conference from September to March. The first Conference under the new arrangement will be held in March, 1923.

Further Special Conferences have been held under the auspices of the Scottish Council during the year, one of representatives of the Women's Sections throughout the constituencies, and another representative of the women, together with Trade Unions and Co-operative Women's Guilds.

A Special Conference of Labour and Co-operative representatives of Local Governing Authorities in Scotland, dealing with municipal elections, was also held under the auspices of the Scottish Council.

The Scottish Council were also represented by fraternal delegates at the Annual Conference of the I.L.P. in Glasgow, the Scottish Housing Association, and also the Scottish Trades Union Congress.

Mr. Ben Shaw, J.P., reports that in connection with the selection of candidates and the development of organisations he has paid 97 definitely arranged visits to various divisions, in addition to many other calls. He has also been in touch with nearly all the fifteen divisions of Glasgow, and has had a constant succession of interviews and a mass of correspondence from representatives in all parts of the country.

Co-ordination between the work of the Scottish Advisory Council and the Co-operative Movement in Scotland with regard to candidatures has been secured through the Scottish Co-operative and Labour Council, and also through direct negotiation. In Paisley, the alliance involved in the candidature of Mr. Biggar has been renewed, and in Tradeston the Divisional Labour Party have approved the candidature brought forward by the Co-operative Party, while the Partick division is also under consideration by the Co-operative and Labour forces with a view to a joint candidature.

The Party throughout Scotland continues in a state of healthy activity, although the economic conditions prevailing in industry are affecting the resources of the Movement. There are 41 prospective candidates, including sitting Members in the 70 constituencies, and in every division the question of selection is under consideration.

REGIONAL CONFERENCES.

In order to prepare the constituency organisations for the work of a General Election and to stimulate public interest in the policy of the Party, a series of Regional Conferences was conducted throughout the country from July until December of last year. The Conferences were held on Saturdays in selected centres where a group of constituencies could be served. The first was held on July 16th at Darlington, and the series was continued on August 27th at Carlisle, September 3rd at Birmingham and Dundee, September 10th at Cardiff, September 24th at Newcastle-on-Tyne, October 1st at Sheffield and Glasgow, October 8th at Manchester, October 15th at Edinburgh, October 22nd at Southampton, October 29th at Bristol, November 5th at Northampton, November 12th at Liverpool, November 26th at Derby, and the series concluded at Plymouth on December 10th.

The morning session of these Conferences consisted of agents, M.P.'s, candidates, secretaries and local officials of the Party, and the attendances were generally satisfactory. An exhibition of the special posters prepared for the General Election was a feature of most of these morning conferences, and in many cases orders in anticipation of the Election have been placed with the Head Office on special terms.

The National Agent, the Chief Woman Officer, the Secretary of the Publicity Department, and other members of the Organising Staff have attended these Conferences, and methods of organisation, electoral law and the services to the Parties by the Departments of the Head Office, particularly in relation to an election campaign, were fully explained and discussed.

The District Organisers and the Women Organisers have also taken part in these Conferences, and on one or two occasions Mr. Arthur Henderson, M.P., and Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald also assisted in the proceedings.

The opportunity of the Conferences was used to explain the scheme of the Publicity Department for the localisation of the Labour Press Service, to assist in the development of a local weekly or monthly press in the constituencies. Special editions for the Municipal contests were discussed, and proposals for " Election Specials " in the case of a General Election were also explained. The Conferences have resulted in increased keenness in the work of organisation throughout the constituencies.

The Mass Conferences in the afternoons were uniformly successful. The District and Women Organisers assisted the constituency Parties with the arrangements, and the attendances proved the effectiveness of their work. In some cases, as many as 2,000 delegates from all the surrounding constituencies assembled to hear a re-statement of our policy in relation to current politics, by leaders of the Party. The attendances varied according to the area and the size of the hall available from 1,500 to over 5,000. The delegations numbered from 300 to 2,000, and the remainder of the audience was comprised of the general public as visitors.

Mr. Arthur Henderson, M.P., spoke at ten of the Conferences, Mr. J. R. Clynes, M.P., at four, Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald at two, Mr. J. H. Thomas, M.P. at two, and other M.P.'s. and speakers taking part, included Mr. Sidney Webb, Mr. B. C. Spoor, Mr. John Robertson, Mr. V. Hartshorn, Mr. T. W. Grundy, Mr. Stephen Walsh, Mr. Tom Shaw, Mr. T. Kennedy, Mr. W. Graham, Mr. F. O. Roberts, Mr. J. Cairns, Mr. J. Wignall, Mr. W. R. Smith, Mr. Robt. Young, Mr. R. J. Davies and Mr. Morgan Jones. Wherever possible women speakers were included in the programme, and service in this respect was rendered by Miss Madeleine Symons, Miss Margaret Bondfield, Mrs. Philip Snowden, Dr. Marion Phillips, Mrs. Anderson Fenn, and several of the other Women Organisers.

The publicity value of these Conferences has been remarkable. The costs have been borne by the Head Office, but the return in publicity value has been much greater than could have been secured by the same expenditure on ordinary advertising. Each week-end during the period there was a pronouncement from one of the leading Members of the Party upon current politics, and the Conferences and speeches received excellent reports in the Sunday Press each week. The influence upon the public mind was valuable, and the Movement in the areas served received an impetus in its work.

Collections were taken at the afternoon Conferences on behalf of the Party's "Two Million Shilling Election Fund."

Following these Conferences three National Demonstrations were held in order to cover districts not included in the area served by the Conferences. Successful gatherings were held at Leeds, Ipswich and Hanley, and the following speakers assisted at these meetings :—Mr. Jas. O'Grady, M.P., Mr. F. W. Jowett, Mr. W. Lunn, M.P., Mr. W. R. Smith, M.P., Col. J. S. Wedgwood, M.P., Mr. J. Davison, M.P., and Mr. A. Henderson, M.P., and the Local Parties and public representatives, candidates, &c., all co-operated in making the Demonstrations a success.

PROPAGANDA.

The methods by which the Head Office could best assist our constituency parties in preparing for a General Election have been considered from time to time by the National Executive, and a scheme of propaganda, which included the services of M.P.'s as speakers throughout the constituencies, and the appointment of propagandists for each of the nine organising districts was approved. Owing to the uncertainty of the date of the General Election, and in order to conserve the financial resources of the Party, the operation of the scheme has had to be partially suspended and considerably modified. In a few urgent cases arrangements have been made for the services of M.P.'s, and Mr. Ben. C. Spoor, M.P., Mr. Morgan Jones, M.P., Mr. F. O. Roberts, M.P., Col. J. Wedgwood, M.P., Mr. J. E. Davison, M.P., and Mr. W. R. Smith, M.P., have been sent into some of our difficult constituencies.

In November last three propagandists were appointed for a period of six months, and their services have been allocated to county divisions chiefly and remote areas where our Parties who have sanctioned candidates before the constituencies experience difficulty in covering their wide areas with meetings.

The three propagandists appointed were Capt. Edward Gill, M.C., the prospective Labour Candidate for Frome Division, Mr. W. F. Toynbee, the prospective Labour Candidate for the Chelmsford division, and Mr. J. W. Kneeshaw, formerly agent in the Rushcliffe division.

Capt. E. Gill, M.C., has been allocated chiefly to the Southern and South-Western Counties, Mr. W. F. Toynbee has been serving the Home and Southern Counties area, and Mr. J. W. Kneeshaw has been visiting the Northern and Midland Counties. Their work has proved successful, and the local parties have expressed appreciation of the service and assistance rendered by this development.

The three propagandists have also been used with considerable effect in the series of by-elections, and in this direction also they have been of considerable value and assistance. Altogether some 70 constituencies have received help in their propaganda work by visits from these three speakers. This development was regarded as being in the nature of an experiment, and the appointments were of a temporary character only. The arrangement was regarded as preparatory to the General Election campaign, and after a review of the work of the past six months the National Executive agreed to renew the appointments until the end of December next or the date of the General Election, whichever date proves to be the earlier.

BY-ELECTIONS.

A further heavy series of by-elections has occurred during the past year. Since the date of the last Annual Report 21 by-elections have taken place, and of these 10 have been contested by Labour. The Labour vote has increased in every case where comparison with the figures at the General Election is possible, and the four seats which represent the gains to the Party have brought the numerical strength of the Parliamentary Party up to 74. The increase in the proportion of electors voting at the contests, which was a feature of last year's figures, has been maintained, and there is no doubt that a keener political interest pervades the electorate to-day than at any period since the last General Election. As this increase in the percentage vote has been accompanied by further Labour gains, it is a promising augury for further success.

By-Elections not Contested by Labour.

The following by-elections were not contested by Labour :—

Hertford, June 16th, 1921. Although this constituency was contested by Labour in 1918, the organisation had not been maintained, and a candidate was not available. Rear-Admiral Sueter (Bottomley) was returned.

London : Westminster (Abbey), August 25th, 1921. Some consideration to putting forward a candidate at this by-election was given by the Westminster Labour Party, but eventually it was decided to reserve their forces until the General Election. Gen. J. S. Nicholson (Ind. U.) was returned.

London : Lewisham (West), September 13th, 1921. An effort was made to secure a candidate for this division, but organisation was not sufficiently developed. Sir Philip Dawson (C.U.) was returned.

Middlessx : Hornsey, November 10th, 1921. After consultation with the Head Office the constituency Party decided to refrain from a contest and to prepare for the General Election. Lord Ednam (C.U.) was returned.

Salop : Ludlow, January 4th, 1922. An attempt was made to secure a candidate for this difficult constituency, but proved unsuccessful, and Viscount Windsor (C.U.) was returned unopposed.

Cornwall: Bodmin, February 24th, 1922. The Divisional Party, which had not been long established, was not prepared to take action in the by-election, and Mr. Isaac Foot (I.L.) was returned.

Lancs.: Liverpool (Exchange), March 13th, 1922. In this case, the Liverpool Labour Party decided to leave the contest to the Irish nominee, who, for some reason, failed to secure nomination, and Sir Leslie Scott, K.C. (C.U.) was returned unopposed.

Inverness-shire, March 16th, 1922. This Division was fought at the last General Election by a candidate of the Highland Land League, approved by Labour. Unfortunately, since the last General Election, nothing has been done to develop organisation or to secure a candidate, and therefore the by-election went uncontested. Sir Murdoch MacDonald (C.L.) was returned unopposed.

Surrey: Chertsey, March 24th, 1922. This Division was fought in 1918 by Labour as a result of the activity of workers engaged in the war industries, which have since been dispersed. The Divisional Party had lapsed, and therefore a candidate for the by-election was not procurable, but the Divisional Party has since been re-organised. Lieut.-Col. Sir W. Richardson (I.C.) was returned.

London: Wandsworth (Clapham), May 9th, 1922. The vacancy in this Division found the local party unprepared with a candidate and Sir John Leigh, (C.U.) secured an unopposed return.

London: City of, May 19th, 1922. The citadel of finance and commercialism has not yet developed a constituency labour party, and Mr. E. C. Grenfell (C.U.) was returned.

By-Elections Contested by Labour.

The following are the records of the 10 by-elections in which Labour was involved during the past year. In two cases the seats were contested by Labour for the first time. In two other cases we were successful in retaining Labour seats, and in two other cases the poll by Labour at the General Election was substantially increased at the by-election, although victory was not secured. In the four other by-elections, fine Labour victories were achieved.

Glam. (Caerphilly), August 24th, 1921.

Jones, Morgan (Lab.)	13,699
Edmunds, Rees (C.L.)	8,958
Stewart, Bob (Com.)	2,592
Lab. Majority	4,741

Previous result, General Election, 1918.

Onions, A. (Lab.)	11,496
Edmunds, W. R. (C.L.)	9,482
Lab. Majority	2,014

This by-election was caused by the lamented death of Mr. A. Onions, M.P. Mr. Morgan Jones, on the nomination of the I.L.P., secured selection as the Labour candidate, and a keen contest resulted. Mr. T. I. Mardy Jones, of the South Wales Miners' Federation, kindly acted as agent, and was assisted by Mr. T. C. Morris, the Welsh organiser of the Party, and Mrs. Andrews, the woman organiser. The Communist Party entered the field against our candidate, and conducted a lavish campaign. The result can be regarded as most significant, as not only was the Labour seat retained, but the majority was doubled, and the Coalition vote reduced by over a thousand, despite the challenge of the Communist.

LINCS. (LOUTH), September 22nd, 1921.

Wintringham, Mrs. T. (I. Lib.) ..	8,386
Hutchings, Sir Alan (C.U.)	7,595
George, Lt. J. L. (Lab.)	3,873
I.L. Majority	791

Previous By-election result, June 3rd, 1920.

Wintringham, T. (I.L.)	9,859
Turnor, C. H. (C.U.)	7,354
I.L. Majority	2,505

Previous result, General Election, 1918.

Brackenbury, Capt. H. L. (C.U.) ..	9,055
Davies, Timothy (I.L.)	7,559
C.U. Majority	1,496

This contest was a venture in new ground. The vacancy was caused by the death of Mr. Wintringham, and his widow became the Free Liberal candidate. The divisional party decided to contest, and secured Lt. J. L. George, an organiser of the Workers' Union, as their candidate, upon their own financial responsibility. Capt. Holt-Hughes, the candidate for Rugby, acted as election agent, and Mr. W. Holmes, our Eastern Counties Organiser, and Miss Francis, the Woman Organiser, assisted in the contest.

LANCS. (WESTHOUGHTON), October 5th, 1921.

Davies, R. J. (Lab.)	14,876
Tonge, J. (C.L.)	10,867
Lab. Majority	4,009

Previous result, General Election, 1918.

Wilson, J. Tyson (Lab.)	11,849
Tonge, J. (Ind.)	6,697
Lab. Majority	5,152

The sudden death of Mr. J. Tyson Wilson caused this vacancy, and eventually Mr. R. J. Davies, on the nomination of the National Allied Union of Distributive Workers, secured selection as the Labour candidate for the resulting by-election. Coun. S. Hague, J.P., the Party's agent at Gorton, took charge of this contest, and was supported by Mr. J. H. Standring, the North-Western District Organiser, and Mrs. M. Anderson, the Woman Organiser. There was a great increase in the total vote, Mr. Tonge on this occasion having the support of the whole of the Coalition forces. This fact, coupled with the loss of Mr. Tyson Wilson's own personal influence, accounts for the slight decrease in the majority, but the Labour vote was increased by 3,027, and the seat which Labour has held since 1906 was retained.

LONDON (SOUTH-EAST SOUTHWARK), December 14th, 1921.

Naylor, T. E. (Lab.)	6,561
Jacobsen, T. W. (C.L.)	2,636
Boot, H. (I.C.)	2,307
Lab. Majority	3,925

Labour Gain.

Previous result, General Election, 1918.

Dawes, Comm. (C.L.)	7,208
Naylor, T. E. (Lab.)	2,718
Co. Majority	4,490

This contest resulted in a gain for Labour, and the figures show a remarkable turnover. The Labour vote was increased by 3,798, and a Coalition majority of 4,490 was converted into a Labour majority of 3,925. Mr. R. T. Windle, our London Organiser, took charge of the contest, and had the assistance of Miss A. Somers, our London Woman Organiser.

WARWICK (TAMWORTH), January 17th, 1922.

Newson, Sir P. (C.U.)	14,732
Jones, G. H. (Lab.)	6,671
C.U. Majority	6,061

Previous result, General Election, 1918.

Fox, H. Wilson (C.U.), returned unopposed.

This was another first venture, and Mr. G. H. Jones was selected by the Warwickshire Miners' Association, and responsibility for his candidature was accepted by the Miners' Federation of Great Britain. Mr. T. W. Wright, our agent in the Lichfield Division, took charge of the contest which took place during the worst period of winter weather. The area was not properly developed before the contest, and the effort must be regarded as of a pioneer character.

LANCS., MANCHESTER (CLAYTON), February 18th, 1922.

Sutton, J. E. (Lab.)	14,662
Flanagan, W. F. (C.U.)	11,038
Lab. Majority	3,624

Labour Gain.

Previous result, General Election, 1918.

Hopkinson, Dr. E. (C.U.)	12,285
Sutton, J. (Lab.)	7,654
C.U. Majority	4,631

This constituency, which was slightly altered by the redistribution, was held by Labour prior to 1918. Mr. J. E. Sutton, of the Lancs. and Cheshire Miners' Federation, was again selected as the candidate for the by-election, and Coun. Sam Hague, J.P. took up the duties of agent, with the assistance of Mr. J. H. Standring and Mrs. Anderson. The local agent, Mr. J. McQueeny, also co-operated. The result was a remarkable victory. Mr. Sutton's poll of 1918 was nearly doubled, and the seat was gained by a majority of 3,624.

LONDON, CAMBERWELL (NORTH), February 20th, 1922.

Ammon, C. G. (Lab.)	7,854
Meller, R. J. (C.U.)	6,717
Labour Majority	1,137

Labour Gain.

Previous result, General Election, 1918.

Knights, Capt. H. N. (C.U.)	6,010
Hearn, G. (Lib.)	2,177
Ammon, C. G. (Lab.)	2,175
C.U. Majority	3,833

This vacancy was somewhat delayed, but Mr. C. G. Ammon, of the Union of Post Office Workers, was already before the constituency as the endorsed candidate. Coun. C. A. G. Manning, the agent for the constituency, took charge of the contest with the assistance of Mr. R. T. Windle, the London District Organiser. A keen contest was waged with the result that Labour secured another remarkable victory, and gained the seat by a majority of 1,137, the Labour vote being increased by 5,679. It is worthy of note that within a fortnight of this contest Messrs. C. G. Ammon, M.P., and C. A. G. Manning secured both the London County Council seats in the division.

STAFFS. (WOLVERHAMPTON, WEST), March 7th, 1922.

Bird, Sir Robt. (C.U.)	16,790
Walkden, A. G. (Lab.)	13,799
C.U. Majority	2,991

Previous result, General Election, 1918.

Bird, Sir A. (C.U.)	13,329
Walkden, A. G. (Lab.)	10,158
C.U. Majority	3,171

This contest provided an intense campaign, but the result was diasppointing. Mr. A. G. Walkden, Secretary of the Railway Clerks' Association, put up a splendid fight as candidate, and increased his vote by 3,641. Our opponents mobilised their resources and fought desperately, and there was a very heavy poll. The Coalition vote was increased by 3,461, so that despite Labour's increase the Coalition majority was only slightly reduced, and they retained the seat.

CAMBRIDGE, March 16th, 1922.

Newton, Sir Douglas (C.U.)	10,897
Dalton, Hugh, M.A. (Lab.)	6,954
Morgan, S. C. (I.L.)	4,529
C.U. Majority	3,943

Previous result, General Election, 1918.

Geddes, Sir Eric (C.U.)	11,553
Williams, Rev. T. R. (Lab.)	3,789
C.U. Majority	7,764

This contest showed a marked advance in Labour's progress in this University town. Mr. E. C. Poll acted as agent under the direction of Mr. W. Holmes, and Miss Francis and Miss Tavener, two of the women organisers, also rendered assistance. Mr. Hugh Dalton, M.A., fought a vigorous campaign, and despite the intervention of a Free Liberal candidate, increased the Labour vote by 3,165. The Coalition vote was reduced by 656, and the Free Liberal candidate came third, with 4,529 votes. The Coalition majority was reduced by 3,821.

LEICESTER (EAST), March 30th, 1922.

Banton, Ald. Geo. (Lab.)	14,062
Marlow, A. E. (C.L.)	8,710
Allen, Wilberforce (I.L.)	3,825
Lab. Majority	5,352
Labour Gain.	

Previous result, General Election, 1918.

Hewart, Sir Gordon (C.L.)	18,024
Banton, Geo. (Lab.)	6,697
C.L. Majority	11,327

This contest had been long threatened. There had been some uncertainty as to the Labour candidate, but eventually the local party, on the nomination of the local I.L.P., decided to run Ald. G. Banton, J.P., who contested the constituency in 1918. Mr. W. Howard, the local agent, took charge of the contest, and Mrs. Coun. Fawcett, the Midlands Woman Organiser, assisted, while Mr. H. Drinkwater, the Midlands District Organiser, also co-operated. Alderman Banton achieved one of the most remarkable victories in the Party's history. There was a large increase in the poll, 80 per cent. of the electors recording their votes. The total poll was increased from 24,721 to 26,597, but the disposition of the votes underwent a remarkable transformation. The Coalition poll was reduced from 18,024 to 8,710, a decrease of 9,314. The Labour poll was increased from 6,697 to 14,062, an increase of 7,365. The Free Liberal polled 3,825, and Labour secured an absolute majority of the total votes cast with a balance of 1,527 over the combined votes of both the Coalition and Independent Liberals.

SUMMARY.

The number of By-Elections since the General Election of December, 1918, to the 31st May, 1922, has now reached 85, and of these Labour has fought 49 making an increase in Parliament of 12 members as a result of gains at the by-elections. The Labour vote in the by-elections, as compared with the figures at the General Election, has increased from 241,742 to 498,676.

The accompanying full-page table shows the comparative analysis of the results of the by-elections with the last General Election, continuing the record in the Annual Reports of 1920 and 1921 up to date. The figures refer to Great Britain only and do not include the Irish by-elections.

The following summary of the Party's record in the General Elections in which Labour has taken part will indicate the steady growth of Labour representation in Parliament and the Labour vote in the constituencies :—

GENERAL ELECTIONS, 1900 TO 1918.

General Election.	Labour Candidates.	Members Returned.	Labour Vote.
Sept. 1900	15 ..	2 ..	62,698
Jan. 1906	50 ..	29 ..	323,195
,, 1910	78 ..	40 ..	505,690
Dec. 1910	56 ..	42 ..	370,802
,, 1918	361 ..	57* ..	2,244,945

* After this election three Members who secured election as unofficial Labour candidates, and one who secured election as a Co-operative candidate, joined the Parliamentary Labour Party, making the total 61.

Since December, 1918, one M.P. has withdrawn from the Parliamentary Party, and two others, elected respectively as an Independent and a National Democrat, have joined the Party in the House, increasing the total to 62, and the net gain of 12 Seats in the by-elections, brings the present total of the Parliamentary Labour Party to 74.

A full list of the names and addresses of Members of the Parliamentary Labour Party will be found in Appendix II.

PARTY AGENTS.

Various changes have taken place in the ranks of the agents of the Party in the constituencies during the year, and there have been further new appointments. At the present time there are 144 agents appointed by constituency parties under the scheme approved by the Annual Conference and in respect of whom grants in aid are paid. A full list of the agents of the Party, together with the political agents appointed by some of our affiliated organisations, will be found in Appendix IV.

REFERENCE FROM LAST ANNUAL CONFERENCE.

At the last Annual Conference of the Party at Brighton, the following resolution was passed :—" That the Executive Committee of the Party be instructed to enquire into the terms and conditions of remuneration and service of Labour Party agents, with a view to ensuring security of tenure and continuity of employment, provided that the agents render satisfactory service."

The National Executive referred the resolution to the Organisation Sub-Committee for consideration and report, and as a result desire to state that the enquiry into the terms and conditions of remuneration and service was unnecessary, as full particulars are secured each half-year in the agent's report, and the material is therefore available at the Head Office. Further, the establishment of the Adjustments Board, which is composed of representatives of the National Executive and the Agent's Association has provided a means whereby special cases can be enquired into, and recommendations made where necessary. In regard to the general question of ensuring security of tenure and continuity of employment, the National Executive recognise that these conditions are desirable, and any practical proposal to secure these conditions would be sympathetically considered by the National Executive. The responsibility for agents' appointments, however, rests with the constituency parties, and the trade unions or other societies subsidising the appointments. The liability of the National Executive is limited to the amount of the annual grant, but every effort is made to see that the conditions of each appointment in respect of which the grant is paid, are satisfactory. The trade unions and other societies responsible for candidates, and making subsidies towards the cost of agents' appointments, reserve the right to

reconsider the position with regard to both candidates and agents after each general or by-election. These conditions should be clearly understood and explained when agents are appointed, and in all cases a definite agreement as to terms and service should be entered into between all concerned when appointments are made. In the present state of the development of the Party and the economic conditions prevailing throughout the country, it is difficult to secure any substantial element of permanency in these appointments but the Adjustments Board should provide a means whereby special cases can be dealt with.

Adjustments Board.

During the past year, there has been one meeting of the Adjustments Board, which consists of three representatives of the National Executive and three representatives of the Agents' Association. The lines of procedure with regard to the hearing of cases were laid down, and several cases placed before the Board by the Agents' Association were considered. Claims in respect of special consideration for constituencies as to the annual grant were also dealt with by the Board, and in each case the decisions and recommendations of the Board have been conveyed to the Parties concerned.

CANDIDATES AND CONSTITUENCIES.

A full list of the Parliamentary candidates endorsed by the National Executive since the General Election to the date of this report, with the constituencies and the organisations responsible, will be found in Appendix III.

Available Candidates.

Most of the candidates whose names have been sent forward by our affiliated organisations, have now been placed in constituencies and their names will be found in the list of sanctioned candidates. The following candidates are still available for selection by constituency parties subject to the consent of the candidate, the approval of the organisation and the endorsement of the National Executive :—

Percival Bower, 14, Bowyer Road, Saltley, Birmingham.
(*Association of Blacksmiths' and Ironworkers' Society*).

E. L. Poulton, J.P., 34, Guilford Street, London, W.C. 1.
T. F. Richards, 34, Guilford Street, London, W.C. 1.
(*Boot and Shoe Operatives' Union*).

Arthur Dawson, 6, Cemetery Road, Church, Accrington.
(*National Society of Dyers, Finishers and Textile Workers*).

R. E. Jones, 242, Bellhouse Road, Shire Green, Sheffield.
James Cunliffe. 8, Eddystone Road, Brockley, S.E. 4.
Chas. Donkin, 15, Sorley Street, Sunderland.
(*Amalgamated Engineering Union*).

Wm. Flynn, 4, Grassmere Terrace, Gateshead.
J. W. Kneeshaw, 26, Victoria Road, West Bridgford, Nottingham.
Thos. Peacock, 8, Park Terrace, Gateshead.
(*Independent Labour Party*).

A. J. Bailey, 21, Church Street, Sheffield.
T. Williamson, Keiser's Buildings, 44, Whitechapel, Liverpool.
(*National Amalgamated Union of Labour*).

W. F. Purdy, 8, Eldon Square, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
Chas. Thompson, 8, Eldon Square, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
(*Shipconstructors and Shipwrights*).

J. Palmer, 58, Langthorne Street, Fulham, London, S.W. 6.
(*United Vehicle Workers*).

AVAILABLE CANDIDATES—*continued.*

CHAS. DUNCAN, J.P., "Highfield," Golders Green Road, N.W. 4.
(*The Workers' Union*).

G. P. ROBERTS, "Arosfa," Cern Coed Road, Roath Lake, Cardiff.
(*National Amalgamated Union of Shop Assistants*).

R. H. FARRAH, 5, Kingston Square, Hull.
W. WOOD, 79, Great George Street, Leeds.
(*National Union of General Workers*).

DAVID B. LAWLEY, Club Union Buildings, Clerkenwell Road, London, E.C.
(*National League of the Blind*).

ARTHUR TOWNSEND, Oak Street, Blackburn.
(*United Textile Factory Workers*).

CO-OPERATIVE CANDIDATES.

The Executive Committees of the Labour Party and the Co-operative Party have met during the year and in other ways have consulted as to the mutual interests of both parties in relation to candidatures and constituences. With the consent of the constituency labour parties in each case the National Executive has approved the following list of Co-operative Candidates:—

Constituency.	*Candidate.*
Stockport	.. S. F. PERRY, 223, Pitshanger Lane, Ealing, W.
East Ham (South)	.. A. BARNES, 7, Litchfield Road, East Ham.
Manchester (Moss Side)	.. T. W. MERCER, Holyoake House, Hanover Street, Manchester.
Middlesex: Tottenham (North)	R. C. MORRISON, 30, Sandford Avenue, N.W. 22.
Birmingham (Kings Norton)	.. MRS. E. BARTON, 28, Church Row, Hampstead, N.W.
Birmingham (Sparkbrook)	.. E. W. HAMPTON, c/o Mr. Williets, 30, Dunsford Road, Smethwick.
Bradford (South)	.. W. HURST, c/o Mr. Bennett, 65, Sunbridge Road, Bradford.
Sheffield (Hillsborough)	.. A. V. ALEXANDER, 4, Great Smith Street, S.W. 1.
Glasgow (Tradeston)	.. THOS. HENDERSON, 21, Ure Street, Govan, Glasgow.
Paisley	.. J. M. BIGGAR, 180, West George Street, Glasgow.

WOMEN'S ORGANISATION WITHIN THE PARTY.

INCREASE AND DEVELOPMENT.

The important work of adapting and developing the Party's organisation and methods so as to meet the changed conditions resulting from the inclusion of millions of women in the electorate, has received careful attention throughout the year. Dr. Marion Phillips, Chief Woman Officer, has co-operated with the National Agent in the general work of the Party and in giving special direction to the work of the Women Organisers and the Women's Sections throughout the country.

The By-election campaigns have revealed the effectiveness of the methods and appeal of the women of the Labour Party, and in many cases the women's vote has polled overwhelmingly in favour of Labour.

Dr. Marion Phillips reports on the growth and activity of the Women's Sections as follows:—

The number of individual women members has increased during the past year until it is now not far short of 100,000. There are still places where women's sections with their own officers and meetings have not been developed, but these fall mainly into three classes.

1. A very small number, chiefly in urban areas where there is a feeling that to have a women's section with its own officers is to divide the sexes and create sex war.

2. Small villages where there are not yet sufficient members of the party or where the population is not large enough to make it possible to run a women's organisation in addition to a mixed one.

3. Districts where Labour Party organisation is just beginning or not yet begun. Experience has, however, tended to show that women join in larger numbers and become more active members of the party where special attention is paid to their organisations as it can be through a women's section. This is shown by the fact that the sections have increased from 620 last year to 802 this year. This number does not include ward sections in borough constituencies. The following examples of membership taken from our lists are an interesting indication of varied progress :—

County Boroughs.	
Blackburn	550
Glasgow, Maryhill	200
Manchester, Blackley	197
Chester	172
Oldham	150
Norwich	143
Rotherham	104
Warrington	100
Municipal and Metropolitan Boroughs.	
Colchester	220
Guildford	110
Thetford	103
Basingstoke	100
Woolwich	794
Bermondsey	350
Wandsworth, Streatham	141
Urban Districts.	
Watford	500
Wood Green	270
Rugby	210
Bletchley	150
Sheerness	110
Rural Districts.	
Wolverton	105

Ward sections, with a central committee representative of them all, have continued to prove successful. In some cases these central committees have also representatives of bodies eligible for affiliation to the Labour Party, which have a large body of women members, including co-operative guilds, trade unions, and Socialist societies. Similar methods are developing in county divisions.

Labour Women's Advisory Councils.

The number of Labour Women's Advisory Councils has increased and several large areas have divided up into smaller groups, which have proved easier to work. The following Councils now exist :—

North-Eastern District.

Durham. Northumberland.
West Riding of Yorkshire.

North-Western District.

Blackburn and District. South-East Lancashire.
South Cheshire. Liverpool and District.
North-West Lancashire. Manchester and Salford.

Midland District.

Bedford and Northants. Shropshire.
Gloucestershire. South Staffordshire.
Nottingham and Derby. Warwickshire.
Worcestershire.

SOUTHERN AND HOME COUNTIES DISTRICT.

Bedford and Northants. West Kent.
North and East Middlesex.

SOUTH-WESTERN DISTRICT.

Devonshire. Somerset and Bristol. Wiltshire.

EASTERN DISTRICT.

Norfolk. Essex. Suffolk.
Cambridge and Huntingdon.

WALES.

East Glamorganshire. Monmouthshire.
West Wales.

SCOTLAND.

Lanarkshire.

The Councils for Nottingham and Derbyshire and for Bedford and Northants both propose to divide into their two counties in the near future. A Council for West Surrey will be started very shortly.

All these Councils have held many meetings, when business of a very varied kind has been transacted, and in addition to this they have organised 50 conferences during the past year.

There are also several Labour Women Advisory Committees in the large divided boroughs, including London, Glasgow, Manchester, Leeds, Birmingham, Bristol, Wandsworth, and Sheffield.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF LABOUR WOMEN.

The Annual Conference of Labour Women, held under the auspices of the Labour Party, with the co-operation of the Standing Joint Committee, took place at Leamington Spa, on May 9th and 10th, 1922. It was preceded on the morning of May 9th by a private Business Conference on Organisation, attended by delegates of Women's Sections and Local Labour Parties. There were 244 delegates and about 150 visitors present. The Conference was presided over by the Chief Woman Officer, who opened the proceedings with a statement on Organisation during the year, including an account of the Standing Joint Committee of Industrial Women's Organisations and the International Federation of Working Women. Four of the women organisers then gave short speeches on the following subjects :—

Mrs. Anderson Fenn on " The Work of Women's Sections and their relation to Local Labour Parties."

Mrs. Andrews on " How to Conduct Speakers' Classes."

Mrs. Townley on " The Sale of Literature."

Mrs. Anderson on " The Work of Women in Elections."

After a long list of questions had been dealt with, three minute speeches were made by a large number of the delegates, and Mrs. Harrison Bell, Miss Susan Lawrence and Mr. Drinkwater wound up the discussion. This was the first Conference of this kind which has been held, and was declared by the delegates to be of great value.

The Public Conference opened in the afternoon under the presidency of Miss Margaret Bondfield, the Chairman of the Standing Joint Committee of Industrial Women's Organisations. It was attended by 338 delegates distributed as follows :—

116 Women's Sections with 181 delegates.
47 Labour Parties with 63 delegates.
20 Trade Unions with 53 delegates.
5 other National Organisations with 41 delegates.

Though the number of delegates was lower than last year the Conference showed a very enthusiastic spirit, and the interest aroused throughout the district can be judged by the fact that more than 200 visitors attended throughout chiefly from neighbouring constituencies, but some of them from a long way off. The presentation of the report on the work of the Labour Party in women's interests at home and abroad led to much useful discussion, and after a full account of the establishment of the International Federation of Working Women a resolution was unanimously adopted welcoming its foundation. Resolutions were adopted dealing with International Affairs (including a very useful discussion on "Educating Children for Peace"), International Co-operative Trade, The Provision of Milk for Mothers and Babies, Unemployment with special reference to the training of unemployed women, Trade Boards and the report of the Cave Committee, Expenditure on Social Services, Education Economies, Higher Education for Working Women, Housing, Old Age Pensions, Free Speech, The Separation and Maintenance Orders Bill, the Appointment of Working Women on the Special Grants Committee of the Pensions Ministry, &c.

A full Session was given to the discussion of the Interim Report of the Special Committee of the Joint Research Department on Child and Motherhood Endowment, which was finally adopted with 20 dissentients. A full account of the Conference with all resolutions is published in the *Labour Woman* for June.

Other Organisation Work.

The scheme for providing Secretary's Boxes in order to assist the work of the Women's Sections has been disappointing because of the small funds available in these bad times. The sale of the boxes has been slow, but wherever they have been used they have proved very useful.

Twenty Speakers' Classes have been held during the last seven months working on the chart and notes given in the *Labour Woman*. Some of the classes are organised by Labour Women's Advisory Councils and attended by members of several sections, and others are organised by a Women's Section in a particular place. The scheme has worked successfully, and a very large increase in these classes is expected in the coming autumn and there is a demand for a separate publication of the chart and notes referred to above. For the most part the leaders of the classes have been our district organisers, but efforts are made wherever possible to find a leader in the district in which the class is held.

The Circular of the Standing Joint Committee of Industrial Women's Organisations, advising organisations of working women within the Labour and Co-operative Movements not to attach themselves to non-party women's organisations of a general political character, was republished this year and circulated to Local Labour Parties and Women's Sections. The Women's Co-operative Guild also circulated it to their local Guilds.

The Manchester and Salford Labour Women's Advisory Committee issued in December last a statement and resolution dealing with the Labour Party constitution and the Standing Joint Committee, which they sent to all Women's Sections and Labour Parties as well as to the Executive Committee. These bodies were urged to forward the resolution to the Head Office. A letter in reply was sent by the Secretary to all of these bodies explaining the views of the Executive Committee and of the Annual Conference of the Labour Party upon these matters. The resolution referred to has been placed upon the agenda of the Annual Conference by the Manchester (Borough) Labour Party.

"The Labour Woman" and Other Literature.—Every month through the *Labour Woman*, attention is given to organisation matters and the journal serves as a most valuable means of communication between the Head Office and the Women's Sections, both for propaganda and organising purposes. The large amount of unemployment had a severe effect upon its circulation during 1921, but since the beginning of 1922 there has been a distinct improvement and each month there has been some increase.

There has been a good demand for leaflets dealing with questions of special interest to women, and the small pamphlet entitled "The Woman's Burden," prepared by Mr. Pethick Lawrence, has proved very useful. A larger pamphlet on the Labour Party programme and on Industrial Questions from the woman's point of view has been asked for and is now in preparation as a joint publication. The importance of selling literature and suggestions for ways of doing it are strongly pressed upon the women's organisations by the organisers and by Head Office communications, as well as through the *Labour Woman*.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT ELECTIONS.

The past year has been one of the heaviest experienced in the history of the Party in the fight for the control of the local government of the land. The annual Municipal elections in November last were followed by the County Council elections throughout the country in March, and the triennial elections for most of the Urban Districts Councils and Boards of Guardians also took place in April. It is a peculiar feature of London Government that the triennial elections for all the local governing authorities of London occur in the same year, and the Metropolitan Borough Council elections in London fall due in November next.

At the Municipal Elections in November last the Party took the field everywhere, but owing to the successes of previous years Labour was called upon to defend many seats and consequently the area of attack was limited. The Press as usual strove to show that Labour sustained a set-back, but the balance of gains over losses throughout the Municipal Boroughs showed a net increase of about 80 seats.

The County Council elections in March were not so generally contested by Labour as in the case of the minor local authorities. In London, Labour maintained its position with a greatly increased poll, but the Reaction conducted a specially vigorous campaign against the London Labour Party's efforts. Mr. H. Gosling, the leader of the Labour Party on the L.C.C., lost his seat at Kennington, but a by-election occurred within a few weeks and Mr. Gosling was triumphantly restored to his position on the Council. In Durham, Labour fought more seats than previously, and a vigorous campaign was organised, with the result of a largely increased vote. Despite this, however, Labour's representation was reduced by 14 seats and the majority on the Durham County Council was lost. In South Wales there was a vigorous fight at the County Council elections, and Labour was able to maintain its strength, the losses and gains being about equal.

Labour entered into the fray in most of the Urban District Council elections, and a large measure of representation was secured on these authorities.

A pleasing and promising feature of the local elections has been the keen interest taken in the villages with regard to Parish Council elections. The branches of the Agricultural Workers and other unions in the villages and throughout the country side have taken a keen interest in the Parish meetings, where many Labour representatives were elected to the Parish Councils. In many other cases polls were demanded, as a result of which Labour members have been returned to these bodies. Too much credit cannot be given to the men and women who are upholding the cause of Labour, often unaided by outside support, in the remote villages of the country, and Labour's influence on these local Councils throughout the rural areas is steadily increasing.

Altogether, there are about 8,500 men and women who are serving as Labour representatives on County Councils, Municipal Councils, Metropolitan Borough Councils, Urban District Councils, Parish Councils and Boards of Guardians, and this figure does not include a large number of other Labour representatives who have been co-opted on to various advisory, education, juvenile employment and care committees of various kinds, nor does the figure include the men and women members of the Labour Party who are serving as Justices of the Peace.

EGERTON P. WAKE, *National Agent.*

RESULTS: GENERAL ELECTION, DECEMBER, 1918.

Constituency.	Coalition Unionist	Coalition Liberal	N.D.P.	I.U.	D.S. & S.	I.L.	Ind.	N.P.	Labour
Figures Bt. Fd. from previous Reports—	335,184	161,492	7,201	3,947	7,334	108,945	4,096	..	180, 295
Hertford	..	..	..	..	..	..	9,628	7,158	1,679
Glam.: Caerphilly ..	..	..	..	..	..	9,482	..	..	11,496
London: Westminster (Abbey).....	Unopp.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
London : Lewisham, West	Unopp.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
*Lincs.: Louth	9,055	..	..	..	..	7,559	..	..	..
Lancs.: Westhought'n	..	..	..	..	..	..	6,697	..	11,849
Mddlx.: Hornsey	Unopp.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
London : Southwark South (East)	..	7,208	..	..	..	..	..	..	2,718
Salop : Ludlow	Unopp.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Warwick : Tamworth	Unopp.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Lancs.: Manchester (Clayton)	..	..	..	12,285	..	..	..	..	7,654
London : Camberwell (North).....	6,010	..	..	..	..	2,177	..	..	2,175
Cornwall : Bodmin ..	12,288	..	..	..	..	8,705	..	..	..
Staffs.: Wolverhampton (West)	13,329	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10,158
Lancs.: Liverpool (Exchange)	10,286	..	..	..	..	..	8,225	..	..
Cambridge	11,553	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3,789
Inverness-shire	..	7,991	..	..	..	..	4,198	..	..
Surrey : Chertsey ..	13,531	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3,232
Leicester (East)	..	18,024	..	..	..	..	..	..	6,697
London : Clapham ..	9,776	..	..	..	3,070	2,790	594	..	..
,, City of	Unopp.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	421,012	195,715	7,201	16,232	10,404	139,658	33,438	7,158	241,742

BY-ELECTIONS, JUNE, 1921 TO JUNE, 1922.

Date	Coalition Unionist	Coalition Liberal	N.D.P.	N.P.	I.U.	Ind.	Bottomley.	Sinn Fein	I.L.	Com.	Anti-Waste	Labour
Total figs.: By-elections, Dec. 1918-June, 1921	317,327	183,981	19,023	3,765	24,986	4,514	35,019	2,336	189,638	..	..	395,665
16th June, 1921	5,553	..	..	..	..	..	12,329	..	..	..	..	..
24th Aug. ,,	..	8,958	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2,592	..	13,699
25th ,, ,,	..	..	..	..	6,204	..	..	..	3,053	..	4,970	..
13th Sept. ,,	9,427	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6,211	..	8,580	..
22nd ,, ,,	7,595	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8,386	..	..	3,873
5th Oct. ,,	..	10,867	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	14,876
10th Nov. ,,	15,959	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	13,943	..	..	..
14th Dec. ,,	..	2,636	..	..	2,307	..	..	..	..	..	..	6,561
4th Jan., 1922	Unopp.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
17th ,, ,,	14,732	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6,671
18th Feb. ,,	11,038	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	14,662
20th ,, ,,	6,719	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7,854
24th ,, ,,	10,610	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	13,751	..	..	..
7th Mar. ,,	16,790	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	13,799
13th ,, ,,	Unopp.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
16th ,, ,,	10,897	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4,529	..	..	6,954
16th ,, ,,	..	8,340	..	..	..	..	..	..	8,024	..	..	..
24th ,, ,,	..	..	..	..	11,811	..	..	..	9,490	..	..	..
30th ,, ,,	..	8,710	..	..	..	..	..	..	3,825	..	..	14,062
9th May ,,	Unopp.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
19th ,, ,,	10,114	..	..	..	6,178	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	436,761	223,492	19,023	3,765	51,486	4,514	47,348	2,336	260,850	2,592	13,550	498,676

*The figures at the by-election of 3rd June, 1920, were:—C.U. 7,354; I.L. 9,859.

THE STANDING JOINT COMMITTEE OF INDUSTRIAL WOMEN'S ORGANISATIONS.

The Standing Joint Committee has continued to work as the Advisory Committee on women's affairs to the Labour Party. Its constitution is now under revision chiefly for the following reasons :—

(*a*) The number of organisations now represented on it is so great that it has become unwieldy in its present form.

(*b*) It is thought that under a new scheme it will be possible to get greater representation of the individual women members of the Labour Party.

It should be noted that the three great groups in the Labour movement are now represented on the Standing Joint Committee through the Labour Party, the Trades Union Congress (Women's Group), and the Co-operative Union.

The full list of organisations is as follows :—

Labour Party.
General Council of the Trades Union Congress.
Co-operative Union.
Women's Co-operative Guild.
Railway Women's Guild.
Workers' Union.
National Union of General Workers.
Railway Clerks' Association.
National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers.
Transport and General Workers' Union.
Association of Women Clerks and Secretaries.
National Union of Clerks
National Amalgamated Union of Shop Assistants, Warehousemen, and Clerks.
Fabian Society.
Post Office Workers' Union.
National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives.
Association of Civil Service Sorting Assistants.
Tailors and Garment Workers' Union.
National Society of Pottery Workers.
The Actors' Association.
Power Framework Knitters' Society.
Municipal Employees' Association.

The proposed new constitution will come up for consideration at the meeting in July. It has been circulated to all bodies concerned and is now under consideration.

Milk.

In September, 1921, the Standing Joint Committee took prompt action on the Ministry of Health's statement that their grant towards the expenditure of local authorities on free or cheap milk for mothers and babies would be reduced from fifty per cent. to five per cent. in future.

An effective campaign was conducted throughout the country by Labour women and the result was that the Ministry of Health gave way and withdrew Circular 234, which announced this reduction. Circular 185, however, still remains in force and is thoroughly bad because :—

(*a*) It practically prohibits the supply of milk to children between three and five, unless they have a doctor's certificate.

(*b*) It reduces the amount of milk per day to one pint, unless again a doctor's certificate is produced.

(*c*) It allows no emergency grant while inquiries are being made, so that a child might starve while the economic condition of its parents is investigated.

(*d*) It only allows the supply of milk or meals to a pregnant woman during the last three months before her confinement. Some authorities administer this with even more stringency, allowing them to have meals only two months before the child is born.

A further letter of protest was drawn up in December and circulated to local Labour Parties, Women's Sections, &c., and successful protest was made in regard to a circular dealing with meals for mothers. The Standing Joint Committee asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer to receive a deputation from them together with the Labour Party, Trades Union Congress, and Co-operative Party, to urge the necessity of not making any reductions in the supply of milk to mothers and babies, or maternity and child welfare work. The Chancellor replied that " despite the present financial difficulties, they propose to make adequate provision for its continuance and no reduction is contemplated." Under these circumstances, the deputation did not take place, but the matter is being very carefully watched, and prompt action will be taken if this assurance should seem in any way open to doubt.

The Committee are now raising the question of a Circular of the Scottish Board of Health reducing their grants to local authorities for food and milk.

The Employment of Married Women.

This question has been considered very carefully by the Standing Joint Committee at the request of the Labour Party Executive. Their report on this subject has been printed as a joint publication of the Labour Party and Trades Union Congress.

Parliamentary Questions.

The Standing Joint Committee has given advice on or in other ways dealt with the following Bills before the House of Commons :—

Guardianship of Infants Bill.

Unmarried Parents Bill.

Separation and Maintenance Orders Bill.

Milk and Dairies Bill.

Child Murder (Trial) Bill.

The draft of the last was brought by the Standing Joint Committee before the Executive Committee, adopted by them and introduced by Mr. Henderson. It has since passed through the House of Commons and been read a second time in the House of Lords.

Other Questions.

Amongst other questions dealt with by the Standing Joint Committee are the following :—

Women's Franchise.

Pithead Baths.

Care of Orphan Children of Sailors and Soldiers.

Poor Prisoners' Defence.

Appointment of a Woman Civil Service Commissioner.

Unemployed Women.

Trade Boards.

Housing.

Emigration of Women.

Work of Consultative Council of the Ministry of Health on General Health Questions.

Conventions concerning Women and Children adopted by International Labour Conferences.

Establishment and Work of International Federation of Working Women.

Russian Famine Fund.

"No More War" Campaign.

INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF WORKING WOMEN.

The Second International Congress of Working Women was held in Geneva in October, 1921. The British Delegation for this was organised by the Standing Joint Committee and delegates were appointed by the Labour Party, the General Council of the Trades Union Congress and several Trade Unions. The Labour Party delegates were Mrs. Harrison Bell and Dr. Marion Phillips. The chief object of this Conference was the establishment of a permanent constitution for an international organisation of working women. The Congress was attended by delegates from Belgium, Cuba, Czecho-Slovakia, France, Great Britain, Italy, Norway, Poland, South Africa, Switzerland and the United States of America. There was also a visitor from a small group of working women in China and a large number of visitors from other countries. The total number of delegates was thirty-two and of these France was represented by six, Great Britain by nine, and the United States by four. The International Federation of Trade Unions gave very friendly co-operation and the following members of their Bureau addressed it : M. Oudegeest, M. Fimmen, M. Jouhaux and M. Mertens. In especial they gave advice in regard to the terms of the constitution that was agreed upon. The most important parts of that constitution consists of the clauses dealing with its objects and membership which are as follows :—

Object.—The object of the Federation shall be to unite organised working women in order that they may resolve upon the means by which the standard of the life of the workers throughout the world may best be raised. With this purpose in view the Federation shall :

(*a*) promote trade union organisation among women.

(*b*) develop an international policy giving special consideration to the needs of women and children, and examine closely all projects for legislation proposed by the League of Nations, and especially by the International Labour Conferences.

(*c*) promote the appointment of women to represent organised working women on all organisations and committees dealing with questions affecting the welfare of the workers.

Membership :—

(*a*) The Federation shall consist of national trade union organisations, containing women members, and affiliated to the International Federation of Trade Unions ; it shall also admit working women's organisations accepting its aims and agreeing to work in the spirit and to follow the principles of the International Federation of Trade Unions.

(*b*) Where the trade union organisation is not affiliated with the International Federation of Trade Unions, the Executive Board shall decide what national body representing organised working women shall be accepted.

(*c*) Only one organisation shall be accepted from each country.

(*d*) In the case of any controversy as to eligibility, the Executive Board shall decide, and submit that decision to the full Congress of the Federation for its approval.

The British delegates accepted the invitation of the Congress to establish the Bureau for the next two years in Great Britain and officers were elected as follows :—

Vice-President : Miss Margaret Bondfield.
Secretary : Dr. Marion Phillips.
Treasurer : Mrs. Harrison Bell.

One Vice-President was appointed for each country represented and as other countries came into affiliation they were also to be asked to appoint one. Mrs. Raymond Robins of the U.S.A. was elected president of the whole organisation. Since that time the Bureau of the International Federation of Trade Unions has continued to co-operate actively with the new body and the International Secretary visited Amsterdam to consult with them upon its work at the end of December. She also attended the biennial Congress of the International Federation of Trade Unions at Rome in April, 1922, where the following resolution was adopted:

" The International Trade Union Congress considers it urgently necessary that the Trade Unions in all countries should give their fullest attention to the organisation of woman's labour. Unorganised women workers constitute a danger to the conditions of labour for the whole mass of workers.

The Congress instructs the Executive Committee of the International Federation of Trade Unions to encourage in every country the organisation of women's labour and considers that the most efficient form of organisation for trade unions is that which comprehends both women and men.

Where for particular reasons there exist special organisations of women workers, those organisations ought to be affiliated to the national confederation.

Considering that the situation is not sufficiently clear with regard to the objects and composition of the International Federation of Women Workers, the Congress instructs the Bureau to report on the question at the next Congress and invites the Executive Committee to continue relations with the International Federation of Women Workers in the present spirit of comradeship."

The Federation has prepared a report on the Hours of Work of Women and Children and the Age of Entry of Children in the Textile trade throughout the world, and this report is to be published by the International Federation of Trade Unions very shortly in English, French and German.

Since the Congress was held in Geneva the Canadian Trades and Labour Congress has joined the Federation on behalf of its women members, but at the present time negotiations for the affiliation of other countries are going on, and as will be seen from the resolution passed at Rome, the national trade union centres desire further information about the work of the Federation. This information is now being prepared by the Bureau. A full report of the Congress held at Geneva and of the resolutions adopted there dealing chiefly with matters on the agenda for the International Labour Conference which took place just afterwards was presented by the delegates and accepted by the Executive Committee of the Labour Party, and a resolution welcoming the foundation of the International Federation of Working Women was unanimously adopted by the National Conference of Labour women held at Leamington in April, 1922, on the proposition of the Transport and General Workers' Union.

PROPOSED NEW RULE.

Several of our affiliated Local Parties have applied during the past year for advice with regard to the eligibility of delegates to the General Committees, &c., of our Local Parties, and also to the Party Conferences. In some cases, persons who were not in sympathy with the policy and programme of the Party had secured selection as delegates, and openly declared that they were opposed to the interests of the Party and were working for its disruption. Applications have been received for permission to include a rule covering such cases in the local constitutions of the Parties concerned.

The National Executive recognised that the point raised was of considerable importance and could not be dealt with satisfactorily by local decisions, and that any new provision required in the rules must be of a national character and of general application. After full consideration the National Executive decided to recommend that the following new rule be added to the Constitution of the National Party, and also to sets A, B, C, D and E of the Local Party rules :—

> "Conditions of Eligibility of Delegates from Constituent Bodies to either Local Labour Parties or to any National or Local Conference of the Labour Party.
>
> (*a*) Every person nominated to serve as a delegate shall individually accept the constitution and principles of the Labour Party.
>
> (*b*) No person shall be eligible as a delegate who is a member of any organisation having for one of its objects the return to Parliament or to any Local Governing Authority of a candidate or candidates other than such as have been endorsed by the Labour Party, or have been approved as running in association with the Labour Party."

THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND AFFILIATION.

On June 30th, 1921, a letter was received from Mr. Arthur McManus, Chairman of the Communist Party of Great Britain, referring to the decision of the last Annual Conference of the Party at Brighton and renewing the application for the affiliation of the Communist Party to the Labour Party.

This application was considered by the National Executive at their meeting on July 12th, when it was resolved that having regard to the decision of the Party Conference at Brighton, when the report of the National Executive with regard to the previous application of the Communist Party was unanimously confirmed by the Conference, that a reply be sent to the effect that the National Executive had nothing further to add in relation to the matter.

Arising out of the decision of the last Annual Conference with regard to this subject several enquiries were received from affiliated Local Parties as to the position, in consequence of applications for affiliation to those Parties made by branches of the Communist Party. In reply to these requests for information it was felt desirable that the position of the Party as the result of the Brighton Conference decision should be made clear, and in September, 1921, the Secretary issued the following statement to all our local affiliated organisations :—

> " As we have received several enquiries from Local Labour Parties as to the position of the Communist Party in relation to affiliation to the Labour Party since the Brighton Conference, it is desirable that the position of the Party on this matter should be made clear.
>
> At the Brighton Conference on June 21st, 22nd, 23rd and 24th, the National Executive of the Party presented a full report of the correspondence between the Communist Party of Great Britain and the Executive of the Labour Party as to the application of the Communist Party for affiliation. The National Executive reported that, after full consideration, they had resolved that the application be declined, as the basis of affiliation to the Labour Party is the acceptance of its constitution, principles and programme, with which the objects of the Communist Party do not appear to be in accord. Further, the Executive reported that locally-affiliated organisations throughout the country had been requested to carry out the decision of the National Executive.
>
> From this report coming before the Annual Conference a resolution requesting the National Executive to reconsider the application if the Communist Party were prepared to abide by the constitution and policy of the Labour Party, was moved and seconded, and after a full discussion the ' previous question ' was moved and carried by one of the heaviest votes ever recorded at a Labour Party Conference.
>
> After the ' previous question ' had been carried, the report of the National Executive to the effect that the Communist Party or its branches were not eligible for affiliation either locally or nationally, as there was no evidence of their readiness to accept the constitution and policy of the Labour Party, was unanimously accepted by the Conference.
>
> The attention of our local parties throughout the constituencies is called to this decision by the Annual Conference, in order that the position of the Party on this matter may be perfectly clear."

On November 17th, 1921, the following letter was received from Mr. Arthur McManus, Chairman of the Communist Party of Great Britain :—

> Dear Sir,
>
> The Glasgow branches of the Communist Party recently sent in applications for affiliation to the Glasgow Trades and Labour Council, and in reply have received a letter from Mr. William Shaw, the Secretary, copy of which is enclosed herewith.
>
> You will observe that in the course of this letter the Glasgow Trades and Labour Council recommends that the Communist Party Executive should " get into communication with the Labour Party Executive with the object of coming to an understanding that will permit of affiliation both nationally and locally to the Communist Party."
>
> The Executive Committee of the Communist Party is only too willing to adopt the suggestion of the Glasgow Trades and Labour Council and to take the opportunity thus afforded of approaching the National Labour Party Executive with the request that they will reopen the whole question of Communist Party affiliation.

We shall be glad if you will bring this letter before the next meeting of your Executive Committee and acquaint us of their decision.

If it will help to remove any difficulties which, in the opinion of your Executive Committee, stand in the way of our affiliation to the Labour Party, we are willing to appoint representatives to meet the Labour Party Executive, or a sub-committee of that body, to discuss those difficulties in order to achieve the object indicated in the letter of the Glasgow Trades and Labour Council.

Yours faithfully,

(Signed) ARTHUR McMANUS, *Chairman.*

The letter of Mr. McManus was placed before the National Executive at their meeting on December 7th, when it was decided to appoint a sub-committee of five to meet representatives of the Communist Party and to hear any statement upon the question of affiliation which that Party might desire to place before the National Executive.

This decision was conveyed to Mr. Arthur McManus on December 13th, 1921, by the following letter :—

DEAR SIR,

In further reply to your letter of the November 17th, I have now to inform you that your letter, together with the letter of the Glasgow Trades and Labour Council to Mr. Hugh Cameron, the Secretary of the Partick branch of your Party, was considered by the National Executive of the Labour Party at their meeting on Wednesday last.

Your statement that the Executive of the Communist Party are willing to appoint representatives to the Labour Party Executive or a sub-committee of that body to discuss the difficulties which stand in the way of your affiliation to the Labour Party, was also considered, and I have now to inform you that the National Executive of the Labour Party, while not departing in any way from their previous decisions, or from the decisions of the Brighton Conference, decided to appoint a sub-committee consisting of five of their members to meet representatives of the Communist Party, to hear any statement upon the question of affiliation which your Party may desire to place before them.

I shall therefore be glad to know when it will be convenient for your representatives to meet this sub-committee of the National Executive, and in order that a mutually-convenient date may be arranged, it will be desirable that you should submit alternative dates.

I am, faithfully yours,

EGERTON P. WAKE,

National Agent.

The Joint meeting between representatives of the National Executive of the Labour Party and the Communist Party was held on December 29th at the Labour Party offices at 3 p.m., when there were present representing the National Executive, Mr. F. W. Jowett, Chairman, Mr. Arthur Henderson, M.P., Secretary, Mr. R. J. Davies, M.P., Mr. Geo. Lansbury and Mr. Sidney Webb, and representing the Communist Party, Messrs. W. Gallacher, F. H. Peet, A. McManus, J. Hodgson and Bell.

The Chairman explained the purpose of the Conference and called upon Mr. McManus, who led on behalf of the Communist Party, to make any statement that he desired. Mr. McManus stated that their purpose was to explore the difficulties in the way of affiliation, and any differences that might exist between the two Parties, and after a brief opening statement by Mr. McManus a general discussion lasting for two and a half hours took place.

At the close of the discussion it was mutually agreed that the proceedings should be reported to the next meeting of the National Executive of the Labour Party on January 4th, and if the National Executive agreed, a questionnaire such as had been suggested during the interview, would be drafted and submitted to the Communist Party. It was further

agreed that as one or more of the questions might relate to the Communist Party constitution, it would not be entirely satisfactory if a reply came back only from their Executive Committee, and the questionnaire should therefore be submitted to the Annual Conference of the Communist Party.

This proposal was accepted by the deputation from the Communist Party and the representatives of the National Executive, and the interview closed.

At their meeting on January 4th the National Executive of the Labour Party received and adopted the sub-committee's report of the interview, and it was decided to submit a questionnaire as desired.

The following questionnaire was therefore submitted to the Communist Party on the 6th January, 1922, and the replies of the Communist Party were received on May 17th.

QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY LABOUR PARTY.

I.

The Constitution of the Labour Party emphasises the fact that the object of that Party is the achievement of "the political, social and economic emancipation of the people by means of Parliamentary Democracy."

The application of August last of the Communist Party for affiliation to the Labour Party set out, explicitly, the adhesion of the Communist Party to the Soviet System (which is understood as being incompatible with Parliamentary Democracy); and the adhesion of that Party to the Third International (which is understood as acceptance of the Theses and Regulations of the Third International, many of which are regarded as inconsistent with the Constitution and objects of the Labour Party).

Enquiry is made as to what changes, if any, have been made in the Constitution and objects of the Communist Party on these points; so as to conform to the constitution and objects of the Labour Party.

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REPLIES FROM COMMUNIST PARTY.

I.

We are unable to trace in the Constitution of the Labour Party the statement, quoted in the questionnaire, as to the object of that party being "the political, social and economic emancipation of the people by means of Parliamentary Democracy." (The quotation marks as in questionnaire.)

On the other hand, we entirely agree with Clause (*d*) of Section 3 of the Party constitution under Party Objects. "To secure for the producers by hand or by brain, the full fruits of their industry, and the most equitable distribution thereof that may be possible, upon the basis of the common ownership of the means of production and the best obtainable system of popular administration and control of each industry or service."

In reply to your enquiry, no change has been made in the constitution and objects of the Communist Party since application for affiliation to the Labour Party was first made. The Communist Party still adheres to the Soviet system and to affiliation to the Communist International, which as correctly stated in the questionnaire, is understood to mean acceptance of the Theses and Statutes of the Communist International. The Communist Party, however, does not understand adhesion to the principles of the Soviet system to mean non-participation in parliamentary action. It regards the Soviet system as the system which must supersede parliamentary democracy after the coming to power of the workers. In the meantime the Communist Party proposes to use the opportunity provided by Parliament for advancing that struggle towards "the common ownership of the means of production," which is so clearly proclaimed as the object of the Labour Party itself in its own Constitution.

Questions submitted by Labour Party.

II.

It is a fundamental principle of the Labour Party to confine its operations to lawful means; and it has never given any encouragement to the idea of attempting to secure the powers of Government by means contrary to the law of the land for the time being.

In view of the acceptance by the Communist Party of the Theses and Regulations of the Third International, enquiry is made as to whether the Communist Party, by its constitution and the resolutions of its Conventions lays down anything inconsistent with the position of the Labour Party in this respect.

Replies from Communist Party.

II.

We find nothing in the Constitution to bear out the view that the Labour Party will never *under any* circumstances contemplate extra legal action for the attainment of its declared objects. It is true that under normal circumstances its policy is to conform itself purely to legal activities; the same applies to the Communist Party.

Any discussion, however, on the use of other than lawful means to obtain a political end must obviously be of a theoretical nature. The circumstances of any given time of crisis must and will determine the form an agitation will take. Thus the Labour Party Executive participated in the action of the Leeds Workers' and Soldiers' Council Conference of 1917, and in August, 1920, was forced under the threat of the country being landed into imminent war to advise a "down tools" policy which the Government would certainly have proclaimed unlawful had the threat been put into operation. The Central Hall Conference held under the auspices of the Council of Action in the latter year and presided over by the Rt. Hon. W. Adamson, M.P., expressly authorised the Council "to call for any and every form of withdrawal of Labour" in order to give effect to the anti-militarist agitation. This policy (endorsed without question by all the Labour Party representatives present) directly contravened the first principle of Parliamentary Democracy which insists that public discontent with Governmental policy shall find expression only through the recognised machinery of the ballot box.

If as appears to be the case, it is argued that acceptance of the Theses and Regulations of the Communist International is incompatible with affiliation to the Labour Party because action outside the law is endorsed therein, we would respectfully submit that this objection clearly applies to a body already within the Labour Party. That body is affiliated to the Vienna (commonly called the Second International). We quote from the Theses on "Methods and Organisation of the Class Struggle" adopted at the Vienna Conference, February 22nd, 1921, at which the I.L.P. was represented by its Chairman and others.

Clause 4.—Only in those countries where the capitalist class does not command the power required, and in particular is bereft of military power and therefore cannot venture to replace the fight of political democracy by open civil war, only in such countries will the working class be able to gain political power by means of democracy.

Questions submitted by Labour Party.	Replies from Communist Party.
	Clause 5.—But where the capitalist class is strong enough to maintain by violent means its rule against the revolting masses of the working people it will break democracy, keep control of the means of coercion and challenge the working class to an open fight. In this fight it will not be the vote that will decide the battle but the economic and military strength of the opposing classes. In these circumstances the working class will be able to become the ruling power only by direct action of the masses (mass strikes, armed rebellion, &c.), and it will have to maintain its power by suppressing the conquered capitalist class. There is nothing in the Theses and Regulations of the Communist International more definitely "outside the law" than this. Yet the I.L.P. remains affiliated to the Labour Party whilst the Communist Party is refused admission.
III. The Labour Party, by its Constitution and its practice, excludes the idea of Members of Parliament whom it supports being under specific pledges as to their action in Parliament, which might conflict with the undertakings given publicly to their constituencies; and still more their being under obligation to any other Party or section of a Party, either to resign their seats in Parliament when called upon, or otherwise. In view of the definite instructions of the Third International, and the resolutions of the Communist Party Conventions, enquiry is made as to whether the Communist Party has any Policy, and if so what, with regard to pledges and obligations of Members of Parliament supported by the Communist Party.	III. The Clause in the constitution of the Communist Party governing pledges and obligations of Members of Parliament, insists "that all members of the Party standing for election for Parliament or a local administrative body must agree to subordinate all other considerations to those of the Communist Party and must be prepared to sign a specially drafted form to this effect." Compare the corresponding clause in the Constitution of the I.L.P. which reads as follows:—"Each candidate must undertake that he will run his election in accordance with the principles and policy of the Party, and that if elected, he will support the Party on all questions coming within the scope of the principles of the I.L.P." The Communist Party expects no greater latitude in this direction than is allowed the other constituent sections of the Labour Party.
IV. Having regard to various declarations in publications of the Communist Party, and numerous public statements by prominent members of that Party, to the effect that "their antagonism to the Labour Party could best be waged within its own camp"; and that the object with which affiliation to the Labour Party was sought was the weakening, if not the actual destruction of that Party, enquiry is made whether the Communist Party, in renewing its application for affiliation, proposes and	IV. The answer to this question is that the Communist Party, in the event of affiliation, intends to conform to the Constitution of the Labour Party, without prejudice to its right of criticism on policy or tactics, in common with all affiliated bodies. It does not and cannot pledge itself that it will not seek to change policy and tactics in its own direction. The right to do this is inherent, and, as a matter of fact, is constantly exercised by other organisations. We protest against the use made

Questions submitted by Labour Party.	Replies from Communist Party.
intends to become a loyal constituent of the Labour Party, conforming at all points with its constitution and working for the promotion of its objects. (Signed) ARTHUR HENDERSON, *Secretary of the Labour Party.*	of the statements attributed to members of the Communist Party. These have been interpreted as attacks upon the Labour Party when the meaning clearly conveyed was that of antagonism to certain opinions advocated by some spokesmen of the Labour Party. The Communist Party does not disguise its opposition to much of the policy and many of the statements made by these spokesmen, but claims the same right to express its dissent within the ranks of the Labour Party as is, in fact, constantly exercised by other and more moderate sections of that Party. (Signed) FRED H. PEET, *Acting Secretary.*

The replies were accompanied by the following letter from Mr. F. H. Peet, Acting Secretary of the Communist Party :—

> " We herewith have pleasure in sending to you the replies to the Questionnaire which has been submitted by your Executive Committee to the Communist Party.
>
> The Questionnaire was considered at the Policy Conference of the Communist Party held last March, and the general lines of the replies thereto were agreed upon and referred to Executive Committee for final drafting. The first meeting of the Executive Committee following the conference was not held until last week-end, hence the delay.
>
> We desire to remind you of the precedent which has been created in the fact that during the 21 years that the Labour Party has been in existence, to no other body has been submitted a series of questions before its application for affiliation to the Labour Party was considered.
>
> We would express our sincere hope that the answers will be sufficiently satisfactory to ensure the recommendation by your Executive Committee that the affiliation of the Communist Party to the Labour Party be accepted."

The replies from the Communist Party were fully considered by the National Executive at their meeting on 31st May, when it was resolved to report to the Annual Conference as follows :—

> We regret that the reply of the Communist Party to our enquiries—for which we were kept waiting for nearly four months—is not, in our opinion, such as to warrant any reversal of the decision of September 8th, 1920, confirmed by the Brighton Conference in adopting our report, that the Communist Party is not eligible for affiliation to the Labour Party.
>
> At the request of the Communist Party, a deputation was received by a committee of the Executive, at which, after prolonged discussion, the submission of questions in writing was agreed to.
>
> We notice that the Communist Party, in the course of its reply, makes various statements as to the past action of the Labour Party. Every one of these statements, so far as concerns the Labour Party as a corporate body, or its National Executive, is incorrect. For instance, it is untrue that the Labour Party, or the National Executive, participated in the Leeds Workers' and Soldiers' Council Conference of August, 1917; though some members were present in an individual capacity. Nor did it take any steps in connection with the Council of Action in August, 1920, which were either illegal or unconstitutional. Other statements are made concerning a constituent body of the Labour Party, the I.L.P. We have not gone into these, as they are irrelevant to the present issue; but must guard ourselves from any implication that we accept such statements as being any more accurate than those made with regard to the Labour Party.
>
> We are now authoritatively informed by the Communist Party that no change has been made in the constitution and objects of the Communist Party since its application for affiliation was rejected.

The Communist Party refuses to express its acceptance of the constitution and objects of the Labour Party, as defined in the phrase "the political, social and economic emancipation of the people" by means of Parliamentary Democracy (these latter words being merely a summary of clauses a, b, c and d of Section 3 Party Objects). The Communist Party emphasises the fact that it accepts one of these clauses, namely (d).

The reply of the Communist Party with regard to the control which that Party maintains over any candidates belonging to that Party requiring them to sign a specially drafted form binding them to subordinate all other considerations to those of the Communist Party, appears to us to be incompatible with the stipulations in the Labour Party Constitution that all candidates must run as Labour candidates only, independent of all other political parties, and if elected join the Parliamentary Labour Party and act in harmony with the constitution and standing orders of the Party in seeking to discharge the responsibilities established by Parliamentary practice. The constitution also provides that it shall be the duty of every Parliamentary representative of the Labour Party to be guided by the decisions of the meetings of such Parliamentary representatives with a view to giving effect to the decisions of the Party Conferenee as to the general programme of the Party.

The Communist Party maintains its readiness to embark on other than lawful courses, and expressly refuses to pledge itself to refrain from attempting to secure the powers of Government by means contrary to the law of the land for the time being.

This appears to be inconsistent with the principles and practice of the Labour Party to be and to continue to be a lawful association, seeking lawful ends by lawful and constitutional means only.

The Communist Party again refuses to give an unqualified promise, if affiliated, to become a loyal constituent of the Labour Party conforming at all points with its constitution, and working for the promotion of its objects.

Under these circumstances we are unable to recommend the reversal of the decision already arrived at by the Labour Party.

The Communist Party of Great Britain in their original application for affiliation, dated 10th August, 1920, declared their adherence to the Third International and stated that their Party was established on that basis. The following extracts from "The Theses of the Communist International" give some of the chief points of conflict between this basis and the constitution, objects, and policy of the Labour Party :—

Fundamental Tasks of the Communist International.

Only a violent defeat of the bourgeoisie, the confiscation of its property, the annihilation of the entire bourgeois government apparatus, from top to bottom, parliamentary, judicial, military, bureaucratic, administrative, municipal, &c., up to the individual exile or internment of the most stubborn and dangerous exploiters, the establishment of a strict control over them for the repressing of all inevitable attempts at resistance and restoration of capitalist slavery—only such measures will be able to guarantee the complete submission of the whole class of exploiters.

Therefore, the Communist parties, and all the parties adhering to the Third International, especially in cases when such parties have become formed not by means of a division in the old parties and after a lasting stubborn struggle against them, but by means of the old parties passing over (often only nominally) to a new position, must be very strict in their attitude towards their M.P.'s, *demanding their complete subordination to the control and the directions of the Central Committee of the Party*, and . . . to exclude from such group all those who show a tendency towards the Second International, and so forth.

Without such a preparation (the general strike) no dictatorship of the proletariat will be possible, and those who are capable of preaching against strikes, like Kautsky in Germany, and Turati in Italy, are not to be suffered in the ranks of parties adhering to the Third International. This concerns still more naturally those Trade Union and Parliamentary leaders, who often betray the workmen by teaching them to make the strike an instrument of reformism and not of revolution (Jouhaux in France, Gompers in America, and Thomas in England).

For all countries, even for the most free "legal" and "peaceful" ones in the sense of a lesser acuteness in the class struggle, the period has arrived when it has become absolutely necessary for every Communist Party to undertake systematically both legal and illegal work, legal and illegal organisation.

At the same time, the Second Congress of the Third International must declare itself in favour of the Communist Party, and the groups and organisations sympathising with Communism in England, joining the Labour Party, notwithstanding the circumstance that this party is a member of the Second International. The reason of this is that so long as this party will allow all constituent organisations their present freedom of criticism and freedom of propaganda, and organisational activity in favour of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the power of Soviets, so long as this party preserves its principle in uniting all the industrial organisations of the working class, the Communists ought to take all measures, and even consent to certain compromises, in order to be able to exercise an influence over the wider circles of workmen and the masses, to denounce their opportunist leaders from a higher platform, to accelerate the transfer of political power from the direct representatives of the bourgeoisie to the " Labour lieutenants of the Capitalist class," so that the masses may be more rapidly cured of all illusions on this subject.

The Statutes and Conditions of the Communist International.

The aim of the Communist International is to organise an armed struggle for the overthrow of the international bourgeoisie and the establishment of an international Soviet Republic as a transition to the complete abolition of the Capitalist State. The Communist International considers the dictatorship of the proletariat an essential means for the liberation of humanity from the horrors of capitalism : and regards the Soviet form of government as the historically necessary form of this dictatorship.

Wherever the adherents of the Third International can gain access, and by whatever means of propaganda are at their disposal—in the columns of newspapers, at public meetings, within the Trade Unions and Co-operatives—it is essential *that they denounce not only the capitalists, but also their allies, the reformists of every colour and shade.*

Every organisation desiring to join the Communist International must be bound systematically and regularly to remove from all responsible positions (in the party, committee, editorial staff, trade union, parliamentary group, co-operative society and municipal council) all reformists and supporters of the " centre," and to replace them by tried Communists, even at the risk of supplanting, for a time, " experienced " men by rank and file workmen.

All parties desiring to join the Third International must renounce not only avowed social-patriotism, but the false and hypocritical social-pacifism as well. They must systematically demonstrate to the workers that without the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, neither international arbitration nor conferences regarding the limitation of armaments, nor the " democratic " reorganisation of the League of Nations, will be capable of saving mankind from new imperialist wars.

Parties desirous of joining the Communist International must recognise the necessity of a *complete and absolute rupture with reformism* and the policy of the " centrists," and must advocate this rupture amongst the party membership. Without this condition a consistent Communist policy is impossible. The Communist International unconditionally and *peremptorily demands that such break take place with the least possible delay.* The Communist International cannot tolerate the suggestion that such avowed reformists as Turati, Modigliani, Kautsky, Hillquit, Longuet, Macdonald and others should be entitled to membership to the Third International. This would make the Third International merely a counterpart of the Second.

All parties belonging to the Communist International must carry on a systematic and persistent Communist work in the Trade Unions, Co-operative Societies, and other class organisations of the workers. It is necessary to form Communist groups within those organisations in order, by persistent and lasting work, to win them over to Communism. These groups must consistently expose the treachery of the social-patriots and the vacillation of the " centrists." These groups must be completely subordinated to the party as a whole.

Parties desiring to join the Third International must inspect their parliamentary groups in order to remove therefrom all unreliable elements, and must *subordinate such groups to the direct control of the party executive.* They must demand of their representatives that they shall devote their activities entirely to the interests of real revolutionary propaganda.

Resolutions adopted by the Communist International and its Executive Committee are binding on all affiliated parties.

In conformity with the foregoing conditions, all parties about to join the Third International must change or amend their names and be known as : The Communist Party of such-and-such country, section of the Third International. It is of vital importance that the workers should be able to distinguish clearly between the Communist parties and the old official " Social-Democratic " and " Socialist " parties, which have deserted the cause of the working class.

Parliamentarism, Trade Unionism and the Communist International.

Parliamentarism cannot be a form of proletarian government during the transition period between the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and that of the proletariat. At the moment when the accentuated class struggle turns into civil war the proletariat must inevitably form its State organisation as a fighting organisation, which cannot contain any representatives of the former ruling classes. All fictions of the " national will " are harmful to the proletariat at that time, and the parliamentary division of authority is needless and injurious to it. The only form of proletarian dictatorship is a Republic of Soviets.

The bourgeois parliaments, which constitute one of the most important parts of the State machinery, cannot be won over by the proletariat any more than can the bourgeois order in general. The task of the proletariat consists in overthrowing the whole machinery of the bourgeoisie, in destroying it, and with it all the parliamentary institutions, whether they be republican or constitutional-monarchical.

The same applies to the local government institutions of the bourgeoisie, which, theoretically, cannot be differentiated from State organisations. In reality, they are part of the same bourgeois State machinery, which must be destroyed by the revolutionary proletariat and replaced by local Soviets of Workers' Deputies.

One of such auxiliary supports is the floor of the bourgeois parliament. The Communist party enters such institutions not for the purpose of organic work, but in order to destroy the whole bourgeois governmental machinery and parliament itself from within.

If the Communists have a majority in local government institutions they must carry on a revolutionary opposition against the bourgeois central authority : establish or attempt to establish an armed workers' militia.

When the elections are over, the organisation of the parliamentary group must be wholly in the hands of the Central Committee of the Communist Party—whether the party in general is a legal or illegal one at the given moment. The chairman and the committee of the parliamentary group must be confirmed in their functions by the Central Committee of the Party. The Central Committee of the Party must have its permanent representative in the parliamentary group with the right of veto. On all important political questions the parliamentary group shall get preliminary instructions from the Central Committee of the Party. Previously to any important debate in parliament, the Central Committee shall be entitled and bound to appoint or reject the speaker for the group, to demand that he shall submit beforehand the theses of his speech, or the text, for confirmation by the Central Committee, &c. *Each candidate entered on the list of the Communists must sign a statement to the effect that at the first request of the Central Committee of the Party, he shall be bound to give up his mandate* in order that in a given situation the act of leaving parliament may be executed in unison.

Each Communist member must remember that he is not a " legislator " who is bound to seek arrangements with the other legislators, but an agitator of the party, detailed into the enemy's camp in order there to carry out the orders of the party. *The Communist member is answerable not to the scattered mass of his constituents, but to his own Communist Party—whether legal or illegal.*

The Communist members must make use of the parliamentary platform to denounce not only the bourgeoisie and its hangers-on, but also the social patriots, reformists, the half-and-half politicians of the centre and other opponents of Communism, and to spread, as widely as possible, the ideas of the Third International.

The Role of the Communist Party in the Proletarian Revolution.

The working class cannot achieve victory over the bourgeoisie by means of the general strike alone, and by the policy of folded arms. The proletariat must resort to an armed uprising. Understanding this, it becomes clear that an organised political party is absolutely essential, and that shapeless labour organisation will not suffice.

In countries where the power is in the hands of the bourgeoisie or the counter-revolutionary Social Democrats, the Communist Party must learn to co-ordinate legal with illegal work, but all work must be carried on under the practical control of the legal party. *The parliamentary groups of Communists, both in the central as well as in the local government institutions, must be absolutely and entirely subject to the Communist Party in general,* irrespective of whether the Party as a whole be a legal or an illegal organisation at the moment. Any deputy who in one way or another does not submit absolutely to the party shall be expelled from the ranks of the Communists.

AGRICULTURAL POLICY.

An undertaking was given to the Brighton Conference that the Executive would take steps to formulate an Agricultural Policy for the Party. In accordance with that undertaking a Conference of Party Candidates and others specially associated with agricultural constituencies was held in London, on July 28th and 29th, 1921, for the purpose of a preliminary discussion on the subject. A Report was subsequently drafted and a similar Conference was held on October 5th, 1921, to consider it in detail. General agreement was arrived at, and the Report, as endorsed by the Party Executive, was issued as a pamphlet with the title " The Labour Party and the Countryside : A Rural Programme for England and Wales." (Price 1d. ; post free 2d.). Briefly, the items of Agricultural Policy for which the Labour Party now stands are :

A National Policy for Agriculture.

The Abolition of Landlordism.

Councils for Agriculture.

A Legal Minimum Wage.

Workers' Control.

Co-operation in Agriculture.

More Cottages, and none of them " tied."

The Full and Drastic Revision of the Game Laws.

Security of Tenure for all Occupiers of Land.

The Reform of Assessment and Rating so as to secure a Relief of Present Burdens upon Occupiers.

No Protective Tariff or other artificial raising of the Cost of Living.

" Better Living " as well as " Better Farming."

DEATHS.

The ranks of our mining friends have been stricken very hardly during the past year. John Wadsworth, of the Yorkshire Association, succumbed after a lingering illness, and the South Wales Federation lost devoted servants in Alfred Onions and James Winstone, and more recently its veteran founder, William Abraham, known more familiarly throughout the world as " Mabon." The two former men will be remembered best as leaders of the old school, who fought for Trade Union organisation in the days when that fight was stern and thankless. " Mabon," too, knew the hard path that alone leads to Labour solidarity, but he, with his native gift of song found other means of reaching the ears and hearts and minds of his mining fellows in the Rhondda and its neighbouring valleys. Winstone was of the younger generation and by his death our Party, and in particular the I.L.P. section of it, has lost a great-hearted comrade.

Though never in line with the independent policy of the modern Movement, Thomas Burt, who shared with Alexander Macdonald the first Labour victories in the Parliamentary election of 1874, preserved throughout his career those kindly traits and manners that mark the gentleman of Nature's mould. His death, at an advanced age, breaks a link with the pioneering days of Trade Unionism and Labour Representation, and was regretted by the many friends he counted among all sections of the community, and by none more than those of us who looked upon him as a Father of the Labour Movement long before he reached that eminence in the House of Commons.

Our own immediate Executive membership has suffered the loss of Tyson Wilson, one of the few of our ranks who have come up straight from the workshop to Westminster, and who pursued his daily work in Parliament during the last fifteen years much in the spirit of that same workshop. A working carpenter when he won his sensational victory at Westhoughton over the Lord Stanley of that day (now Lord Derby), he remained a labouring man to the end, as straight and fearless in Committee with his friends and colleagues as he was across the floor of the Commons with the governmental powers that be.

H. M. Hyndman's work in the development of Socialist opinion on Marxian lines, his unstinted service to the old and the new Social Democratic Federation pursued throughout a long life almost to the very day of his death, his fighting vigour against the evils and weaknesses as he conceived them in our own Movement, no less than his constant contact with the bourgeois element, which politically he despised, all gave him hosts of friends and not a few enemies. His work during later years in connection with the War Emergency: Workers' National Committee brought him into active touch with men and movements that previously he had only known at a distance. Those who worked with him through those strenuous days of the war will not readily forget his keen activity and that spirit of persistent and optimistic youthfulness that dominated all his eighty years.

In our Movement, as elsewhere, Youth too frequently finds pleasure in deriding Age, but here, as elsewhere too, the wider horizons of the younger generation are only visible because their feet are firm planted on the achievements of their elders. True it is to say that were it not for the valiant service of the leaders and the unpaid ungrudging sacrifice of many of the nameless rank and file of the days gone by, many a hard-won fight would still remain to be fought in our campaign for freedom, and we do well to pay our tribute to those old comrades who have gone, men and women, too, who in their day "have advanced true friends and beat down baffling foes."

F. W. Jowett (*Chairman*).
Sidney Webb (*Vice-Chairman*).
J. Ramsay MacDonald (*Treasurer*).

C. G. Ammon.	W. H. Hutchinson.
F. H. Bell.	Jack Jones.
Ethel Bentham.	Geo. Lansbury.
A. G. Cameron.	Susan Lawrence.
J. R. Clynes.	Neil Maclean.
C. T. Cramp.	F. O. Roberts.
R. J. Davies.	Tom Shaw.
Chas. Duncan.	Ethel Snowden.
M. B. Farr.	Ben. C. Spoor.
Frank Hodges.	F. B. Varley.

Arthur Henderson (*Secretary*).

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE ATTENDANCES.

The Executive Committee met on 28 occasions between June, 1921, and June, 1922. The following were the attendances of the various members :—

F. W. Jowett (*Chairman*)	26
Sidney Webb (*Vice-Chairman*)	20
J. R. MacDonald (*Treasurer*)	7
C. G. Ammon, M.P.	21
Mrs. F. H. Bell	23
Dr. Ethel Bentham	21
*J. Bromley	3
A. G. Cameron	17
J. R. Clynes, M.P.	18
C. T. Cramp	17
R. J. Davies, M.P.	25
Chas. Duncan	7
M. B. Farr	22
Frank Hodges	21
W. H. Hutchinson	17
Jack Jones, M.P.	13
G. Lansbury	23
Miss S. Lawrence, L.C.C.	18
Neil Maclean, M.P.	15
F. O. Roberts, M.P.	21
Tom Shaw, M.P.	14
Mrs. Philip Snowden	16
Ben C. Spoor, M.P.	14
†Ben Turner	3
F. B. Varley	26

*Resigned and was succeeded by Jack Jones, M.P.

†Resigned and was succeeded by F. O. Roberts, M.P.

Statement of Accounts
— for Year ending —
December 31st, 1921.

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS,

RECEIPTS.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
To Balance brought forward, 1st January, 1921 ..		20798 13 11
,, Affiliation Fees :—		
Labour Parties and Trades Councils	774 5 7	
Trades Unions and Socialist Societies	54094 11 3	
		54868 16 10
,, Donations :—		
British Labour and Irish Peace Campaign ..	850 11 5	
General to Party Funds	7 0 0	
		857 11 5
,, Refund to Advisory Committee of Expenses for Stationery, &c., in connection with Provisional Committee of Joint Industrial Council ..		68 14 2
,, Sale of Waste Paper		3 9 3
,, Repayment of £150 "A" Woolwich Equitable Building Society Shares matured		231 0 0
,, Dividends :—		
Woolwich Equitable Building Society ..	9 15 0	
Co-operative Printing Society Ltd.	85 0 0	
		94 15 0
,, Co-operative Wholesale Society Bank :—		
Interest	430 16 3	
Less Commission charged	26 6 4	
		404 9 11

Carried forward .. £77,327 10 6

YEAR ENDING, DECEMBER 31st, 1921.

PAYMENTS.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
By Organisation :—			
National Organisers :—			
Salaries and Expenses ..		9375 11 9	
Propagandists :—			
Salaries and Expenses ..		222 4 3	
National Agent's Office :—			
Salaries and Wages ..		2638 0 10½	
General Organisation Expenses	510 14 5		
Sixteen Regional Conferences	1200 3 8		
		1710 18 1	
Grants to Local Labour Parties *re* Agents' Salaries		4969 12 4	
			18916 7 3½
,, Cost of Woolwich Bye-election			839 16 7
,, Scottish Organisation :—			
Scottish Council Expenses ..	113 13 3		
General Organisation Expenses	530 13 0		
			644 6 3
,, British Labour and Irish Peace Campaign			5650 1 8½
,, Labour Party Share of Expenditure undertaken Jointly with the General Council of the Trades Union Congress :—			
Unemployment Conferences and Campaign ..	350 8 7		
Miners' Lockout Publicity Campaign	41 13 10		
*Grant to close Memorial of Freedom and Peace Account	121 19 10		
Grant towards setting up National Joint Council ..	100 0 0		
			614 2 3
,, Annual Conferences :—			
Brighton	2276 12 8		
Less Delegates' Fees received	201 10 0		
		2075 2 8	
Manchester (Women's Conference)	194 0 1		
Less Delegates' Fees received	65 10 6		
		128 9 7	
			2203 12 3
,, Executive Committee Expenses			1168 6 4
,, Departmental Expenses :—			
Advisory Committees		1359 6 2	
Information Bureau and Library		1469 16 9	
International Department		1244 14 1	
Office of Parliamentary Party		1925 18 11½	
Press and Publicity Department		1233 5 8	
Legal Retainer (Fee) ..		55 0 0	
General Office Expenses :—			
Addressograph	64 8 10		
Auditors' Expenses ..	16 14 2		
Carriage	81 18 6		
Heating	279 11 1		
Insurance—Employers' Liability, Fire, Burglary	112 2 5		
Insurance—Employers' Contributions Staff Health and Unemployment ..	59 19 3½		
Lighting	55 9 6		
Overtime	58 6 5½		
Postages	1263 12 10		
Rent, Rates and Taxes ..	396 14 0		
Carried forward ..	£2,388 17 1	£7,288 1 7½	£30,036 12 8

*£82 6s. 3d. of this amount (representing accrued interest credited by the Bank 31st December, 1921), has been refunded to the Labour Party by the General Council T.U.C. (February, 1922). This will appear on the receipt side in the Statement of Accounts for 1922.

Statement of Accounts,

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward ..	£77,327	10	6

£77,327 10 6

LITERATURE ACCOUNT,

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To ORGANISATION :—						
Application Forms	41	18	3			
Canvass Cards	109	14	3			
Constitution and Rules	32	19	0			
Election Forms Parcels	46	4	0			
Polling District Committees	1	13	4			
Posters	30	9	11			
Secretary's Boxes	32	11	7			
Street Boxes and Trap Timers	1	3	0			
				296	13	4
,, PROPAGANDA :—						
Leaflets	600	19	11			
Pamphlets	553	9	8			
				1154	9	7
,, REPORTS :—						
Southport Conference (1919)	5	0	1			
Scarborough ,, (1920)	358	3	3			
Brighton ,, (1921)	244	15	9			
Irish (Nos. 1 and 2)	762	11	1			
Russian Delegation	93	11	4			
Unemployment	325	19	1			
				1790	0	7
,, Local Government Handbook				143	4	4
,, Bulletin				14	11	2
,, "Labour News"				302	1	7
,, "Labour Woman"				835	11	1
,, Voting Records				104	16	6
,, Subscriptions for Literature				8	2	6
				4649	10	8
,, *BALANCE carried to Statement of Accounts ..				6798	5	7½
				£11 447	16	3½

*This deficit is not real. Against this must be placed the value of *current* literature, &c., in stock on the 31st December 1921. This (written down 30 per cent.) equalled £5,241 17s. 7d. Also, accounts outstanding on the same date for Literature sold amounted to £700 3s. 3d.

Year Ending, December 31st, 1921 (Continued).

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Brought forward ..	£2,388 17 1	7,288 1 7½	30,036 12 8
By General Office Expenses (*continued*)			
Salaries and Wages ..	5481 3 0		
Stationery	878 5 4		
Telephone	46 3 5½		
Telegrams	90 18 8		
Office Furniture ..	121 13 3		
Repairs and Alterations ..	386 16 2		
Miscellaneous, Office Sundries, &c. ..	697 0 5½		
		10090 17 5	
			17378 19 0½
,, Grant to Assistant Secretary (on breakdown in health)			50 0 0
,, Donation to late Will Crooks' Testimonial Fund ..			18 8 0
,, *Debit Balance from Literature Account ..			6798 5 7½
,, Bank Charges :—			
Cheque Stamps			12 1 8
,, Balance at Co-operative Wholesale Society Bank ..			23033 3 6
			£77,327 10 6

YEAR ENDING, DECEMBER 31st, 1921.

PAYMENTS.

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
By Organisation :—		
Application Forms	7 6 4	
Constitution and Rules	107 11 0	
Election Forms Parcels	297 10 0	
Posters	914 11 3	
Secretary's Boxes	453 14 10	
		1780 13 5
,, Propaganda :—		
Leaflets	624 4 8	
Pamphlets	1874 15 0½	
		2498 19 8½
,, Reports :—		
Scarborough Conference (1920)	735 6 11	
Brighton ,, (1921)	725 6 2	
*Irish	1161 8 5	
Unemployment	845 0 0	
		3467 1 6
,, Local Government Handbook		14 5 2
,, Bulletin		353 2 7
,, "Labour News"		1573 5 4
,, "Labour Woman"		1609 2 7
,, Voting Records		53 12 0
,, Cost of Advertising Literature		97 14 0
		£11,447 16 3½

*This deficit is not real. Against this must be placed the value of *current* literature, &c., in stock on the 31st December 1921. This (written down 30 per cent.) equalled £5,241 17s. 7d. Also, accounts outstanding on the same date for Literature sold amounted to £700 3s. 3d.

INVESTMENTS.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Woolwich Equitable Building Society.						
(Late Miss Mary Chambers' bequest.)						
3 £50 "A" Shares fully paid (maturing for payment 1st February, 1922) ..	150	0	0			
3 £50 "C" Shares fully paid	150	0	0			
				300	0	0
Leicester Co-operative Printing Society Ltd.						
20 £1 Shares	20	0	0			
Loan Account (Accumulated Dividends and Interest)	184	11	8			
				204	11	8
				£504	11	8

AUDITORS' REPORT.

We have examined the Books and Vouchers and verified balances in connection with the 1921 Accounts. We have, also, examined the Deeds and Documents relating to the Leases of Nos. 33 and 34, Eccleston Square, London, S.W. We hereby certify that they are correct and that the Financial Statement as printed in this Report shows the position of the Party on 31st December, 1921.

ROBERT YOUNG,
JOHN LAWSON, } *Auditors.*

23rd March, 1922.

PARLIAMENTARY REPORT.

SESSION, 1921.*

UNEMPLOYMENT.

The first thing the Party did was to move the following Amendment to the Address :—

> " but regrets that, in view of the serious distress consequent upon unemployment and the lack of preparedness on the part of the Government to deal with the situation, there is no mention of legislation recognising the right of the genuine unemployed to work or adequate maintenance."

This was debated for two days and then defeated by 262 to 84.

. . . . . .

On the 17th February the following Resolution was carried by the three National bodies :—

> " That, having carefully considered the statement of the Minister of Labour in the debate yesterday, this Party is of opinion that the Government's further policy merely of extending the Unemployment Insurance Act, is lamentably inadequate to meet the present situation and bears little relation to the existing human suffering ;
>
> This Party emphatically reiterates its demand that comprehensive steps be taken to restore international trade and to organise without delay national schemes of work, and that those for whom no employment is provided should be found adequate maintenance."

. . . . . .

On the 23rd February Mr. Clynes introduced our Prevention of Unemployment Bill, and on the same day the Second Reading of the first Unemployment Insurance Bill to increase the contributions and the benefits and to lengthen the period of payment, was taken, and the Party spokesmen again protested against the inadequacy of the Bill.

On the Committee Stage an Amendment was moved to make the benefits as follows :—

For the head of a family	40s.
For other than the head of a family ..	25s.
For each dependent	5s.

The Government would not accept this and in order not to destroy another Amendment to increase the benefits to £1 for men and 16s. for women our Amendment was withdrawn and the other moved and accepted.

The Party also moved an Amendment to provide that all ex-service men should be entitled to benefit whether or not they had been in employment since the end of 1919, and the Government gave as a compromise that any ex-service man who could show that his inability to obtain employment was due to the War or to circumstances beyond his control, would be entitled to benefit.

On the Report Stage an Amendment was moved to include outworkers but was defeated by 116 to 49.

. . . . . .

*Some of this Report was included in the Report to the last Conference, but for convenience the report of the Session is given here in full.

On the 9th March the Party seized the occasion of the Vote on Account to discuss unemployment from the point of view of international trade and failing to get a satisfactory reply went to a division. Result : 218 against 62.

* * * * * *

On the 16th March on the occasion of a Supplementary Estimate for grants to local authorities for relief work the Party criticised the niggardly character of the scheme.

* * * * * *

On the 22nd March on the Consolidated Fund Bill the Party again raised the question and pressed the Government to take some action.

* * * * * *

On the 8th June the Minister of Labour, under the Ten Minutes Rule, introduced a further Unemployment Insurance Bill to increase the contributions and reduce the benefits. Mr. Clynes spoke strongly against and the Party forced a division. Result : 221 to 62.

On the Second Reading on the 15th June the Party moved the rejection of the Bill, the division resulting in 214 to 83.

In the Standing Committee Amendments were moved against the reduction in benefits, against the increases in contributions, and against the increase of the waiting period from three days to six, but none was accepted. A further Amendment was moved to provide that a man thrown out of work through a dispute in which he was not a participator should be entitled to benefit, but this was also defeated.

This Amendment was repeated on the Report Stage and in the division it was defeated by 144 to 104. The other Amendments were also repeated without avail.

The Party moved the rejection of the Third Reading and in the division there voted 240 against 81.

* * * * * *

On the 4th August on the Ministry of Labour Vote the Party once more expressed disappointment that the Ministry had nothing to say about any plans for dealing with the question in face of the coming winter. In the division there voted 266 to 77.

* * * * * *

Again on the 17th August on the Consolidated Fund Bill the Party nitiated a debate on unemployment.

* * * * * *

On the 18th October the Party considered the outline of the Government's scheme afterwards embodied in the Unemployed Workers' Dependants Bill and the following resolution was passed and endorsed by the other two National bodies :—

> " This meeting of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress and the National Executive Committee of the Labour Party is of the opinion that the Government's proposed scheme for additional unemployment benefit is defective because :—
>
> 1. The benefits suggested are too low to prevent serious hardship.
>
> 2. A further burden would be imposed upon working people at a time when there have been widespread wage reductions, when large numbers of workers are on short time, and when Trade Unions have already laid heavy levies upon their members.

3. It proposes to extract from workers and employers a sum of £3,600,000, whilst the State is to contribute only £2,700,000 for what is clearly a national obligation.

4. Persons who will be ineligible for benefit under the scheme would be required to contribute to the Fund, as unmarried workers (who form the majority of insured workers) would not receive benefit. The scheme, therefore, would impose an unjust tax upon a section of the community whilst many other classes, such, for example, as bankers, farmers, the whole of the rentier class and debenture holders would be exempt from direct contributions.

On the Second Reading of the Bill the following reasoned Amendment was moved :——

" That, whilst anxious to take every step calculated to relieve distress during the present unemployment crisis, this House cannot assent to the Second Reading of a Bill which provides inadequate assistance to some working-class families and no assistance to others, which adds to the burden upon certain industries and imposes a further tax upon a section of the workers whilst exempting from direct contribution other and wealthier classes of the community, and which fails to recognise the full obligation of the State towards every citizen deprived of the means of livelihood."

In the division 226 voted for the Bill and 70 for the Amendment.

The chief Amendments put down for the Committee and Report Stages were as follows :—

1. To cover all dependents. (Ruled out of order.)

2. To provide the grant in respect of the dependent husband of a working woman. (This was conceded.)

3. To cover children up to the age of 16 instead of 14. (What was conceded was that any child between 14 and 16 undergoing full-time instruction at school should be included.)

4. To increase the grant in respect of a wife from 5s. to 10s., and for each child from 1s. to 2s., and to delete the limitation of the grant to four children. (The only one conceded was the removal of the limitation.) On the Report Stage the Amendment to increase the grant of a child to 2s. was only defeated by 145 to 112.)

5. To cover the families of all unemployed workers. (Ruled out of order.)

6. Amendment which would have the effect of the State being the only contributor. (Rejected.)

7. That any person whose earnings for any one week do not exceed 30s. shall be exempt from contribution in respect of that week. (Rejected.)

8. To delete the Clause providing that Guardians shall take into account the amount of any grants and the full amount of any unemployment benefit received. (This was not moved in Committee, the Party having refused to take any further part in the proceedings, and on Report Stage the Amendment was not called.)

. . . . . .

During the Autumn Sitting frequent reference was made to the Circular of the Ministry of Health instructing local authorities that wages on relief works must not exceed 75 per cent. of the district rates, and on the Vote for Relief Works the Party vigorously criticised the Ministry's policy. The Minister eventually announced that it had been decided to allow wages up to the extent of 87½ per cent. to be paid to those who are only employed three days a week, and that in the case of skilled men employed in their own trade and qualified navvies the full rate should be paid.

FINANCE.

On the Finance Bill the following were the chief Amendments moved :

1. To abolish the tea duty. (Rejected.)
2. To increase the various abatements from Income Tax in respect to relatives. (Rejected.)
3. To allow a widower abatement in respect of a housekeeper. (Rejected.)
4. To graduate the Income Tax in substitution for the method of jumping direct from the 3s. rate to the 6s. rate : that is to say, the object of the Amendment was to continue the 3s. rate on the first £225 (as at present), to levy a rate of 4s. on the next £200, and a rate of 5s. on the following £300, all above that to be at the rate of 6s. (Rejected.)
5. To exempt Co-operative Societies from the Corporation Profits Tax. (Rejected.)
6. To reduce by 50 per cent. the tax of 6d. on each £1 of drink sold in clubs. (Rejected by 156 to 113.)

On the Report Stage the Party concentrated on Mr. Kidd's Amendment to provide that the Corporation Profits Tax should not apply to any profits or surplus arising out of the trading of a Co-operative Society with its own members.

The Amendment was carried against the Government, the figures being 137 to 135.

IRELAND.

The Party tabled the following Amendment to the Address :—

> " but regrets that, in view of the present deplorable condition of affairs in Ireland, there is no expressed intention on the part of the Government to make a real effort towards reconciliation and settlement by meeting in conference the elected representatives of the Irish people and exploring with an open mind every possible avenue to peace."

As the Party's official Amendment was on Unemployment there was no opportunity to move the above and the Party had to be content with speaking to the Independent Liberal Amendment which dealt more with reprisals ; but the Party spokesmen drew attention to the Party's own Amendment, and spoke accordingly. In subsequent debates the same line was consistently taken, and when the truce was initiated in June the Party passed and published the following resolution :—

> " This meeting of the Parliamentary Labour Party, whilst regretting that the step was not taken months ago, welcomes the action of the Government in at length inviting, without conditions, representatives of Ireland to a conference to discuss the question

of Irish Government ; and this meeting expresses the hope that the elected representatives of the Irish people will be able to accept the invitation, and that the Government will now steadfastly pursue the path of conciliation until a solution of the Irish difficulty has been found and peace and contentment restored to the people."

On the Motion of Censure moved on the 31st October, the Party spoke and voted against.

SAFEGUARDING OF INDUSTRIES BILL.

The Party decided to oppose the Financial Resolutions upon which this Bill was based on the ground that the proposals offered no remedy for the present position, but would create monopolies in this country, and that the only sound policy was to concentrate upon and encourage the work of the International Labour Bureau under the League of Nations in establishing minimum international conditions of labour.

The Party voted against the Second and Third Readings of the Bill and was associated with many Amendments all calculated to restrict the objectionable provisions.

The following reasoned Amendment was down for the Second Reading but the Party did not get an opportunity of moving it, Mr. Asquith moving the direct rejection :—

> " That this House cannot assent to the Second Reading of a Bill which, while imposing protective duties upon imported goods ostensibly for the purpose of safeguarding certain special industries and safeguarding employment in industries, will have the effect of promoting monopolies and aggravating unemployment in this country and restricting foreign trade."

COAL MINES (DECONTROL) BILL.

Miners' Dispute.

On the 8th March the Party opposed the Second Reading of this Bill to de-control the Mines at the end of March, the figures in the division being 277-72.

The only Amendment which could be moved was one postponing de-control until 30th June. This was moved both in Committee and on Report and was rejected.

Amendments were put down to establish a National Coal Board and to define its duties and functions, and a further Amendment to maintain existing rates of wages until the end of the year, but these were ruled out of order. The Third Reading was opposed.

. . . . . .

Consequent upon the stoppage a Proclamation declaring a state of Emergency was issued and on the 8th April was discussed in the House. The Regulations made thereunder had to be renewed each month and on each occasion the Party used the opportunity to put the miners' case. The Regulations themselves were also opposed and a few minor Amendments secured.

RAILWAYS BILL.

On the 26th May on the Second Reading of the Railways Bill the following reasoned Amendment was moved :—

> " That this House cannot assent to the Second Reading of a Bill which not only fails to provide for the public ownership and control of the railways, but would prejudice the future acquisition of

the railways by the State on a fair and economic basis, which provides for the payment to the railway companies of a sum far in excess of the amount due to them in consequence of temporary State control, and which, repealing the statutory limitation imposed upon railway rates, vests in a non-elected body the arbitrary power of fixing those rates."

Two days were given to the debate and the Amendment secured 65 votes as against 259.

In the Standing Committee and on Report the Party took a close and critical interest in the proceedings and were instrumental in securing a number of Amendments providing compensation for any employees discharged as a result of amalgamation or absorption, and safe-guarding the funds of the various superannuation schemes existing in connection with the different companies. An Amendment to reduce the payment to the companies from 60 millions to 10 millions was rejected.

The Party voted against the Third Reading.

The Party introduced a Bill for the Nationalisation of the Railways.

GERMAN REPARATION (RECOVERY) BILL.

The Party did not oppose the Second Reading of this Bill, believing that it would be better policy to try first to get it amended in certain directions.

The main Amendments put down included :—

1. To provide that all monies received should be applied to the reduction of the National Debt.
2. That orders applying the tax should only be made in pursuance of a resolution of the House of Commons.
3. That the Act should only come into operation when similar laws are put into operation in France, Italy and Belgium.

All Amendments designed to make the Bill less objectionable were resisted and defeated by the Government, and on the Third Reading the Party moved the following reasoned Amendment :—

> " That whilst desirous of securing just reparation from Germany, this House cannot accept legislation of a character which does not represent a common policy on the part of the Allies, which would only result in injury to British trade and an increase in the volume of unemployment, and which has been introduced before sufficient effort has been made to secure a settlement by agreement, or, through the aid of the League of Nations or other impartial tribunal, to ascertain the extent of Germany's capacity to pay."

PUBLIC HEALTH (TUBERCULOSIS) BILL.

On this Bill extending the powers of local authorities in the treatment of persons suffering from tuberculosis, the Party secured an important Amendment giving powers to the local authorities for the after-care of such persons.

HOUSE RENTS AND BUSINESS PREMISES.

In April the Party decided that as a further increase of 10 per cent. on the rents of working-class houses was due in July and that in June the application of the Rent Act to business premises was to cease, a short Bill (Increase of Rent Bill) deferring the 10 per cent. increase for a year and continuing the law relating to business premises should be introduced. This was done, but in spite of much pressure from inside and outside the House the Government refused to give the Bill facilities.

OLD AGE PENSIONS.

On the 11th May the following Motion was moved :—

> "That, in the opinion of this House, the recommendation of the Departmental Committee on Old Age Pensions in favour of the repeal of the provisions in the Old Age Pensions Acts as to calculation of means should be adopted and the Old Age Pensions Acts amended accordingly, thereby enabling applicants for and recipients of the old age pension to derive the full benefit of their thrift and personal provision for old age and to receive assistance from friends, employers, and organisations without reduction of or disqualification for the full pension."

To this an Amendment was moved by a Government supporter declaring that the time was inopportune for adding to the burdens of the taxpayer.

123 voted for the Motion and 135 for the Amendment, a Government majority of 12 only.

LOCAL AUTHORITIES (PAYMENT OF EXPENSES) BILL.

On the 6th May the Party managed to get a couple of hours' debate on the Second Reading of this Bill for the payment of the expenses of members of local authorities, but the Bill was talked out.

CORN PRODUCTION ACTS (REPEAL) BILL.

The Party moved the rejection of the Second Reading of this Bill to bring the guarantee to farmers to an end and to abolish the minimum wage and the Wages Board. In the division 278 voted for the Bill and 113 against.

Amendments were moved designed to keep the minimum wage and the Wages Board, but they were rejected. Ultimately the Government agreed to Amendments to provide that if a district committee came to an agreement the Minister should have power to make the agreement binding in the district.

An Amendment was secured that the development grant should also be devoted to the establishment of scholarships and maintenance grants for the sons and daughters of agricultural workmen and others.

The Party voted against the Third Reading.

WAR PENSIONS BILL.

The following were the main Amendments moved to this Bill :—

1. To increase the time limit of one year for making an appeal against a final award to two years.
2. To provide that if, at any time after discharge, a man is found to be suffering from tuberculosis or neurasthenia, he shall be deemed to be suffering from such disease as a result of War service, and the fact that he was accepted for war service shall be held to be conclusive that when he entered the service he was free from the disease.

Neither of the above was accepted.

HOUSING.

Early in the Session the Government introduced a Housing Bill to extend the time for the payment of the housing subsidy (consequent upon the Lords throwing out last year's Bill) and to enable local authorties to hire compulsorily empty houses below a certain rental. In response to pressure the Minister of Health withdrew this hiring Clause in spite of the protests of the Party.

Numerous debates on Housing took place during the Session in all of which the Party was well represented and attention was drawn to the good work done by the Building Guild and to the policy of the Department in cribbing, and confining the activities of the Guild, as for instance in refusing to sanction fresh contracts on the ground that the existing few contracts were in the nature of experiments and the Department was not yet in a position to decide upon the merits of the system.

LOCAL RATES (INCREASE PREVENTION) BILL.

The Party moved the rejection of the Second Reading of this Bill, introduced by a Coalition Unionist, which cut across the democratic powers of local authorities in matters of finance.

The Bill provided that no expense should be incurred by a local authority except upon a resolution of its Finance Committee; that each authority should once a year send an estimate of its forthcoming expenditure to the Finance Committee of the County Council and that the latter body should prepare an annual statement covering the whole country; and that, even if a town's meeting or a poll of the electors has approved a Bill to be promoted in Parliament, not less than one hundred electors, or one-twentieth in number of the electors may present a petition against the Bill.

The Second Reading was carried, but the Bill made no further progress.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION.

The following Amendment to the Address was tabled but could not be moved :—

> " but regrets that there is no mention of the great and growing necessity for a comprehensive measure to amend the Workmen's Compensation Act nor of any mention on the part of the Government to introduce such legislation."

Although there was no opportunity to move the above the subject was raised in the debate on the Address and on many occasions the Home Secretary was pressed to bring his Bill in. All that was obtained was the expression of a hope that the question would be dealt with next Session.

In the Expiring Laws Continuance Bill, however, provision was made for continuing the War Addition Acts until the end of 1922 or they would have expired in March, 1922.

WASHINGTON INTERNATIONAL LABOUR CONVENTIONS.

Towards the end of 1920 the Chairman and other Members of the Party repeatedly urged the Government to carry out their obligations for the ratification of the Washington Conventions, particularly those relating to the eight-hour day and the employment of women before and after childbirth. The Government kept putting the discussion off but stated that it had been decided not to ratify the Maternity Convention, and then on the 27th May time was given for the following Motion moved by Mr. Barnes :—

> " That in the opinion of this House, the Conventions adopted at the International Labour Conference under the League of Nations should be submitted to Parliament as the competent authority."

To this Dr. Macnamara moved the following Amendment :—

> " That it is not expedient in existing circumstances to proceed with legislation to give effect to the Washington Convention on Hours of Labour."

In the division 69 voted for the Motion and 109 for the Amendment, and the debate on the amended motion was talked out.

On the 1st July Dr. Macnamara moved the following :—

"That this House approves the policy of His Majesty's Government respecting the several Conventions and Recommendations of the nternational Labour Conference at Washington in November, 1919."

In submitting this Motion the Government had acceded to the expressed opinion that the ratification or otherwise of the Conventions should be submitted to Parliament, but of course the Party could not approve of the Government's policy in view of the fact that nothing was being done in connection with Hours of Labour and Maternity.

The Motion was carried by 164 to 53.

MOTHERS' PENSIONS.

The Party's Bill to provide pensions for Mothers was re-introduced but the Speaker would not allow it to be printed as, being purely a Money Bill, it must originate in a Ways and Means resolution.

EDUCATION.

On the Education Vote the Party speakers criticised the economy being practised with regard to education and the failure to take full advantage of the provisions of the last Education Act.

MINISTRY OF TRANSPORT.

In view of the statements to the effect that this Department is to be abolished and its duties merged in other Departments, the Party sent a lengthy reasoned Memorandum to the Prime Minister pointing out that such would be a retrograde step and not consistent with the declared policy of the Government when the Ministry was established.

REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE BILL.

The Party's Bill to give votes to women on the same terms as men was re-introduced but made no progress.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON ARMAMENTS.

On the eve of the International Conference on Armaments held at Washington, the Party moved the following Motion :—

"That this House warmly approves of the meeting of the International Conference at Washington, and trusts that a supreme effort will be made to arrive at such a measure of agreement as will secure a substantial reduction of the crushing burden of armaments."

The Motion was carried *nem. con.*

SESSION 1922.

The Party considered the long established practice of appointing its Officers at the first meeting in every Session and came to the conclusion that it would be in the interests of the Party and of the Officers appointed if, towards the close of each Session, the election of the Officers for the ensuing Session were taken so that those elected might be in a position to make arrangements during the Recess to enable them to give constant attention to their official duties in the House. The Officers for Session 1922 were therefore elected in 1921 as follows :—

Chairman : J. R. Clynes.
Vice-Chairmen : S. Walsh, J. C. Wedgwood.
Chief Whip : A. Henderson.
Jun. Whips : F. Hall, W. R. Smith, T. Griffiths, T. Kennedy.

KING'S SPEECH.

The King's Speech contained nothing of note beyond a reference to the Irish Treaty, and a statement that proposals would be submitted for the Reform of the House of Lords and for the adjustment of differences between the two Houses. The Bill to ratify the Irish Treaty has been passed, but the Government's promised resolutions on House of Lords Reform have not yet appeared. In the general debate on the Address in Answer, this and other questions such as the Washington Conference,, the Proceedings of the Supreme Council, Unemployment, Egypt, India, Russia and Education, were raised by the spokesmen of the Party.

The following was the official Party Amendment to the Address :—

> " But regrets that, in view of the disaster to British trade and of the large number of persons unemployed, there is no indication that the Government are prepared to recognise and deal effectively with the causes of unemployment, or to provide the opportunity for useful productive work for the people of this Country ; and further, in view of the exhaustion of national funds provided for the assistance of local authorities and the approaching cessation of unemployment insurance benefit, regrets that there is no indication of any intention on the part of the Government to grant substantial financial aid to local authorities, who cannot be expected to bear a national burden."

The Amendment was defeated by 270 to 78.

The Party also supported an Amendment expressing regret that no reference was made to the amelioration of the condition of ex-service men at present confined in lunatic asylums.

The Party tabled the following additional Amendment, but there was no opportunity of moving it :—

> " But regrets that, instead of following the policy initiated by the United States of America, discussions are being continued with the governments of France and Belgium with a view to the conclusion of entangling alliances which may involve this country in international disputes caused by the policy or actions of either of those two governments and over which this country would have no control."

An Amendment was also placed on the Paper urging the necessity for granting substantial relief to the many starving people in Russia, but this could not be moved.

HOUSING, &c.

On the 27th February on the Vote for the Ministry of Health, the Party initiated a debate on the Government's Reduced Housing programme.

Again on the 13th March the Party returned to the attack, and also protested against the Regulations providing that wages on relief work must be less than the district rate.

PENSIONS APPEAL TRIBUNAL.

On a Supplementary Vote for the Pensions Appeals Tribunals, occasion was taken to criticise the way in which the claims of many ex-service men were being disallowed.

ECONOMY.

On the 10th March a debate took place on the Report of the National Expenditure Committee (presided over by Sir Eric Geddes), the Chancellor of the Exchequer outlining the proposals the Government intended to adopt. A strong protest was made against the cuts proposed with regard to Education and the social services generally.

Again, on the 28th March, the Party initiated a debate criticising the Government's proposals for economy in Education, particularly those to increase the size of classes, to diminish the number of scholarships in Secondary Schools, and to deduct five per cent. from teachers' salaries as a contribution towards their pensions.

MINING INDUSTRY ACT.

On the 7th March the following Motion was moved :—

"That Part II. of the Mining Industry Act shall not cease to have effect."

Part II. of the Act made provision for the setting up of a National Board, Area Boards, and District and Pit Committees, jointly representative of the owners and miners, for the regulation of the mining industry. The owners had refused to appoint their representatives, and, therefore, the law was rendered abortive, and a Motion of this character was necessary to prevent it lapsing. Its purpose, therefore, was to keep the law in being so that in the event of the owners agreeing at any future time to appoint their representatives advantage could be taken of the Act. The Government resisted the Motion, and it was defeated by 141 to 99.

EGYPT.

On the 28th February the Prime Minister made his statement on the Government's policy with regard to Egypt, and shortly afterwards a debate arose. The Party spokesman urged the necessity for the abolition of martial law and the election of a Constituent Assembly to negotiate with the Government, but the Government's reply did not give any hope of an alteration in their policy.

RUSSIAN FAMINE.

The Government brought forward a Vote for a hundred thousand pounds to supply commodities of this value to Russia, and the Party strongly urged the granting of more substantial relief, but without effect.

ENGINEERING DISPUTE.

On the 20th March a debate was secured on the Engineering lockout, and the Party demanded the setting up of a Court of Inquiry under the Industrial Courts Act. The Government would not agree and a Division was pressed, there voting for the Government 162, and against 80. Subsequently, the Court of Inquiry was conceded.

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE.

On the 29th March the Ministry of Labour moved the Second Reading of another Unemployment Insurance Bill. The main objects of the Bill were to provide further periods for the payment of benefit and the continuation of the Unemployed Workers' (Dependents') Act, 1921.

One of the chief blots in the Bill was that the benefit should only be paid if it was deemed expedient, thus allowing the Minister to frame regulations for the guidance of the local employment committees which would, as in the case of the six weeks' extension of benefit under the previous Act, disqualify many juveniles, single persons and persons working short time.

The following were the main Amendments moved by the Party :—

1. To provide that the Dependent's Allowance should be paid in respect of a person acting in the capacity of housekeeper (to cover the case of the widower who has no children but who requires someone to look after his house) Rejected.

2. To increase the allowance in respect of the wife from 5s. to 10s. Rejected.

3. To increase the allowance in respect of a child from 1s. to 2s. Rejected.

4. To lengthen the periods for the payment of benefit. Rejected.

5. To provide that a person who is able to get employment which does not exceed two hours a day and the remuneration for which does not exceed 20s. a week, should still be entitled to benefit. Rejected.

6. To raise the age of a child in respect of whom allowance may be paid from 14 to 16. (This was secured in Committee against the Government, but on the Report Stage the age of 14 was restored by the Government.)

7. To reduce the waiting period from a week to three days. Rejected.

8. To provide that an unemployed person covered by the Acts shall receive benefit automatically, provided he fulfils the usual conditions, instead of each case being subject to the discretion of the Minister. Rejected.

9. The law for disqualifying a person for benefit if he has been thrown out of employment in consequence of a dispute to which he is not a party, was again criticised, and eventually the Minister agreed to appoint a Committee to consider how far it would be possible to modify it.

GENOA CONFERENCE.

On the 3rd April the Prime Minister moved a Motion expressing approval of the resolutions which were decided upon at Cannes as the basis of the Conference at Genoa, and promising support to the Government in endeavouring to carry them into effect. To this the Party moved the following Amendment :—

> "That, whilst approving of an international economic and financial conference, this House regrets that the scope of discussion at Genoa has been so circumscribed that the conference must fall short of a settlement of the political and economic evils which afflict Europe, and is of opinion that His Majesty's Government, which has clearly not the confidence of the country and which is responsible for the policy, the unfortunate effects of which are to be considered at Genoa, is not competent to represent this country."

In the Division the Amendment secured 84 votes as against 381.

OLD AGE PENSIONS.

By luck in the ballot an evening was secured for a Motion on Old Age Pensions. It was in identical terms with the Motion moved in 1921, which was only defeated by a Government majority of 12.

An Amendment was moved to the effect that in the present financial exigencies of the country nothing could be done that might add to the ratepayers' burdens.

This Amendment was carried by 163 to 120, and the Motion thus Amended was carried by 164 to 100.

MINISTRY OF LABOUR VOTE.

A day was secured to discuss this Vote and the dilatory policy of the Ministry of Labour with regard to affirming decisions of certain trade boards was strongly criticised.

The training of ex-service men was also discussed.

FINANCE.

On the 1st May the Chancellor of the Exchequer made his Budget Statement, the most important points in it being a reduction of one shilling in the Income Tax, a reduction of fourpence in the Tea Duty, and reductions in the Cocoa and Coffee Duties.

The general view of the Party was that the reduction in Income Tax (which would have very little effect in stimulating trade) meant the granting of substantial relief to the rich classes and very little to the lower Income Taxpayers, and that the reduction of 4d. on the duty of foreign tea (which would only provide for a reduction of 3⅓d. on Empire-grown tea) would have little effect on the working-class Budget.

The following are the main Amendments it is proposed to move on the Committee stage of the Bill after Whitsuntide :—

1. To abolish the sugar duty.
2. To reduce the tea duty by 50 per cent.
3. To exempt from Income Tax the pensions of War widows (as in the case of pensions of disabled men).
4. To revise the Entertainments Tax so that the tax on lower-priced tickets shall be less, with a corresponding increase on the higher priced tickets.
5. To resist the proposal to abolish the concession whereby wage-earners have been able to deduct from their assessable income the cost of travelling to and from work.
6. To provide that the present abatement of 10 per cent. on all earned incomes shall be increased to 20 per cent.
7. To reduce the Club Tax by 50 per cent.
8. To reduce the Beer Duties by 30s. per barrel.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION.

On the 3rd May the following Motion was moved :—

To call attention to the question of Workmen's Compensation and to move " That in view of the unsatisfactory state of the law relating to Workmen's Compensation and of the fact that the War Addition Acts expire at the end of this year, this House is of opinion that a Government Bill to amend the Workmen's Compensation Act, 1906, should be introduced and passed during the course of this Session."

As a result of the discussion the Home Secretary promised to bring representatives of the employers and trade unions together to discuss the possible lines of an agreed measure to be passed this Session, and it is hoped that these negotiations will be successful.

PREVENTION OF UNEMPLOYMENT BILL.

On the 12th May the Second Reading of the Party's Prevention of Unemployment Bill was moved, but it met with the same fate as on many previous occasions. In the Division there voted for the Bill 82, and against 172.

SCHOOL TEACHERS' (SUPERANNUATION) BILL.

The Party moved the rejection of the Second Reading of this Bill, which seeks to deduct 5 per cent. from Teachers' salaries for Superannuation purposes. The Party spokesman pointed out that when the new salary scales for teachers were fixed regard was had to the fact that their Pensions Scheme was non-contributory, and the argument that but for this fact the scales of salaries would have been higher, was put very strongly. It was urged that the Bill would constitute a breach of faith, and that if there was any doubt on this point the best course would be to refer the matter to a select committee which could hear witnesses and examine the evidence, before the further stages of the Bill were proceeded with.

The Government would not agree and later on a Motion was moved to adjourn the debate, and in the Division the Government were defeated by a majority of 3. In consequence of this the Government announced next day that a Select Committee would be appointed and this has been done.

TRADE UNION ACT (1913) AMENDMENT BILL.

On the 19th May a private member (Coalition Unionist) moved the Second Reading of this Bill which seeks to upset the Trade Union Act of 1913 which was passed by Parliament as the result of the Osborn judgment. The Bill provides that in the ballot of a union as to whether a political fund shall be established 50 per cent. of the membership must vote, and there must be a majority of 20 per cent. of those voting in favour, or the ballot is not valid. Further, any member who wishes to contribute to the fund is to give notice in writing and to renew his notice every year, which is completely reversing the process laid down in the 1913 Act.

The Party speakers vigorously protested against any attempt to upset the compromise agreed to by all parties in 1913, but the Second Reading was carried by 10 to 82, and the remarkable thing was that no Member of the Government took part in the debate. It is also worthy of notice that 12 Members of the Government voted for the Closure, which was moved to prevent the Bill being talked out, and that 10 voted for the Second Reading of the Bill, whilst only one Member of the Government voted with the Party.

CHILD MURDER (TRIAL) BILL.

The Party hopes to succeed in getting upon the Statute Book this small Bill which provides that where it is shown that a mother, charged with the murder of her child, had not recovered from the effects of childbirth, the jury may bring in a verdict of manslaughter. The Measure has passed the Commons and is now in the House of Lords.

GENERAL.

During this Session the Party has raised many questions and has taken part in all debates. It has not been very successful in the ballot for Bills and Motions, and, therefore, it has been unable to bring forward the Representation of the People Bill (which seeks to give women the vote on the same terms as men) and other Bills of previous Sessions.

The Government have been urged to introduce a Bill to amend the Rent Restriction Act and to continue its operation after July next year. The Minister of Health has refused to consider any question of amendment and up to the present has given no indication of the Government's intention regarding the life of the Act, but the Party hopes to be able to raise the latter point in an effective way shortly. Perhaps the Government will submit to pressure in this case, but it has been the experience of the Party that no matter how important the subject nor how cogent the arguments, the Government's attitude at the time is unchangeable, and it is usually supported by a substantial majority in the Division.

The Government have now practically got rid of all the social legislation and all the promises of reconstruction made during the War and afterwards, and to all appearances have settled down to a policy of doing nothing which will injure the interests or offend the susceptibilities of their friends and supporters.

The sooner the record of this Government is submitted to the electors and the sooner this Parliament is purged, the better for the welfare of the people.

J. R. Clynes, *Chairman.*
A. Henderson, *Chief Whip.*
H. S. Lindsay, *Secretary.*

List of Societies affiliated to the Labour Party, Number of Members, and Amounts paid for 1921, with Names and Addresses of Secretaries and of Delegates to the EDINBURGH CONFERENCE, 1922.

Trade Unions.

Names of Societies.	*No. of Members.*	*No. of Votes.*	*Affiliation Fees.* £ s. d.	*Secretaries and Addresses.*	*Delegates and Addresses.*
Admiralty and Royal Dockyards Draughtsmen's Association	1150	2	14 7 6	G. Chase, 7, Cromwell Road, Wimbledon, London, S.W.19.	F. J. Vaughan, 7, D 27 Road, Rosyth, Scotland.
Agricultural Workers, National Union of	65000	65	812 10 0	R. B. Walker, 72, Acton Street, Grays Inn Road, London, W.C.1.	George Edwards, M.P., House of Commons, London, S.W.1. R. H. Vickers, 2, Pictree Farm, Chester-le-Street, Durham. H. J. Jones, 8, West Road, Bourne, Lincs. J. Coe, Abbey Road, Castleacre, Kings Lynn. F. James, 36, The Grove, Dorchester. G. E. Hewitt, Waterloo Place, Horsham. E. Boldison, Leavening, Malton, Yorks. A. H. Griffin, Lodge Road, Little Houghton, Nr. Northampton. F. W. Paul, 56, Upper Swiss Avenue, Chelmsford. W. T. Fielding, 25, Albert Street, Shrewsbury. R. B. Walker, Secretary.
Army Clothing Employees' Union	960	1	12 0 0	J. G. Butler, L.C.C., 2, Ebury Bridge Road, Pimlico, S.W.1.	J. G. Butler, Secretary.
Assurance Workers, National Amalgamated Union of Life	10000	10	125 0 0	Bernard Brooke, 316, Oxford Road, Manchester.	Coun. P. Graham, 45, Calder Street, Motherwell, Scotland. B. Brooke, Secretary.
Asylum Workers' Union, National	3000	3	37 10 0	G. Gibson, 1 Rushford Avenue, Levenshulme, Manchester.	D. Gaitens, East Cottage, Gartloch, Gartcosh, near Glasgow. Mr. Gilgan, Midlothian and Peebles Asylum, Rosslyn Castle, Edinburgh.
Bakers and Confectioners, Amalgamated Union of Operative	6000	6	75 0 0	W. Banfield, 57, Sydney Street, Chelsea, London, S.W.3.	J. H. Brown, 87, Halker Street, Barrow-in-Furness. W. Banfield, Secretary.
Bakers and Confectioners, Scottish Union of	7000	7	87 10 0	W. G. Hunter, 58, West Regent Street, Glasgow.	—
Blacksmiths' and Ironworkers' Society of Great Britain and Ireland, Associated	6000	6	75 0 0	W. Lorimer, J.P., 177, Hill Street, Charing Cross, Glasgow.	Coun. Wm. Taylor, 19, Ladykirk Road, Benwell, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

Blastfurnacemen, Ore Miners, Coke Workers and Kindred Trades, National Federation of	.. 22000	..	22	..275	0	0	..	T. McKenna, 41, Russell Street, Middlesbrough.	..	thorpe, Lincs. Fred. Lewis, 36, Dover Street, Cargo Fleet, Middlesbrough. C. Townsend, 81, Handley Road, New Whittington, Chesterfield. Coun. T. McKenna, 93, Borough Road West, Middlesbrough.
Blind, National League of the	.. 600	..	1	.. 7	10	0	..	J. E. Gregory, Club Union Buildings, Clerkenwell, London, E.C.1.	..	Chas. G. Lothian, 45, St. James Road, Townhead, Glasgow.
Boilermakers and Iron and Steel Shipbuilders, United Society of	.. 60000	..	60	..750	0	0	..	J. Hill, J.P., Lifton House, Eslington Road, Newcastle-on-Tyne.	..	H. Pollitt, 85, Central Park Road, East Ham, London, E.6. N. McLean, 6, Beatty Street, Dalmuir. J. M. Airlie, 11, Bonnington Grove, Edinburgh. M. H. Connolly, 208, Hampstead Road, Newcastle-on-Tyne. W. H. Egan, 49, Hamilton Square, Birkenhead. Alf. Short, M.P., 43, Brinsworth Street, Attercliffe, Sheffield. Ald. S. E. Walters, Milton Road, Swindon. John Hill, J.P., Secretary.
Bookbinders and Machine Rulers, National Union of	7000	..	7	.. 87	10	0	..	J. Kelly, 220, Blackfriars Road, London, S.E.1.	..	Miss R. Crossley, 57, Alton Street, Hunslet Road, Leeds. G. Harraway, 44, Blackfriars Road, London, S.E.1. T. G. Newland, „ „ „ James Kelly, Secretary.
Boot and Shoe Operatives, National Union of	71308	..	72	..891	7	0	..	E. L. Poulton, J.P., 34, Guilford Street, London, W.C.1.	..	T. F. Richards, 34, Guilford Street, London, W.C.1. W. R. Smith, J.P., M.P., Belle Vue, Old Catton, Norwich. D. McCarthy, 23, Avenue Road Extension, Leicester. Mrs. M. J. Bell-Richards, 22, Imperial Avenue, Leicester. E. L. Poulton, J.P., Secretary.
Brass and Metal Mechanics, National	.. 25000	..	25	..312	10	0	..	H. Johnson, 70, Lionel Street, Birmingham.	..	—
Brassmoulders' Union, Scottish	.. 600	..	1	.. 7	10	0	..	J. Prentice, 17, Oswald Street (City), Glasgow.	..	—
Carpet Weavers, Power Loom and Textile Workers' Association	4500	..	5	.. 56	5	0	..	Arthur Smith, 8, Church Street, Kidderminster.	..	Arthur Smith, Secretary.
Chainmakers' and Strikers' Association	.. 1600	..	2	.. 20	0	0	..	T. Sitch, J.P., Unity Villa, Sydney Road, Cradley Heath, Staffs.	..	—
Cigarmakers and Tobacco Workers, National Union of	.. 2540	..	3	.. 31	15	0	..	A. Santen, 31, Lindore Road, Clapham Common, London, S.W.11.	..	A. Santen, Secretary.

Names of Societies.	No. of Members.	No. of Votes.	Affiliation Fees. £ s. d.	Secretaries and Addresses.	Delegates and Addresses.
Civil Service Sorting Assistants, Association of	600	1	7 10 0	Miss Rose Smith-Rose, 1, Tottenham Court Road, London, W.1.	Miss Rose Smith-Rose, Secretary.
Civil Service Union	2000	2	25 0 0	G. E. Wilson, 25, Tothill Street, London, S.W.1.	—
Clerical Association (Civil Service)	8000	8	100 0 0	W. J. Brown, 38a, St. George's Road, London, S.W.1.	Miss James, 38a, St. George's Road, Victoria, London, S.W.1. R. Mc. C. Beamish, 47, Crystal Palace Park Road, Sydenham, London, S.E. H. Broadhead, 13, Bristol Street, Higher Broughton, Manchester. E. P. Rundle, 21, Queen Elizabeth's Walk, Stoke Newington, London, N.16. W. Thomas, 678, Moore Road, Mapperley, Notts. G. W. McIntosh, Scottish Board of Health, 121a, Princes Street, Edinburgh. A. Fisher, „ „ „ W. J. Brown, Secretary.
Clerks and Administrative Workers, National Union of	15000	15	187 10 0	H. H. Elvin, 1, Brunswick Square, London, W.C.1.	R. Clements, The Cedars, 55, Highfield Road, Hall Green, Birmingham. H. H. Elvin, Secretary.
Coal Trimmers' Union (Cardiff, Penarth and Barry)	1620	2	20 5 0	S. Fisher, J.P., 13, Bute Crescent, Cardiff.	J. T. Clatworthy, 13, Bute Crescent, Cardiff.
Compositors, London Society of	11824	12	147 16 0	T. E. Naylor, J.P., M.P., 7-9, St. Bride Street, London, E.C.4.	R. H. Lucas, 174, Dunstan's Road, London, S.E.22. C. G. West, 27, Neville Road, Stoke Newington, London, N.16. J. O. Hatcher, 70, Bensham Grove, Thornton Heath. E. W. Franklin, 47, Waldock Road, West Green, London, N.15. Rt. Hon. C. W. Bowerman, M.P., 32, Eccleston Square, London, S.W.1. T. E. Naylor, J.P., M.P., Secretary.
Coopers, Amalgamated Society of	3000	3	37 10 0	R. W. Mann, 37, Outwoods Street, Burton-on-Trent.	R. W. Mann, Secretary.
Distributive and Allied Workers, National Union of	100000	100	1250 0 0	W. A. Robinson and J. Hallsworth, "Oakley," 122, Wilmslow Road, Fallowfield, Manchester.	John Jagger, "Oakley" 122, Wilmslow Road, Fallowfield, Manchester. Geo. Beardsworth, Forest House, Love Street, Chester. T. McLellan, 8, Duncan Street, near Town Hall, Birkenhead. W. A. Rawlinson, Woodville House, 149, Little Horton Lane, Bradford.

											Joseph Hallsworth, Secretary. W. A. Robinson, Secretary.
Dyers, Bleachers, Finishers and Kindred Trades, Amalgamated Society of	..	20000	..	20	..	250	0	0	..	William Rushworth, 90, Sunbridge Road, Bradford.	.. Edward Verity, 9, Newall Street, Little Horton, Bradford. Tom Griffen, 7, Bath Street, Glasgow. John Webster, 81, Higginbotham Street, Macclesfield. William Rushworth, Secretary.
Edge Tool Trade Society	..	560	..	1	..	7 (1922)	0	0	..	L. E. Thomas, 284, Nechells Park Road, Birmingham.	.. —
Electrical Trades Union	..	20000	..	20	..	250	0	0	..	J. Rowan, 12a, Withy Grove, Manchester.	.. J. W. Ball, 39, Moorside Road, Heaton Norris, Stockport.
Electrotypers and Stereotypers, National Society of	..	2613	..	3	..	32	13	3	..	W. C. Warren, 80, Blackfriars Road, London, S.E.1.	.. T. H. Middleton, 80, Blackfriars Road, London, S.E.1. W. C. Warren, Secretary.
Engineering Union, Amalgamated	..	179628	..	180		2245	7	0	..	A. H. Smethurst, 110, Peckham Road, London, S.E.15.	.. R. Armstrong, 230, Tennent Street, Belfast. D. O'Leary, Dun Bag, Victoria Avenue, Cork. A. Stevens, 19, Union Place, Perth Road, Dundee. W. Fagan, 20, Spittal Street, Edinburgh. L. Anderson, 722, London Road, Glasgow. H. Hinshelwood, 33, Nelson Road, Gourock, Scotland. J. Boyd, 30, Whitefield Terrace, Heaton, Newcastle-on-Tyne. J. Wearmouth, 9, Blackett Terrace, Sunderland. J. Holland, 38, Risedale Road, Barrow-in-Furness. T. O'Neill, 73, Windsor Street, Burmantofts, Leeds. J. Bradley, 24, Norfolk Street, Accrington. S. Ratcliffe, 23, Albion Street, Brook's Bar, Manchester. A. Hayward, 37, Cecil Street, Lincoln. F. Fitzpatrick, 857, Abbeydale Road, Sheffield. J. Clark, 168, Brighton Road, Derby. W. Ebrey, 21, Henry Street, Chester. A. Woods, 166, Church Lane, Aston, Birmingham. B. Brown, 15, Sackville Street, Coventry. J. Richards, 9, Villier Street, Hafod, Swansea. L. Coles, 26, Canerton Road, Greenbank, Bristol.

Names of Societies.	*No. of Members.*	*No. of Votes.*	*Affiliation Fees.* £ s. d.	*Secretaries and Addresses.*	*Delegates and Addresses.*
Engineering Union, Amalgamated (*continued*)	.. —	.. —	.. — ..	—	G. Baylis, 2, Seymour Road, Ipswich. B. Hipwood, 1, Brunswick Place, Stoke, Devonport. C. Britton, 67, Stanley Road, North End, Portsmouth. R. Cross, 125, Colyers Lane, Erith, Kent. G. Spencer, 15, Park Avenue, East Ham, London, E.6. E. Taylor, 72, Arsenal Road, Well Hall, Eltham, London, S.E.9. A. Berry, 110, Peckham Road, London, S.E.15. R. N. Coates, ,, ,, ,, A. Gorman, ,, ,, ,, W. H. Hutchinson, ,, ,, S. Bradley, 16, Dame Street, Dublin, Ireland. A. Spencer, A.E.U. Office, Broad Street Chambers, Sheffield. C. Bates, 1, Herbert Road, Lightwoods, Birmingham. J. Clark, 41, Cowcross Street, London, E.C.1. J. T. Brownlie, 110, Peckham Road, London, S.E.15. J. Cunliffe, 8, Eddystone Road, Brockley, London, S.E.4. J. Jones, Maesnewydd, Pencaeran, Neath. R. E. Jones, 242, Bellhouse Road, Shire Green, Sheffield. D. Adams, 18, Sanderson Road, Jesmond, Newcastle-on-Tyne. F. A. Broad, 39, Sweet Briar Walk, Edmonton, London, N.18. J. Brotherton, 12, Camden Street, Beeston Hill, Leeds. S. Burgess, 115, Empire Road, Sheffield. T. Gillinder, 60, Northbourne Street, Newcastle-on-Tyne. J. Gorman, 28, Keswick Grove, Seedley, Salford. W. T. Kelly, 68, Denman Road, Peckham, London, S.E.15. D. Kirkwood, 3, Mark Street, Shettleston, Glasgow.

											J. Bedbury, 92, Beaumont Road, Bournville, Birmingham. T. Proctor, 5, Carbiel Road, Torpoint, Cornwall. J. Read, 114, Churchill Avenue, Coventry. F. H. Rose, M.P., "Dumbarton," 192, Brixton Hill, London, S.W.2. J. T. Sheppard, 1, Havelock Place, Woolwich, London, S.E.18. P. H. Ward, 26, Stone Street, Maidstone. R. Young, M.P., 213, Barry Road, East Dulwich, London, S.E.22. A. H. Smethurst, Secretary.
Enginemen's and Firemen's Union, Bolton	120	..	1	..	1	10	0	..	M. Coolaghan, 36, Kestor Street, Bolton.	..	—
Enginemen, Firemen, Mechanics, Motormen and Electrical Workers, National Amalgamated Union of	30000	..	30	..	375	0	0	..	G. Parker, 228, Wellgate, Rotherham.	..	Alderman Harper Parker, 20, Vine Street, Stafford. E. Simpson, 6, Boyce Street, Upperthorpe, Sheffield. H. Hughes, 48, Kirk Street, off Dean Road, Bolton, Lancs. G. Parker, Secretary.
Farm Servants' Union, Scottish	16000	..	16	..	200	0	0	..	Jos. F. Duncan, Queensgate, Stirling.	..	Thomas McGregor, Victoria Road, Nitehill, Glasgow. William Jack, 43, Orchard Street, Aberdeen. Alex McCall, Brown's Place, East Linton. Miss Mary E. Sutherland, Queensgate, Stirling. Mrs. Mabel Duncan, Queensgate, Stirling. Joseph F. Duncan, Secretary.
Farriers and Blacksmiths, Amalgamated Society of	1956	..	2	..	24	9	0	..	W. H. Briggs, Cathedral House, 40, Fennel Street, Long Millgate, Manchester.	..	W. Smith, 29, Emscote Grove, Halifax.
French Polishers, London Society of United	1400	..	2	..	17	10	0	..	E. Rudd, 95, Farringdon Road, London, E.C.1.	..	—
Furnishing Trades Association, National Amalgamated	6000	..	6	..	75	0	0	..	Alex. Gossip, Bedford Row House, 58, Theobald's Road, London, W.C.1.	..	Fred Bramley, 8, South Villas, Camden Square, London, N.W. 1.
Gilders' Society, Amalgamated	120	..	1	..	1	10	0	..	N. Stratton, The Crown, 64, Cleveland Street, Fitzroy Square, London, W.1.	..	—
Greenock and District Transport Workers' Union	400	..	1	..	5	0	0	..	Neal Haughey, 2, Watt Place, Greenock.	..	—
Grinders' and Glaziers' Society, Amalgamated Machine Engine and Iron	800	..	1	..	10	0	0	..	J. Asquith, 14, Nelson Street, Rochdale.	..	—
Hairdressers' Federation (S. Wales and Monmouthshire)	120	..	1	..	1	10	0	..	Coun. L. M. Francis, Barber's Shop, Penydarren, Merthyr Tydfil.	..	—
Hatters, Amalgamated Society of Journeymen Felt	3940	..	4	..	49	5	0	..	T. Mallalieu, J.P., 113, Manchester Road, Denton, Manchester.	..	Coun. T. Mallalieu, J.P., Secretary.

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Healders' and Twisters' Trades Union, Huddersfield and District	160	1	2 0 0	G. A. Boothroyd, 52, Taylor Hill Road, Huddersfield.	—
Hosiery Union, Ilkeston and District	7200	8	90 0 0	H. Bassford, 15, Midland Road, Heanor.	—
Iron Fitters' Association, General	1760	2	22 0 0	Jas. Fraser, 30, New Market Street, Falkirk.	Alex. McIntosh, 30, Newmarket Street, Falkirk. J. Fraser, Secretary.
Ironmoulders' Association, Central	5756	6	71 19 0	H. Murdoch, J.P., 11, Graham's Road, Falkirk.	H. Murdoch, J.P., Secretary.
Iron, Steel and Kindred Trades Association, British	100100	101	1251 5 0	Arthur Pugh, 76-78, Swinton Street, Grays Inn Road, London, W.C.1.	J. Smith, 4, Bankhall Street, Govanhill, Glasgow. Andrew Murdoch, 268, Merry Street, Motherwell, Scotland. H. Lake, Lea Rig, Broom Road, Rotherham. C. A. Coppack, Eva Villa, King Edward Street, Shotton, Chester. George Shaw, 1, St. Barnabas Place, Warrington. George Hughes, 101, Aberdyberthi Street, Swansea. George Morris, 6, Cross Street, Ebbw Vale, Monmouth. H. Munro, 3, Parkend Road, Kilbirnie, Ayrshire. B. Ramsay, 8, Bristowe Road, Grove Hill, Middlesbrough. F. Harper, 11, Winifred Street, Rotherham. W. H. Groves, Grove House, Ivanhoe Street, Dudley, Worcs. P. James, 21, High Street, Ebbw Vale, Monmouth. W. E. Francis, Perthi-teg, Penrice Street, Morriston, Monmouth. D. Cowser, 16, Frederick Street, Wigan. Rt. Hon. John Hodge, M.P., 76-78, Swinton Street, London, W.C.1. Tom Griffiths, M.P., „ „ Robert Dennison, „ „ John Baker, „ „ Percy W. Cole, „ „ James Walker, 90, Mitchell Street, Glasgow.
Kew Gardens Employees' Union, Royal	68	1	1 10 0	A. C. Smith, 51, Windsor Road, Richmond, Surrey.	—
Labour, National Amalgamated Union of	73344	74	916 16 0	J. N. Bell, J.P., 4, Higham Place, Newcastle-on-Tyne.	T. Forrest, 7, Argyle Street, Gateshead.

											Glasgow. T. Williamson, Keizers Buildings, 44, Whitechapel, Liverpool. W. S. Alexander, 41, Granville Street, Millfield, Sunderland. A. Graham, 10, Severn Street, Middlesbrough. Mrs. F. H. Bell, 90, Friern Park, Finchley, London, N.12. J. N. Bell, J.P., Secretary.
Lace Makers, Amalgamated Society of Operative	..	1958	..	2	..	24 9 6	..	C. Wardle, 16, Pembridge Place, Mount Street, Nottingham.	..	—	
Lancashire and Cheshire and N. Wales Colliery Enginemen, Boilermen and Brakesmen's Federation.	..	3000	..	3	..	37 10 0 (1922)	..	William Forshaw, 93, Hardshaw Street, St. Helens, Lancs.	..	—	
Lithographic Artists, &c., Amalgamated Society of	..	3200	..	4	..	40 0 0	..	R. Kueale, 223, Grays Inn Road, London, W.C. 1.	..	—	
Lithographic Printers, Amalgamated Society of	..	4960	..	5	..	62 0 0	..	T. Sproat, 312, Deansgate, Manchester.	..	H. W. Lorimer, 42, Buchanan Street, Leith. Thomas Sproat, Secretary.	
Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, Associated Society of	..	29538	..	30	..	369 4 6	..	J. Bromley, 9, Arkwright Road, Hampstead, London, N.W.3.	..	J. Butler, 94, Nelson Street, Preston. H. J. Washbourne, 47, Walford Street, Malpas Road, Newport, Mon. J. Rolley, 409, Uttoxeter Road, Derby. J. Mitchell, 24, Sinclair Street, Milngavin, Glasgow. A. F. Densley, 5, Sabine Street, Battersea, London, S.W. J. Walker, 95, Restalrig Road, Edinburgh. J. Bromley, Secretary.	
Managers' and Overlookers' Society	..	3162	..	4	..	39 10 6 (1922)	..	W. J. Riley, Textile Hall, Westgate, Bradford.	..	Edward Clough, 25, Rothesay Terrace, Bradford.	
Marine Workers' Union, Amalgamated	..	12000	..	12	..	150 0 0	..	Ben Mollan, 41, Gower Street, London, W.C.1.	..	Joseph Cotter, 41, Gower Street, London, W.C.1. Robert Williams, 8, St. Martin's Place, Trafalgar Square, London, W.C.2. James McKinley, 84b, East India Dock Road, London, E. Albert Warner, 43, Dock Road, Tilbury, Essex. Arthur Cannon, 17, John Street, Southampton. Ernest Le Cornu, 21, Cromwell Road, Southampton. Arthur Elsy, 65, Collingwood Street, South Shields.	

Names of Societies.	No of Members.	No of Votes.	Affiliation Fees. £ s. d.	Secretaries and Addresses.	Delegates and Addresses.
Marine Workers' Union, Amalgamated (*continued*)					William Smailes, 160, Windsor Road, Forest Gate, London. Thomas Lewis, 22, St. Mary Street, Southampton. James Green, 113, Broomielaw, Glasgow. A. V. Despres, 28, Princes Street, St. Paul's, Bristol.
Miners' Federation of Great Britain	..900000	.. 900	11250 0 0	.. F. Hodges, 55, Russell Square, London, W.C.1.	.. Harry Dack, 17, Ruby Street, Saltburn-by-the-Sea. Robert Gott, 22, Charlotte Street, New Skelton, Skelton-in-Cleveland. Thomas Duffy, 5, Thorneyholme Terrace, Stanley, S.O. Durham. John Barker, Miners' Office, John Street, Workington. Edwin Winter, ,, ,, ,, E. Overton, 33, Oxcroft Road, Bolsover, Chesterfield. A. Hardy, Church Street, Heage, near Derby. J. Wagstaffe, Stanley Common, West Hallam, Derby. A. Lacey, c/o 21, Vernon Street, Ilkeston. J. Gilliland, Miners' Office, Red Hill, Durham. W. Lawther, ,, ,, ,, J. Ritson, ,, ,, ,, J. Herriotts, ,, ,, ,, S. Usher, ,, ,, ,, J. Hobbs, ,, ,, ,, R. Wren, ,, ,, ,, J. Batey, ,, ,, ,, P. Lee, ,, ,, ,, J. W. Taylor, ,, ,, ,, B. Curry ,, ,, ,, T. Greenall, Miners' Office, Bolton. J. Tinker, ,, ,, Jos. Parkinson, ,, ,, S. Blackledge, ,, ,, S. Walsh, M.P., ,, ,, J. A. Parkinson, M.P., ,, J. E. Sutton, M.P., ,, ,, Lee Shaw, ,, ,,

P. Rothwell, ,, ,,
J. Ogden, ,, ,,
J. Ashworth, ,, ,,
J. Cheetham, ,, ,,
J. Bradbury, ,, ,,
W. Grundy, ,, ,,
T. Halliwell, ,, ,,
W. Rafferty, ,, ,,
J. L. Prescott, ,, ,,
S. Finney, M.P., Miners' Office, Burslem.
W. Johnson, J.P., Miners' Office, Bedworth, Nuneaton.
John Baker, J.P., Miners' Office, Hednesford, Staffs.
William Smith, J.P., Clarendon Street, Bloxwich, Walsall.
Geo. Jones, 8a, Ladybank, Tamworth.
H Whitehouse, Miners' Hall, Great Bridge, Tipton.
W. Latham, C.C., 10, Ivy House, Trench Road, Wellington, Salop.
Samuel Edwards, J.P., 65b, High Street, Old Hill, Staffs.
Ed. Hughes, J.P., Miners' Office, Wrexham.
Ben Smith, Miners' Office, Old Basford, Notts.
Val. Coleman, ,, ,, ,,
W. Freeman, ,, ,, ,,
T. Willoughby, ,, ,, ,,
W. Carter, M.P., ,, ,, ,,
G. A. Spencer, M.P., ,, ,,
R. M. Rees, 14, Taff Street, Treherbert.
Arthur Jenkins, Snatchwood Road, Abersychan.
J. Thomas, B.A, Miners' Agent, Tyle Teg, Burry Port.
J. Griffiths, Miners' Agent, Ebbw Vale, Mon.
V. Hartshorn, M.P., Hill Crest, Maesteg.
E. Morrell, J.P., Miners' Agent, Troedyrhiw.
Oliver Harris, 2, St. Andrew's Crescent, Cardiff.
Evan Thomas, ,, ,, ,,
Thomas Smith, 118, Hendrecafn Road, Pennygraig, Glam.
E. Williams, Miners' Office, Maesteg.

Names of Societies.	*No. of Members.*	*No. of Votes.*	*Affiliation Fees.* £ s. d.	*Secretaries and Addresses.*	*Delegates and Addresses.*
Miners' Federation of Great Britain (*continued*)	.. —	.. —	— ..	—	William Harris, Arfryn, Bryn Road, Pontllanfraith, Mon. T. Mardy Jones, M.P., 16, Llantwit Road, Treforest. Meth Jones, 9, Gower Street, Port Talbot. David Lewis, Miners' Office, Porth, Glam. C. Edwards, M.P., Risca, Mon. G. Barker, M.P., 116, Alexandra Road, Abertillery. Evan Davies, M.P., Ebbw Vale, Mon. William John, M.P., Tonypandy, Mon. D. Watts Morgan, M.P., Cæmawr, Porth. Ted Williams, 48, Coity Road, Bridgend, Glam. T. Lucas, Miners' Agent, Ogmore Vale, Glam. Owen Powell, 20, Commercial Street, Aberdare. D. R. Grenfell, M.P., Miners' Agent, Carnglas Road, Sketty. Charles Carter, 4, Cwm Rd., Abertillery, Mon. Fred Hall, M.P., Miners' Office, Barnsley. J. Guest, M.P., ,, ,, T. W. Grundy, M.P., ,, ,, W. Lunn, M.P., ,, ,, W. Gillis, M.P., ,, ,, G. H. Hirst, M.P., ,, ,, S. Roebuck, J.P., ,, ,, J. Hoskin, ,, ,, J. Newbould, ,, ,, J. Rodgers, ,, ,, John Pascoe, ,, ,, A. Sykes, ,, ,, W. Hatherton, ,, ,, A. Hayden, ,, ,, W. Paling, ,, ,, T. Smith, ,, ,, T. Williams, ,, ,, William Bowman, Miners' Office, Violet Bank, Bathgate, Scotland. James Doonan, ,, ,, Herbert Smith, 1, Victoria Road, Barnsley. W. P. Richardson, 1, The Villas, Redhill, Durham,

Mr. Timmins, Garnock View, Kilwinning, Ayrshire.
James Brown, M.P., 56, Annbank by Ayr, Scotland.
Frank Hall, Miners' Office, Chesterfield.
Fred Swift, Miners' Office, Radstock, Bath.
Charles Bunfield, Miners' Office, Old Basford, Notts.
T. Cape, M.P., Miners' Office, John Street, Workington.
R. Bridgeway, Miners' Office, Hednesford.
F. J. Dean, Miners' Office, Telfall, Glos.
H. Jenkins, 2, St. Andrew's Crescent, Cardiff.
Noah Rees, „ „ „
J. McGurk, 6, Phœnix Street, Bury.
W. Whiteley, Miners' Office, Redhill, Durham.
T. Neville, „ „ „
G. Shields, Burt Hall, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
J. Potts, Glenalla, Victoria Road, Barnsley.
A. Smith, Miners' Office, Barnsley.
Fred. Hill, 55, Russell Square, London, W.C.1.
W. Hogg, Burt Hall, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
G H. Warne, „ „
R. Browell, „ „
Ebby Edwards, „ „
R. J. Taylor, „ „
H. Floyd, „ „
Hugh Murnin, Dean Crescent, Stirling.
Robert Smith, 5, Garnock View, Kilwinning.
Jas. Hood, Elmbank Drive, Kilmarnock.
J. Sloan, Rankinstone, Ayrshire.
Jas. McEwan, New Cumnock, Ayrshire.
Rt. Hon. W. Adamson, M.P., Dunfermline, Fifeshire.
D. Graham, M.P., Hamilton, Lanarkshire.
J. Robertson, M.P., „ „
L. Edwards, 77, High Street, Drestingrange, Ayrshire.
Walter McQueen, c/o 5, Garnock View, Kilwinning.
Jas. Bastour, „ „ „
Joe Westwood, „ „ „
Michael O'Hagan, „ „ „
James Potter, „ „ „
Chas. Bellfield, Townhead, Dysart.

Names of Societies.	No. of Members.	No. of Votes.	Affiliation Fees. £ s. d.	Secretaries and Addresses.	Delegates and Addresses.
Miners' Federation of Great Britain (*continued*)	.. —	.. —	— ..	—	James Connelly, 22, Kew Street, Kirkintilloch, Dumbarton. James Ferguson, Maddeston, Stirling. W. Watson, 341, Broad Street, Cowdenbeath, Fife. J. Fetheringham, Orwell, Bent Rd, Hamilton. Joe Waugh, Divilton Place, Bellshill, Lanarkshire. David Stitt, Madeline Place, Muirkirk, Ayr. Walter Nellies, 12, Clung Place, Edinburgh. Thomas Ramsay, Miners' Office, Hamilton. S. M. Fortune, ,, ,, T. Maley, ,, ,, James Welsh, ,, ,, Robert Smillie, J.P., ,, ,, W. B. Small, ,, ,, A. Clarke, ,, ,, Phillip Hodge, Miners' Offices, Dunfermline. James Cook, ,, ,, Thomas Small, c/o Mr. R. Smith, Garnock View, Kilwinning, Ayrshire. James Smith, Bradley Street, Castleford, Yorks. E. Hawkes, Burnbank, Lanarkshire. Mr. McFarlane, Miners' Office, Hamilton. W. J. Jones, Beechgrove, Llansamlet, Swansea. A. Richards, 71, Blainycwm Terrace, Treherbert. Frank Lee, Miners' Office, Chesterfield. Angus McLaren, Hill View, Calver, Lanarkshire. Thomas Smith, 34, Musscall Street, Lumphinnaus, Fifeshire. Robt. Patterson, Miners' Office, Hamilton. F. Furness, Miners' Office, Barnsley. E. H. Thomas, Cefn Road, Glais, Clydach, Swansea. S. Cassidy, c/o 5, Garnock View, Kilwinning. Robert Smith, 5, Garnock View, Kilwinning. Frank Hodges, Secretary.
Moulders, Associated Society of	.. 462	.. 1	.. 5 15 6	.. Tom Charles, 89, Marble Hall Road, Llanelly.	.. —

Municipal Employees' Association (Workers' Union)	61141	62	764	5	3	Peter J. Tevenan, 24, Fitzjohns Avenue, Hampstead, London, N.W.3.	Coun. W. H. Girling, J.P., 15, Newton Street, Hoxton, London, N. 1. Coun. T. Cochrane, 45, Stanley Road, Brighton. G. Mawdsley, 2a, Hampton Road, Southport. Richard Davies, 1b, Central Avenue, Bowes Park, London, N.13. Peter Campbell, 69, Ingram Street, Glasgow. Peter J. Tevenan, Secretary.
Musicians' Union*	15000	15	187	10	0	Joseph B. Williams, 135, Moss Lane East, Manchester	—
Paper Makers, Amalgamated Society of	3100	4	38	15	0	A. Fowler, 12, Borough Chambers, St. Petersgate, Stockport.	Arthur Fowler, Secretary.
Patternmakers' Association, United	10989	11	137	7	3	A. A. H. Findlay, 58, Theobalds Road, London, W.C.1.	J. S. Brown, 7, Clavering Street, Willington Quay-on-Tyne. A. A. H. Findlay, Secretary.
Pen and Pocket Blade Forgers' Protection Society	200	1	2	10	0	G. H. Shaw, 46, Sydney Road, Crookesmoor, Sheffield.	—
Plasterers, Granolithic and Cement Workers, National Association of	14000	14	175	0	0	A. H. Telling, 37, Albert Street, Mornington Crescent, London, N.W.1.	J. Dickenson, 44, Stone Street, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
Police and Prison Officers, National Union of	2000	2	25	0	0	J. H. Hayes, Vigilance House, 57, Clapton Common, London, E.5.	J. H. Hayes, Secretary.
Post Office Engineering Union	18000	18	225	0	0	C. H. Smith, 14, John Street, Bedford Row, London, W.C.1.	A. C. Jeremy, 106, Hungerford Road, Islington, London, N.7. W. E. Rose, 31, Baden Road, Ilford, Essex.
Post Office Workers, Union of	80000	80	1000	0	0	J. W. Bowen, 43, Cromwell Road, South Kensington, London, S.W. 7.	C. G. Ammon, M.P., 43, Cromwell Road, South Kensington, London, S.W.7. Walter J. Baker, „ „ „ Miss E. H. Howse, „ „ „ G. Middleton, „ „ „ A. Seaton, 9, Salisbury Road, Exeter. J. W. Bowen, Secretary.
Pottery Workers, National Amalgamated Society of	8000	8	100	0	0	S. Clowes, 5a, Hill Street, Hanley, Stoke-on-Trent. Staffs.	S. Clowes, Secretary.
Press Telegraphists, National Union of	250	1	3	2	6	J. Griffin, 5, Leander Road, Brixton Hill, London, S.W.2.	—
Preventive Men's Association (Customs and Excise)	828	1	10	7	0	W. Hall, 149, Ince Avenue, Anfield, Liverpool.	David Matheson, 22, Ash Grove, Ash Street Hull.
Preventive Officers' Association (Customs and Excise)	510	1	6	7	6	A. E. Howell, 165, Kensington Avenue, Manor Park, London, E.12.	E. P. Madden, 27, Durban Road, Grimsby.
Printers and Assistants, National Society of Operative	19955	20	249	8	9	G. A. Isaacs, 26, Blackfriars Road, London, S.E.1.	—
Prudential Staff Federation	5000	5	62	10	0	E. T. Palmer, 28-30, Holborn Hall, Grays Inn Road, London, W.C.1.	J. Brown, 5, Ure Street, Govan, Glasgow. E. T. Palmer, Secretary.

*Ceased to exist

Names of Societies.	*No. of Members.*	*No. of Votes.*	*Affiliation Fees.* £ s. d.	*Secretaries and Addresses.*	*Delegates and Addresses.*
Quarrymen's Association, Cumberland Limestone	250	1	3 2 6	W. Cowen, J.P., 3, Brayton Terrace, Bransty, Whitehaven.	W. Cowen, J.P., Secretary.
Quarrymen's Union, North Wales	4000	4	50 0 0	R. T. Jones, 17, Bridge Street, Carnarvon, N. Wales.	—
Railway Clerks' Association	80000	80	1000 0 0	A. G. Walkden, 25, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.	F. Anderson, 4, Edgewell Villas, Church Road Flixton, near Manchester. T. W. Burden, 3, Boston Road, East Ham. H. Chadwick, 7, Pasture Mount, Armley, Leeds. G. Ridley, Market Chambers, Peterborough. J M. Roberts, 40, St. Mary Street, Cardiff. R. H. Rowlands, Kelmscott, Martin Grove, Kearsley, near Manchester. R. W. Wright, 108, Everton Road, Chorlton-on-Medlock, Manchester. T. H. Gill, 77, Lindley Street, York. A. E. Townend, 8, Meadowcroft, Dane Road, Sale, Cheshire. S. Lomax, 17, Merlin Grove, Bolton. H. G. Romeril, 16, Victoria Terrace, Brunswick Park, New Southgate. W. R. Robins, 38, Florence Street, Swindon. G. Lathan, 25, Euston Road, London, N.W.1. A. G. Walkden, Secretary.
Railwaymen, National Union of	246337	247	3079 4 3	Rt. Hon. J. H. Thomas, M.P., Unity House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.	J. Kiddie, 294, Edgefauld Road, Springburn, Glasgow. H. Knox, 61, Audley Road, South Gosforth, Newcastle-on-Tyne. J. W. Perrins, 10, John Street, Springhead, Lees, near Oldham. J. H. Palin, 121, Lower Rushton Road, Bradford. H. Mellichap, 3, Hampstead Place, Dolobran Road, Small Heath, Birmingham. H. Vincent, 189, Radcliffe Road, Northam, Southampton. C. T. Cramp, Unity House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1. John Marchbank, ,, ,, ,, Rt. Hon. J. H. Thomas, M.P., Secretary.
Royal Parks Employees	250	1	3 2 6	W. B. Cheeseman, 16, Highbury Quadrant, London, N.5.	W. B. Cheeseman, Secretary.

Sailors' and Firemen's Union, National	75000	75	937 10 0	E. Cathery, St. George's Hall, Westminster Bridge Road, London, S.E.1.	J. Griffiths, Temperance Hotel, Caroline Street, Cardiff. W. Sprow, c/o Seamen's Union, James Watt Street, Glasgow. T. M. Walsh, 42, Coronation Street, South Shields. Coun. P. Wright, Norman Hirst, Gibbs Road, Marndee, Newport, Mon. W. R. Spence, 25, Queen's Terrace, Southampton.
Shipconstructors' and Shipwrights' Association	38864	39	485 16 0	Ald. A. Wilkie, J.P., M.P., 8, Eldon Square, Newcastle-on-Tyne.	W. F. Purdy, J.P., O.B.E., 8, Eldon Square, Newcastle-on-Tyne. Chas. G. Thompson, Wharfedale, Garfield Road, Bitterne Park, Southampton. A. McKerrell, 4, Hill Street, Greenock. W. E. Nimmo, 1, Blawarthill Street, Scotstoun West, Glasgow. Jas. McWhirter, 1, Ruby Villas, 124, Larkfield Road, Sydenham, Belfast. W. Westwood, J.P., 5, Oakley Terrace, Dennistoun, Glasgow. Ald. W. H. Weston, 29, Station Road, Devonport. Ald. A. Wilkie, C.H., J.P., M.P., Secretary.
Shop Assistants, Warehousemen and Clerks, National Union of	50000	50	625 0 0	John Turner, Dilke House, Malet Street, London, W.C.1.	J. R. Leslie, Dilke House, Malet Street, London, W.C.1. Neil S. Beaton, 243, Dalkeith Rd., Edinburgh. W. Fraser, 12a, Synod Hall, Castle Terrace, Edinburgh. T. Wilson, 27, Oswald Street, Glasgow.
Shuttlemakers, Amalgamated Society of	550	1	6 17 6	J. Cryer, 67, Oxford Road, Burnley, Lancs.	—
Spindle and Flyer Makers' Trade and Friendly Society	1000	1	12 10 0	A. Scott, 15, Osborne Street, Gorton, Manchester.	A. Scott, Secretary.
Stove, Grate, Fender and General Light Metal Workers, National Union of	3000	3	37 10 0	A. Hutchison, Effingham Street, Rotherham.	—
Tailors and Garment Workers, Amalgamated Union of	53000	53	662 10 0	A. Conley, 20, Park Place, Leeds.	Mrs. M. Messer, Union Chambers, 20, Park Place, Leeds.
Tape Sizers Amalgamated Protective Society (Haslingden and Rossendale)	110	1	1 10 0	W. Wallwork, 20, Rudd Street, Haslingden, Lancs.	—
Textile Factory Workers' Association, United	355381	356	4442 5 3	J. Cross, Ewbank Chambers, 19, St. James Street, Accrington.	Jas. Hindle, J.P., 127, Nairne Street, Burnley S. T. Goggins, J.P., Weavers' Office, Old Street, Ashton-under-Lyne. Luke Bates, J.P., Weavers' Office, 1, Clayton Street, Blackburn.

Names of Societies.	*No. of Members.*	*No. of Votes.*	*Affiliation Fees.* £ s. d.	*Secretaries and Addresses.*	*Delegates and Addresses.*
Textile Factory Workers' Association (*continued*)	—	—	—	—	John W. Tomlinson, 8, Reed Street, Burnley. R. C. Handley, 224, Stocks Road, Preston. Harold Furness, 8, Fox Platt, Mossley. Ald M. B. Farr, J.P., Breeze Hill, Mossley. John Docker, 3, Harper Street, Oldham. G. W. Jones, 19, Wood Street, Bolton.
Beamers, Twisters and Drawers, Hand and Machine, Amalgamated Association of	—	—	—	W. C. Robinson, Derby Chambers, 6, Fleet Street, Bury.	W. C. Robinson, Secretary.
Bleachers, Dyers and Finishers, Operative Association (Bolton Amalgamated)	—	—	—	Gilbert W. Jones, 19, Wood Street, Bolton.	Thos. T. Ramsden, c/o Bleachers' Office, Cooper Street, Bolton.
Card and Blowing Room Operatives, Amalgamated Association of	—	—	—	W. Thomasson, J.P., 2a, Hodson's Court, Corporation Street, Manchester.	M. Mills, 6, Milne Street, Chadderton, Oldham. Joseph Edge, J.P., 77, St. George's Road, Bolton. W. H. Carr, J.P., Cardroom Offices, Old Street, Ashton-under-Lyne. Robert Kay, 24, Avenue Parade, Accrington. James Crinion, J.P., 108, Union Street, Oldham. W. Thomasson, J.P., Secretary.
Card, Blowing and Ring Spinners' Association, Bury	—	—	—	John Duckworth, Textile Hall, Bury.	Joseph Hickson, 30, Dale Street, Ramsbottom. John Duckworth, Secretary.
Card, Blowing and Ring Frame Room Operatives, Hyde and District	—	—	—	Walter Gee, 144, George Street, Hyde.	Walter Gee, Secretary.
Card and Blowing Room and Ring Frame Operatives' Association, Oldham Provincial	—	—	—	M. Connolly, 108, Union Street, Odham.	John Kershaw, 4, Byrom Street, Royton, Oldham. H. Johnson, 122, Cooper Street, Springhead, Oldham.
Cardroom Operatives & Ring Spinners' Association, Wigan and District.	—	—	—	Joseph Hargreave, 2, Heskett Street, Scott Lane, Newtown, Wigan.	J. Starkey, 31, Glebe Street, Shaw, Lancs. Joseph Hargreaves, Secretary.
Cop Packers' Association, Oldham and District	—	—	—	T. Ashworth, 85, Union Street, Oldham.	T. Ashworth, Secretary.
Loom Overlookers, General Union of Associations of	—	—	—	Edward Duxbury, Derby Chambers, 6, Fleet Street, Bury.	Albert Smith, J.P., 146, Hibson Road, Nelson. J. Proctor, 17a, Market Street, Burnley. Edward Duxbury, Secretary.
Power Loom Overlookers' Association, Blackburn and District	—	—	—	Harry Beardwood, Overlookers' Office, High Street, Blackburn.	Harry Beardwood, Secretary.
Spinners, Amalgamated Association of Operative Cotton	—	—	—	Henry Boothman, 57, Gt. Ancoats Street, Manchester.	Joseph Kay, 5, Daisy Hill Street, Waterhead, Oldham. Isaac Crook, 219, Ridgeway Street, Ancoats, Manchester.

		Manchester. E. Thornton, 18, Garbett Street, Accrington. F. W. Birchenough, 274, Copster Hill Road, Oldham. William Wood, 77, St. George's Road, Bolton.
Spinners, Bolton and District Operative Cotton	William Wood, 77, St. George's Road, Bolton.	John Battle, Rockhaven, Horwich, near Bolton. Thos. Coyle, 47, Hutton Street, Worthington, Wigan. George Rowley, 6, Lansdown Road, Monton, near Manchester. James Tee, 9, Grand Street, Farnworth, near Bolton.
Warehousemen, Amalgamated Society of Textile	E. Strong, 428, Audley Range, Blackburn.	E. Strong, Secretary.
Weavers' Association, Amalgamated	Joseph Cross, Ewbank Chambers, 19, St. James Street, Accrington.	J. W. Ogden, J.P., 2, Grosvenor Street, Heywood. W. J. Tout, J.P., Weavers' Office, Burnley Road, Todmorden. C. Speak, J.P., Weavers' Office, St. George's Street, Bolton. Daniel Parry, 30, Wynne Street, Bolton. John Lawrenson, 23, Victoria Street, Darwen. Robert Whitehead, 2, Club Street, Great Harwood. John McHugh, 14, Snape Street, Blackburn. Joseph Cross, J.P., Secretary.
Weavers', Winders' and Beamers' Association, Bacup	Robert Green, 91, Market Street, Bacup, Lancs.	George Brown, 6, Abbey Street, Bacup.
Weavers, Bolton	Cephas Speak, 77, St. George's Road, Bolton.	Albert Halliwell, 64, Poplar Street, Bolton.
Weavers', Winders' and Beamers' Association, Burnley and District	James Hindle, Weavers' Institute, Burnley.	Fred Watson, 20, Richmond Street, Burnley. A. E. Lomax, 164, Melville Street, Burnley. John Heaton, 19, Lydia Street, Burnley. Leonard Healey, 38, Chapel Street, Brierfield, near Burnley.
Weavers' and Winders' Association, Bury, Radcliffe and District	Ben Hargreaves, Textile Operatives' Hall, Manchester Road, Bury.	Richard Pearson, 27, Hilton Street, Bury. Thomas Sharrocks, 14, South Cross Street, Bury.
Weavers' Association, Chorley and District	Thomas West, 1, Clifford Street, Chorley.	Thomas Starkey, 15, Granville Road, Chorley. Thomas West, Secretary.

Names of Societies.	*No. of Members.*	*No. of Votes.*	*Affiliation Fees.* £ s. d.	*Secretaries and Addresses.*	*Delegates and Addresses.*
Weavers', Winders' and Beamers' Association, Colne and District	—	—	—	Thomas Shaw, J.P., M.P., Weavers' Offices, Colne.	Alfred Atkinson, 10, Blucher Street, Colne. Thomas Shaw, J.P., M.P., Secretary.
Weavers' Association, Haslingden	—	—	—	George Whittam, Weavers' Office, Union Street, Haslingden.	George Riley, 78, Blackburn Road, Haslingden; George Whittam, Secretary.
Weavers, Winders, Reelers, &c., Heywood and District	—	—	—	J. W. Ogden, 2, Grosvenor Street, Heywood.	Albert Wilkinson, 1, Grove Terrace, Bamford, near Rochdale.
Weavers' Association, Nelson	—	—	—	W. Ward, Weavers' Institute, Nelson.	Jas. E. Hall, 167, Every Street, Nelson. H. W. Throup, 23, Victoria Street, Nelson.
Weavers, Winders, &c., Association, Oldham and District	—	—	—	James Bell, J.P., M.P., Weavers' Institute, Bartlam Place, Oldham.	Daniel Birtles, 100, Raper Street, Oldham. James Bell, J.P., M.P., Secretary.
Weavers', Winders' and Beamers' Association, Rossendale	—	—	—	John Farron, 245, Bacup Road, Cloughfold.	Philip Collins, 39, Alma Cottages, Cloughfold.
Weavers', Winders', Warpers' and Reelers' Association, Stockport and District.	—	—	—	J. Philip Riding, Trades Hall, Stockport.	J. Philip Riding, Secretary
Weavers, Rochdale Branch of Amalgamated	—	—	—	James H. Holden, 5, Cloth Hall Street, Rochdale, Lancs.	Joseph Nuttall, Grove House, Todmorden Road, Littleborough. Thomas Dillon, 24, Sun Place, Rochdale
Weavers' and Winders' Association, Todmorden and District	—	—	—	W. J. Tout, J.P., Weavers' Institute, Burnley Road, Todmorden.	James Clegg, 8, Dundee Road, Black Rock, Todmorden. Arthur Cunliffe, 543, Rochdale Road, Walsden, Todmorden.
Weavers' Association, Wigan and District	—	—	—	John Breese, 37, Darlington Street, Wigan.	Miss E. E. Kenyon, 17, Well Street, Wigan. Miss E. Finch, 11, Alexandra Street, Newtown, Wigan
Textile Workers, National Union of	—	—	—	Arthur Shaw, Central Chambers, 84, Godwin Street Bradford.	Arthur Dawson, 54, Blackburn Road, Accrington.
†Textile Workers, General Union of	50000	50	625 0 0		Tom Hardisty, Rockville, Yeadon.
†Dyers, Finishers and Textile Workers, National Society of	16000	16	200 0 0		Mrs. Naylor, 82, Silk Street, Manningham, Bradford.
Textile Workers and Kindred Trades, Amalgamated Society of	9000	9	112 10 0	W. Bromfield, M.P., "Foxelowe," Market Place, Leek, Staffs.	Ben Turner, J.P., 5, Talbot Street, Batley. —
Tin and Sheet Millmen's Association	2760	3	34 10 0	Ivor H. Gwynne, 16, Bryn Road, Swansea.	—

Transport and General Workers' Union	..	—	..	—	..	—	.. Ernest Bevin, 3, Central Buildings, Westminster, London, S.W.1
*Dock, Riverside and General Workers, National Union of	..	10000	..	10	..125	0 0	
*Dock, Wharf, Riverside and General Workers' Union	..	90000	..	90	1125	0 0	
*Labourers' Union, National Amalgamated	..	10605	..	11	..132	11 6	
*Vehicle Workers, United	..	10000	..	10	..125	0 0	
*Watermen, Lightermen & Bargemen, Amalgamated Society of	..	6006	..	6	.. 75	0 0	
*Labour Protection League (No. 14 Branch)	..	—	..	—	..	—	
*Coal Workers' Union, National Amalgamated	..	—	..	—	..	—	

*Now amalgamated in the Transport and General Workers' Union.

H. Gosling, B.C.C., 3, Central Buildings, Westminster, London, S.W.1.
S. Hirst, „ „ „
A. Smith, „ „ „
H. W. Kay, „ „ „
B. Smith, „ „ „
J. Wignall, M.P., „ „ „
Ben Tillett, M.P., „ „ „
J. Sexton, M.P., Clifton House, 41, Islington, Liverpool.
P. McKibbins, „ „ „
J, Twomey, 51, Bryn Road, Swansea.
Miss M. Carlin, 3, Central Buildings, Westminster, London. S.W.
S. March, „ „ „
J. Cliff, „ „ „
P. Gillespie, 27, Bank Street, Dundee.
T. R. Owens, 97, Commercial Street, Middlesbrough.
H. E. Clay, 66, Meadows Lane, Leeds.
J. T. May, 10, Rossetti Buildings, Millbank Estate, London, S.W.1.
R. W. G. Clode, 42, Brayard Road, Peckham, London, S.E.15.
A. W. Gardner, 2, St. Michael's Square, Southampton.
J. Brown, 7, Penrhyn Street, Taibach, Port Talbot.
J. B. Owen, 38, Jersey Street, Hafod, Swansea.
J. Blewitt, 70, Toll End Road, Ocker Hill, Tipton.
Mr. Bennett, 199, Old Trafford Road, Salford, Manchester.
Mr. Morton, „ „ „
D. Dundas, Viewforth Terrace, Brechin.
S. Forsythe, 112, Addison Road, Heaton, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
A. Hoyle, 66, Meadow Lane, Leeds.
P. Healy, 47, Parnell Square, Dublin.
H. Dye, 3, Eldon Grove, Granville Street, Hull.
P. McQuaide, Clifton House, 41, Islington, Liverpool.
G. Gillespie, 78, Locksley Street, Burdett Road, London, E.

Names of Societies	No. of Members.	No. of Votes.	Affiliation Fees. £ s. d.	Secretaries and Addresses.	Delegates and Addresses.
*Coalworkers' Union, National Amalgamated (*continued*)	—	—	—	—	W. Beresford, 71, High Street, Stonehouse, Plymouth. J. Williams, 60, College Street, St. Augustine's, Bristol. T. McCaffrey, 6, Steel Street, Liverpool. T. Lawlor, 26, June Street, Bootle, Liverpool. E. Bevin, Secretary.
Vehicle Workers' Union, North of England United	6000	6	75 0 0	J. Parr, 77, St. George's Road, Bolton.	John Driver, 9, Barlow Street, Rawtenstall. John Walker, 77, St. George's Road, Bolton.
Horse and Motormen's Association, Scottish	6000	6	75 0 0	H. Lyon, 108, West Regent Street, Glasgow.	D. Gibson, 190, Crookston Street, Glasgow. A. Fletcher, 43, Bell Street, Calton, Glasgow K. M'Gregor, 16, Salisbury Street, Glasgow. W. Pollock, Black's Building, Caledonia Road, Wishaw. H. Lyon, Secretary.
Twisters and Drawers-in, Yorkshire	1079	2	13 9 0	T. Murgatroyd, Textile Hall, Westgate, Bradford.	—
Typographical Association	23115	24	288 18 9	H. Skinner, Beechwood, Oak Drive, Fallowfield, Manchester.	J. D. French, 18, Russell Road, Blackley Manchester. G. Fulton, 28, Welbeck Grove, Higher Broughton, Manchester. Coun. O. Connellan, J.P., 6, Carlton Mount, Dorrington Road, Leeds. F. O. Roberts, J.P., M.P., 61, Collingwood Road, Northampton. E. G. Yates, J.P., 71, Judge Street, Watford. J. Tasker, c/o Mr. T. Dove, 30, Rockingham Lane, Sheffield. H. Skinner, Secretary.
Upholsterers, Amalgamated Union of	7124	8	89 1 0	L. Leckie, 135, Lower Clapton Road, London, E.5.	—
Vehicle Builders, National Union of	26167	27	327 1 9	James Nicholson, Philos Chambers, 195, Oxford Road, Manchester.	Joseph Compton, 195, Oxford Road, Manchester. B. Skene Mackay, 19, Hampstead Hill Gardens, London, N.W.3.
Warpdressers, Twisters and Kindred Trades' Association, Leeds and District	200	1	2 10 0	R. Swales, Armley Heights, Leeds.	—
Willeyers' and Fettlers' Union, Leeds	239	1	3 0 0	A. Sixsmith, Trades Hall, Leeds.	—

Society of									Manchester.	
Woodworkers, Amalgamated Society of	..	107786	..	108	..	1347	6	6	.. A. G. Cameron, 131, Wilmslow Road, Withington, Manchester.	.. W. Dalrymple, 67, Lorne Street, Leith, Edinburgh. W. Hirst, 13, Nurser Place, Little Horton, Bradford. J. Roberts, 2, James Street, Seacombe, Cheshire. A. G. Gossling, 147, Buchanan Gardens, Willesden, London, N.W.10. A. W. Hunt, 240, Newport Road, Cardiff. M. Somerville, 23, Armstrong Street, Harold's Cross, Dublin. W. R. Roberts, 4. Venmore Street, Everton, Liverpool. A. G. Cameron, Secretary.
Woolsorters, National Union of	..	1000	..	1	..	12	10	0	.. T. Grundy, 40, Little Horton Lane, Bradford	.. George Licence, 305, Kensington Street, Bradford.
Wool, Yarn and Warehouse Workers' Union	..	1750	..	2	..	21	17	6	.. F. Egan, 11 and 12, Eldon Place, Manningham, Bradford, Yorks.	.. Ernest Pullen, 61, Jacob Street, Bradford. Frank Egan, Secretary.
Workers' Union	..	80000	..	80	..	1000	0	0	.. Chas. Duncan, J.P., "Highfield," Golders Green Road, London, N.W.11.	.. J. Beard, "Highfield," Golder's Green Road, London, N.W.11. W. C. Farlie, 116, Robert Street, Plumstead, London, S.E.18. R. Henderson, Wandon, Chatton, Belford, Northumberland. J. W. Firth, Melford House, 134, Northgate, Wakefield. H. Fadries, 41, Arundel Street, Cockbrook, Ashton-under-Lyne. W. Hutson, 42, Gordon Street, Burton-on-Trent. T. W. Middleton, 1, Fifth Avenue, Small Heath, Birmingham. H. Avery, 46, Union Street, Stonehouse Devonport. G. E. Day, Bank Street, Melksham. C. Maher, 87, Chapman Street, Oldham Road, Manchester. W. F. Hobbs, 7, Priestfield Road, Gillingham, Kent. H. A. Hind, 12, St. Alkmund's Churchyard, Derby.

Names of Societies.	No. of Members.	No. of Votes.	Affiliation Fees. £ s. d.	Secretaries and Addresses.	Delegates and Addresses.
Workers' Union (*continued*)	.. —	.. —	.. —	—	S. Page, 88, Abbotsford Road, Sparkbrook, Birmingham. R. Morley, 3a. New Briggate, Leeds. J. Harris, 3, Tavistock Road, Drake Circus, Plymouth. R. Small, 49, Chandos Street, Strand, London, W.C.
Workers, National Union of General	..490631	.. 491	..6132 17 9..	W. Thorne, M.P., 28, Tavistock Square, London, W.C.1.	C. Duncan, J.P., Secretary. Rt. Hon. J. R. Clynes, M.P., 28, Tavistock Square, London, W.C.1. J. Jones, M.P., „ „ „ W. Sherwood, „ „ „ G. Lansbury, 2, Carmelite Street, London, E.C.4. B. Russell, 78, Kings Road, Reading T. Hartle, 52, Chapel Street, Salford, Manchester. J. Goodwin, 3, Clifton Square, Fountain Street, Macclesfield. W. Wood, 79, Great George Street, Leeds. F. Hawksby, 17, Hawthorne Street, Hewarth, York. Ald. J. Gregory, 180, Corporation Street, Birmingham. F. H. Glanville, 23. Baden Road, Redfields, Bristol. Coun. Hatton, 17, Eyre Street, Chesterfield W. E. Yorke, 317, Newman Road, Wincobank, Sheffield. H. Lynas, Unity Chambers, Athenæum Street, Sunderland. J. G. Morgan, 7, Albert Terrace, West Hartlepool. R. M. Evans, 6, Oaklands Terrace, Godreaman, Aberdare. A. Brown, 88, James Reckitt Avenue, Garden Village, Hull. L. Marsh, 76, Victor Street, Hull. W. Alexander, 4, Beckenham Road, Radford, Nottingham.

									Miss Dorothy Jewson, Dilke House, Malet Street, London, W.C.1. Miss McFadden, 141, Bath Street, Glasgow. Miss Maude Murray, Dilke House, Malet Street, London, W.C.1. Miss Madeleine J. Symons, Dilke House, Malet Street, London, W.C.1. W. Thorne, M.P., Secretary.
Yorkshire Cotton Operatives' Association	400	..	1	..	5 0 0	..	John Bates, J.P., 14, Albert Road, Sowerby Bridge.		

Socialist Societies.

Fabian Society	.. 1803	..	2	..	22 10 9	..	F. W. Galton, 25, Tothill Street, Westminster London, S.W.1.	..	Miss A. Susan Lawrence, L.C.C., 16a, John Street, Adelphi, London, W.C.2. Sidney Webb, 41, Grosvenor Road, Westminster, London, S.W.1.
Herald League	.. 500	..	1	..	6 5 0	..	G. Belt, 2, Carmelite Street, London, E.C.4.	..	G. Belt, Secretary.
Independent Labour Party	.. 30000	..	30	..	375 0 0	..	F. Johnson, 8 and 9, Johnson's Court, Fleet Street, London, E.C.4.	..	R. C. Wallhead, 21, East Avenue, Garden Village, Levenshulme, Manchester. Clifford Allen, 70, Overstrand Mansions, Prince of Wales Road, Battersea, London, S.W.11. J. Ramsay MacDonald, 9, Howitt Road, Hampstead, London, N.W.3. F. W. Jowett, J.P., 1, Victoria Chambers, Little Horton Lane, Bradford. Coun. David Kirkwood, 3, St. Mark Street, Shettleston, Glasgow. Neil Maclean, M.P., 181, St. Andrew's Road, Pollokshields, Glasgow. Coun. E. Shinwell, 10, George Drive, Govan, S. Glasgow. Jack Lees, 63, Gainsborough Grove, Newcastle-on-Tyne. Ben Riley, J.P., 28, Westfield Avenue, Oakes, Huddersfield. Coun. C. J. Simmons, 20, Clipston Road, Alum Rock, Birmingham.

Names of Societies.	*No. of Members.*	*No. of Votes.*	*Affiliation Fees.* £ s. d.	*Secretaries and Addresses.*	*Delegates and Addresses.*
Independent Labour Party (*continued*)	—	—	—	—	Coun. P. F. Pollard, 8, Clock House Way, Cressing Road, Braintree, Essex. Ernest E. Hunter, 5, York Buildings, Adelphi, London, W.C.2. Coun. W. H. Ayles, Kingsley Hall, Old Market Street, Bristol. Morgan Jones, M.P., 8, Park Crescent, Bargoed, Glam. J. H. Hudson, 5, Laburnum Avenue, Folly Lane, Swinton, Manchester. W. H. Martin, 109, Bath Street, Glasgow. P. J. Dollan, 126, Bothwell Street, Glasgow. James Maxton, 201, Buchanan Street, Glasgow. John Paton, „ „ „ Daved Bernard, 67, Duke Street, Leith. Thomas Johnston, 164, Howard Street, Glasgow. Wilfred Whiteley, 12, Church Avenue, Crossland Moor, Huddersfield. Mark Simpson, 116, Argyle Street, Hebburn-on-Tyne. F. Lester, Codsall, Staffs. J. E. Daynes, 61, Victoria Street, Ipswich. John Beckett, Norfolk House, Norfolk Place, Commercial Road, London, E.14. F. E. Wake. 10, Martin Street, Plymouth. Miss Minnie Pallister, 89, Suffolk Place, Porthcawl, Glam. J. T. Abbott, Room 46, 120 Portland Street, Manchester. Francis Johnson, Secretary.
Jewish Socialist Labour Party (Poale Zion)	2000	2	25 0 0	J. Pomerantz, 27, Sandys Row, Bishopsgate, London, E.1.	S. Kaplansky, 3, Upper Park Road, Belsize Park, London, N.W.3.
Social Democratic Federation	2000	2	25 0 0	T. Kennedy, M.P., 36, Clerkenwell Green, London, E.C.1.	Coun. W. Pitt, 36, Clerkenwell Green, London, E.C.1. T. Kennedy, M.P., Secretary.

KEY TO INDEX LETTERS REPRESENTING PARTY ORGANISING DISTRICTS.

A. North-Eastern District.
B. North-Western District.
C. Midlands District.
D. Southern and Home Counties District.
E. London District.
F. South-Western District.
G. Eastern District.
H. Wales.
J. Scotland
K. Universities.

KEY TO NATURE OF CONSTITUENCY.

(C.D.) County Divisions 292
(S.B.) Single-Membered Boroughs 86
(D.M.B.) Double-Membered Boroughs (12 with 2 Members each) 24
(D.B.) Divided Boroughs .. .. .. } 189
(B.D.) Borough Divisions .. .. .. }
(U.) Universities 11

Total Number of Seats .. 602

Constituencies and Index Nos.		*Local Parties or Councils.*	*Affiliation Fees.* £ s. d.	*No. of Votes.*	*Secretaries and Addresses.*	*Delegates and Addresses.*
Bedford.						
D1. Bedford	(C.D.) ..	Bedford D.L.P.	.. 2 12 6 ..	1 ..	J. W. Seamark, 69, Tavistock Street, Bedford. ..	—
D2. Mid-Bedford	(C.D.) ..		.. ..	..	..	—
D3. Luton	(C.D.) ..	Luton D.L.P	.. 1 10 0 ..	1 ..	W. J. Mabley, 35, Manchester Street, Luton. ..	—
Berks.						
D4. Reading	(S.B.) ..	Reading T.C. & L.P.	.. 1 10 0 ..	1 ..	P. R. Beasley, 40, Oxford Street, Reading. ..	—
D5. Abingdon	(C.D.) ..	North Berks (Abingdon) D.L.P.	.. 1 10 0 ..	1 ..	— Bradford, Wallingford, Berks. ..	—
D6. Newbury	(C.D.) ..	Newbury D.L.P.	.. ..	..	H. H. Blundy, 5, Carlisle Terrace, Newbury. ..	—
D7. Windsor	(C.D.) ..		.. ..	..	..	—
Bucks.						
D8. Aylesbury	(C.D.) ..	Mid-Bucks (Aylesbury) D.L.P.	.. 1 10 0 ..	1 ..	F. Standring, 24, Prebendal Avenue, Southcourt, Aylesbury. ..	—
D9. Buckingham	(C.D.) ..	Buckingham D.L.P.	.. 3 14 2 ..	1 ..	A. Wells, 38, Albert Street, Bletchley, near Wolverton. ..	—
D10. Wycombe	(C.D.) ..	South Buckingham (Wycombe) D.L.P.	.. 1 10 0 ..	1 ..	Mr. Talbot, c/o Post Office, High Wycombe. ..	Henry H. Slesser, Cornerways, Bourne End, Bucks.
Cambridge.						
G11. Cambridge	(S.B.) ..	Cambridge (Borough) T.C. & L.P	.. 3 0 0 ..	1 ..	J. J. Overton, 209, Milton Road, Cambridge. ..	—

Constituencies and Index Nos.		Local Parties or Councils.	Affiliation Fees. £ s. d.	No. of Votes.	Secretaries and Addresses.	Delegates and Addresses.
Cambridge (*continued*)						
G12. Cambridge	(C.D.)	Cambridgeshire T.C. & D.L.P.	..	..	G. J. Huckle, 2, Garden Walk, Cambridge	—
Cheshire.						
B13/14. Birkenhead	(D.B.)	Birkenhead T.C. & L.P.	3 0 0	2	Coun. W. H. Egan, 41, Hamilton Square, Birkenhead.	Thos. McLellan, 269, Old Chester Road, Birkenhead.
B13. Birkenhead East	(B.D.)		..	..	..	—
B14. Birkenhead (West	(B.D.)		..	..	..	—
B15. Stockport	(D.M.B.)	Stockport T.C. & L.P.	3 0 0	2	G. A. Crossley, 32, Petersburg Road, Stockport.	R. L. Warburton, 45, Kimberley Street, Stockport.
B16. Wallasey	(S.B.)	Wallasey D.L.P.	2 10 0	1	W. A. F. Hill, 64, Byerley Street, Wallasey.	—
B17. Altrincham	(C.D.)	Altrincham D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	J. Graham, 18, Era Street, Sale, Cheshire.	—
B18. City of Chester	(C.D.)	Chester T.C. & L.P.	2 0 0	1	Frank Brown, 21, Gladstone Avenue, Chester	Coun. W. H. Ebrey, 21, Henry Street, Chester.
B19. Crewe	(C.D.)	Crewe D.L.P. & T.C.	2 12 6	1	T. Kelsall, 5, Martha Terrace, Henry Street, Crewe.	—
B20. Eddisbury	(C.D.)		..	..	..	—
B21. Knutsford	(C.D.)	Knutsford D.L.P.	..	..	E. Sheldon, 51, Chapel Street, Hazel Grove, Stockport.	—
B22. Macclesfield	(C.D.)	Macclesfield D.L.P.	..	..	W. E. Longden, Trades Hall, Chatham Street, Macclesfield.	—
B23. Northwich	(C.D.)	Northwich D.L.P.	2 10 10 (1922)	1	C. E. Brooker, 49, Victoria Road, Runcorn.	—
B24. Stalybridge & Hyde	(C.D.)	Stalybridge & Hyde Parliamentary D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	T. Brown, 3, Whitehead Street, Dukinfield, Cheshire.	T. Brown, Secretary.
B25. Wirral	(C.D.)	Wirral D.L.P.	1 10 0 (1922)	1	S. Jones, 1, Poet's Corner, Port Sunlight, Cheshire.	J. E. C. Grant, 11, Bath Street, Port Sunlight, Cheshire.
Cornwall.						
F26. Bodmin	(C.D.)		..	..	..	—
F27. Camborne	(C.D.)	Camborne D.L.P. & T.C.	1 10 0	1	W. Uglow, 2, Vyvyans Row, Camborne, Cornwall.	—

F30. St. Ives	(C.D.)	St. Ives D.L.P.	1	10	0	1	H. Trembath, 10, Bay View Terrace, Penzance		—
Cumberland.									
B31. Carlisle	(S.B.)	Carlisle T.C. & L.P.	1	10	0	1	John Wynne, Trades Hall, Scotch Street, Carlisle.	John Wynne, Secretary.	
B32. Northern	(C.D.)								—
B33. Penrith & Cockermouth	(C.D.)	Penrith T.C.	1	10	0	1	T. Hodgson, 57, Arthur Street, Penrith.		—
B34. Whitehaven	(C.D.)	Whitehaven D.L.P.	1	10	0	1	J. Devlin, 68, Briscoe Mount, Egremont.		—
B35. Workington	(C.D.)	Workington D.L.P.	2	10	0	1	Coun. J. Wilson, 34, Dora Crescent, Workington.	R. Millican, J.P., C.C., Thompson Street, Workington, Cumberland.	
Derby.									
C36. Derby	(D.M.B.)	Derby L.P. & T.C.	19	19	2	2	W. R. Raynes, 63, London Road, Derby.	W. R. Raynes, Secretary.	
C37. Belper	(C.D.)	Belper D.L.P.	1	10	0	1	C. Bishop, 32, Priory Road, Alfreton, Derbyshire.	Fred. Lee, Cressy Fields, Alfreton, Derbyshire.	
C38. Chesterfield	(C.D.)	Chesterfield D.L.P.	1	10	0	1	J. H. Harvey, 36, Alexandra Road, Chesterfield.	J. H. Harvey, Secretary.	
C39. Clay Cross	(C.D.)	Clay Cross D.L.P.	1	10	0	1	F. Haynes, Brook Street, Tibshelf, Derbyshire.		—
C40. High Peak	(C.D.)	High Peak D.L P.	7	14	0	1	J. D. Doyle, Whitfield Green, Glossop.		—
C41. Ilkeston	(C.D.)	Ilkeston D.L.P.	1	10	0	1	G. Draycott, 14, Victoria Street, Ripley, Derbyshire.	J. S. Reynolds, 1, Church Street, Ripley, Derbyshire.	
C42. North Eastern	(C.D.)	Derbyshire (N.E.) D.L.P.	1	10	0	1	S. Green, 17, Gray Street, Clowne, Derbyshire.	Bernard Howells, Mastin Moore, near Chesterfield, Derbyshire.	
C43. Southern	(C.D.)	Derbyshire (S.) D.L.P.	1	10	0	1	L. Straw, 101, Oxford Street, Church Gresley, near Burton-on-Trent.		—
C44. Western	(C.D.)								—
Devon.									
F45. Exeter	(S.B.)	Exeter D.L.P.	1	10	0	1	E. G. Lee, 15, Roberts Road, Exeter.		—
F46/48. Plymouth	(D.B.)	Plymouth Borough L.P.	1	10	0	1	W. A. Miller, 10, East Street, Stonehouse, Plymouth.		—
F46. Plymouth, Drake	(B.D.)								—
F47. Plymouth & Devonport	(B.D.)	Devonport D.L.P.					A. Cockburn, 7, Third Avenue, The Rectory, Devonport.		—
F48. Plymouth, Sutton	(B.D.)								—
F49. Barnstaple	(C.D.)	Barnstaple D.L.P. (1922)	1	10	0	1	L. A. Worswick, 37, Sunflower Road, Barnstaple.		—

Constituencies and Index Nos.		Local Parties or Councils.	Affiliation Fees. £ s. d.	No. of Votes.	Secretaries and Addresses.	Delegates and Addresses.
Devon (*continued*)						
F50. Honiton	(C.D.) ..		..	..	..	—
F51. South Molton	(C.D.) ..	South Molton D.L.P.	..	..	K. Barnwell, 2, Fursbeam Terrace, Torrington. ..	—
F52. Tavistock	(C.D.) ..		..	..	..	—
F53. Tiverton	(C.D.) ..	Tiverton D.L.P.	.. 1 10 0	.. 1 ..	F. Martin, 11, Alexandra Terrace, Tiverton, Devon. ..	—
F54. Torquay	(C.D.) ..	Torquay D.L.P.	.. 2 17 4	.. 1 ..	W. J. Paull, 5, Somerleyton Terrace, Paignton. ..	—
F55. Totnes	(C.D.) ..		..	..	..	—
Dorset.						
F56. Eastern	(C.D.) ..	Dorset East D.L.P.	.. 2 0 0	..	F. J. Hopkins, 34, Commercial Road, Parkstone, Dorset. ..	—
F57. Northern	(C.D.) ..		..	..	..	—
F58. Southern	(C.D.) ..	Dorset (South) D.L.P.	.. 2 0 0	.. 1 ..	T. H. Winzar, 28, Newstead Road, Weymouth. ..	Coun. H. Pavely, J.P., 2, Clifton Terrace, Westham, Weymouth, Dorset.
F59. Western	(C.D.) ..	Dorset (West) D.L.P.	.. 1 10 0	.. 1 ..	F. Ferrett, 12, Charles Street, Dorchester. ..	—
Durham.						
A60. Darlington	(S.B.) ..	Darlington D.L.P.	.. 8 6 8	.. 1 ..	Ben Dodd, Post Office Chambers, Northgate, Darlington. ..	Ben Dodd, Secretary.
A61. Gateshead	(S.B.) ..	Gateshead L.P. & T.C.	.. 3 0 0	.. 1 ..	R. Johnson, 17, Caris Street, Gateshead. ..	—
A62. Hartlepool	(S.B.) ..	Hartlepool D.L.P.	.. 1 10 0 (1922)	.. 1 ..	W. Foster Green, 8, Topcliffe Street, West Hartlepool. ..	—
A63. South Shields	(S.B.) ..	South Shields T.C. & L.P.	.. 1 10 0	.. 1 ..	H. Donnelly, 99, Collingwood Street, South Shields. ..	—
A64. Stockton-on-Tees	(S.B.) ..	Stockton & Thornaby T.C.	1 10 0	.. 1 ..	W. Shepherd, 3, Rosebery View, Thornaby-on-Tees. ..	—
A65. Sunderland	(D.M.B.) ..	Sunderland T.C. & L.P.	.. 1 10 0	.. 2 ..	A. E. Wood, 7, Queen's Crescent, Sunderland. ..	—
A66. Barnard Castle	(C.D.) ..	Barnard Castle D.L.P.	.. 2 0 0	.. 1 ..	John Cape, Sunniside, Tow Law, Co. Durham ..	Miss Annie Cape, Sunniside, Tow Law, Co. Durham.
A67. Bishop Auckland	(C.D.) ..	Bishop Auckland D.L.P.	.. 3 0 0	.. 1 ..	Chas. Myers, 159, Auckland Terrace, Shildon, Durham ..	Ben C. Spoor, M.P., House of Commons, London, S.W.1.

A70. Consett	(C.D.) ..	Consett D.L.P.	..	1	10	0	..	1	..	B. J. Burridge, 3, Pelaw Avenue, Stanley, Co. Durham.	.. B. J. Burridge, Secretary.
A71. Durham	(C.D.) ..	Durham D.L.P.	..	1	10	0	..	1	..	R. Shotton, Sedgwick's Buildings, Auton Shyle, Auton, Bearpark, Durham.	.. R. Shotton, Secretary.
A72. Houghton-le-Spring	(C.D.) ..	Houghton-le-Spring D.L.P.	3	6	8	..	1	..	H. Bainbridge, 34, Mount Road West, Sunderland.	.. H. Bainbridge, Secretary.	
A73. Jarrow	(C.D.) ..	Jarrow D.L.P.	..	2	14	6	..	1	..	J. Coutts, 47, Ellison Street, Jarrow.	.. —
A74. Seaham	(C.D.) ..	Seaham D.L.P.	..				..		..	Rev. J. Herron, 52, Marlboro' Street, Seaham Harbour, Co. Durham.	.. —
A75. Sedgefield	(C.D.) ..	Sedgefield D.L.P.	..	1	10	0	..	1	..	J. W. Foster, Fern House, Ferryhill Station, Co. Durham.	.. J. W. Foster, Secretary.
A76. Spennymoor	(C.D.) ..	Spennymoor D.L.P.	..	2	0	0	..	1	..	J. Cape, Sunniside, Tow Law, Co. Durham.	.. John Cape, Secretary.
Essex.											
G77/78. East Ham	(D.B.) ..	East Ham T.C. & L.P.	..	1	10	0	..	2	..	E. B. Hall, 235, Browning Road, Manor Park, London, E.12.	.. E. B. Hall, Secretary.
G77. East Ham (North)	(B.D.) ..	North East Ham D.L.P.		1	10	0	..	1	..	A. Everitt, 31, Little Ilford Lane, Manor Park, London, E.12.	.. —
G78. East Ham (South)	(B.D.) ..	South East Ham D.L.P.	..	1	10	0	..	1	..	E. G. Green, 17, Mortimer Road, East Ham, London, E.6.	.. —
G79. Ilford	(S.B.) ..	Ilford L.P.	..	1	10	0	..	1	..	A. E. Haeger, 3, St. Mary's Road, Ilford.	.. —
G80/81. Leyton	(D.B.) ..	Leyton (Borough) L.P	..				..		..	G. J. Packman, 11, Westdown Road, Leyton, London, E.15.	.. —
G80. Leyton, East	(B.D.) ..	East Leyton D.L.P.	..	1	10	0	..	1	..	F. G. Burgess, 376, High Road, Leytonstone, London, E.11.	.. —
G81. Leyton, West	(B.D.) ..	West Leyton D.L.P.	..				..		..	W. Dolder, 170, Morley Road, Leyton, London, E.10.	.. —
G82. Southend-on-Sea	(S.B.) ..	Southend-on-Sea T.C. & L.P.	..	1	10	0	..	1	..	W. Pohl, "Woodville." Hockley, Essex.	.. —
G83/84. Walthamstow	(D.B.) ..	Walthamstow (Central) L.P.	..				..		..	S. J. Donoghue, 342, Hoe Street, Walthamstow, London, E.17.	.. —
G83. Walthamstow, East	(B.D.) ..	Walthamstow (East) D.L.P.	..	1	10	0	..	1	..	S. J. Donoghue, 342, Hoe Street, Walthamstow, London, E.17.	.. —
G84. Walthamstow, West	(B.D.) ..	Walthamstow (West) D.L.P.	..	1	10	0	..	1	..	E. C. Fairchild, 342, Hoe Street, Walthamstow, London, E.17.	.. —

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Constituencies and Index Nos.		Local Parties or Councils.	Affiliation Fees. £ s. d.	No. of Votes.	Secretaries and Addresses.	Delegates and Addresses.
Essex (*continued*)						
G85/88. West Ham	(D.B.) ..	West Ham T.C. & B.L.P.	1 10 0 ..	1 ..	D. J. Davis, 2, Custom Street, Victoria Docks, London, E.16.	J. Foster, 108, Argyle Road, Victoria Docks, London, E.16.
G85. West Ham, Plaistow	(B.D.) ..		..	..	..	—
G86. West Ham, Silvertown	(B.D.)		..	..	..	—
G87. West Ham, Stratford	(B.D.)		..	..	..	—
G88. West Ham, Upton	(B.D.) ..		..	..	..	—
G89. Chelmsford	(C.D.) ..	Chelmsford D.L.P.	..	..	M. Pye, 74, Duke Street, Chelmsford. ..	—
G90. Colchester	(C.D.) ..	Colchester D.L.P.	.. 1 10 0 ..	1 ..	H. H. Fisher, 200, Old Heath, Colchester. ..	—
G91. Epping	(C.D.) ..	Epping (West Essex) D.L.P.	.. 1 10 0 ..	1 ..	R. Smeltzer, Belmont, Albert Road, Buckhurst Hill, Essex. ..	—
G92. Harwich	(C.D.) ..	Harwich D.L.P.	..	..	..	—
G93. Maldon	(C.D.) ..	Maldon D.L.P.	.. 1 10 0 ..	1 ..	W. Burrows, High Street, Witham, Essex. ..	George Dallas, High Street, Witham, Essex.
G94. Romford	(C.D.) ..		..	..	..	—
G95. Saffron Walden	(C.D.) ..	Saffron Walden D.L.P.	.. 1 10 0 ..	1 ..	E. B. Parker, 39, Beridge Road, Halstead ..	—
G96. South Eastern	(C.D.) ..	Essex (South East) D.L.P.	1 10 0 ..	1 ..	W. Farrow, 134, Clarence Road, Grays. ..	—
Gloucester.						
F97/101. Bristol	(D.B.) ..	Bristol T.C. & L.P.	.. 1 10 0 ..	1 ..	E. H. Parker, 11, High Street (City), Bristol, ..	E. H. Parker, Secretary.
F97. Bristol, Central	(B.D.) ..		..	..	..	—
F98. Bristol, East	(B.D.) ..	Bristol (East) D.L.P.	.. 1 10 0 ..	1 ..	J. B. Bland, 37, Charlton Road, Kingswood, Bristol. ..	—
F99. Bristol, North	(B.D.) ..	Bristol (North) D.L.P.	.. 1 10 0 (1922) ..	1 ..	W. H. Jones, 4, Warwick Road, Eastville, Bristol. ..	—
F100. Bristol, South	(B.D.) ..	Bristol (South) L.P.	.. ..	..	D. Williams, 32, St. Luke's Road, Totterdown, Bristol. ..	—
F101. Bristol, West	(B.D.) ..	Bristol (West) L.P.	.. ..	..	E. Parker, 11, High Street, Bristol. ..	—
C102. Cheltenham	(S.B.) ..	Cheltenham L.P.	.. 1 10 0 ..	1 ..	A. T. Quelch, 12, Fairfield Road, Cheltenham. ..	—
C103. Gloucester	(S.B.) ..	Gloucester L.P. & T.C.	.. 1 10 0 ..	1 ..	A. E. Baker, Ruskin Hall, Gloucester. ..	Capt. E. N. Ackroyd, 30, Midland Road, Gloucester.
C104. Cirencester & Tewkesbury	..	Cirencester & Tewkesbury	2 0 0 ..	1 ..	J. H. Brookes, Campden, Gloucester. ..	W. R. Robins, 38, Florence Street, Swindon.

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Hunts.						
G126. Huntingdon	(C.D.) ..	Hunts D.L.P.	.. 1 10 0 ..	1 ..	Wm. Bennett, 35, Ermine Street, Huntingdon. ..	—
Isle of Ely.						
G127. Isle of Ely	(C.D.) ..	Isle of Ely D.L.P.	.. 1 10 0 ..	1 ..	E. Smith, 66, New Park, March, Cambs. ..	—
Isle of Wight.						
D128. Isle of Wight	(C.D.) ..	Isle of Wight D.L.P.	.. ..	..	C. C. Piggott, Clyst House, Elmfield, Ryde, Isle of Wight. ..	—
Kent.						
D129. Bromley	(S.B.) ..	Bromley D.L.P.	.. 3 6 8 ..	1 ..	A. Cloud, 37, Thayers Farm Road, Beckenham, Kent. ..	Coun. F. P. Hodes, 4, Lime Villas, Oakfield Road, Penge, London, S.E.
D130. Hythe	(S.B.) ..	Hythe L.P. & Folkestone T. & L.C.	.. 1 10 0 ..	1 ..	Mrs. M. E. Henning, 10, Penfold Road, Folkestone. ..	—
D131/132. Rochester	(D.B.) ..		.. ..	..	..	—
D131. Rochester, Chatham	(B.D.)	Chatham T. & L.C.	.. 1 10 0 ..	1 ..	H. A. Shellock, 64, Rainham Road, Chatham. ..	—
D132. Rochester, Gillingham	(B.D.)		.. ..	..	..	—
D133. Ashford	(C.D.) ..	Ashford & District L.P.	.. 1 10 0 ..	..	T. Pearce, 43, Godinton Road, Ashford, Kent. ..	—
D134. Canterbury	(C.D.) ..	Canterbury D.L.P.	.. ..	..	T. Leaver, 21, William Street, Herne Bay. ..	—
D135. Chislehurst	(C.D.) ..		.. ..	..	..	—
D136. Dartford	(C.D.) ..	Dartford D.L.P.	.. 1 10 0 ..	1 ..	T. C. Stephenson, 31, Shepherds Lane, Dartford. ..	—
D137. Dover	(C.D.) ..	Dover D.L.P.	.. 1 10 0 ..	1 ..	..	—
D138. Faversham	(C.D.) ..	Faversham D.L.P.	.. 2 13 2 ..	1 ..	W. T. Butt, 5, Preston Place, Faversham. ..	—
D139. Gravesend	(C.D.) ..	Gravesend D.L.P.	.. 1 13 4 ..	1 ..	H. C. Gibbs 30, Portland Avenue, Gravesend. ..	—
D140. Isle of Thanet	(C.D.) ..	Isle of Thanet D.L.P.	.. 1 10 0 (1922) ..	1 ..	F. Hayward, 18, Ulster Road, Margate. ..	—
D141. Maidstone	(C.D.) ..	Maidstone D.L.P.	.. 1 10 0 ..	1 ..	C. Tovey, 13, Kingsley Road, Maidstone. ..	—
D142. Sevenoaks	(C.D.) ..	Sevenoaks D.L.P.	1 10 0	1 ..	E. G. Dore, Rutland Villa, West Malling. ..	—
D143. Tonbridge	(C.D.) ..	Tonbridge D.L.P.				

Lancashire.

B144.	Accrington	(S.B.)	Accrington T.C. & L.P.	3	0	0	1	R. Howarth, 19, Warner Street, Accrington.	Coun. R. J. Constantine, 5, Bishop Street, Accrington, Lancs.
B145.	Ashton-under-Lyne	(S.B.)	Ashton-under-Lyne and Dukinfield T.C.	1	10	0	1	A. J. Heal, 7, Warrington Street, Ashton-under-Lyne.	—
B146.	Barrow-in-Furness	(S.B.)	Barrow L.P. & T.C.	1	10	0	1	Bram Longstaffe, 80a, Cavendish Street, Barrow-in-Furness.	Bram Longstaffe, Secretary.
B147.	Blackburn	(D.M.B.)	Blackburn L.P.	5	0	0	2	G. B. Eddie, 52a, Victoria Street, Blackburn.	Coun. John Smethurst, Labour Party Offices, 52a, Victoria Street, Blackburn. Miss Alice Leaver, 9, Eanam, Blackburn. G. B. Eddie, Secretary.
B148.	Blackpool	(S.B.)	Blackpool L.P.	1	10	0	1	Mrs. N. Holland, 50, George Street, Blackpool.	—
B149.	Bolton	(D.M.B.)	Bolton L.P.	3	0	0	2	E. Faulkner, 62, Cotton Street, Bolton, Lancs.	William Howson, Spinners' Hall, St. George's Road, Bolton, Lancs.
B150.	Bootle	(S.B.)	Bootle T.C. & L.P.	1	10	0	1	T. Garnett, 5, Thornton Avenue, Orrell, Bootle, Liverpool.	T. Garnett, Secretary.
B151.	Burnley	(S.B.)	Burnley T.C.	1	10	0	1	Coun. J. W. Gradwell, J.P., 1, Yorke Street, Burnley.	Coun. J. W. Gradwell, J.P., Secretary
B152.	Bury	(S.B.)	Bury L.P.	1	10	0	1	F. H. Edwards, Agent's Office, Peter Street, Moorgate, Bury, Lancs.	F. H. Edwards, Secretary.
B153.	Eccles	(S.B.)	Eccles L.P.	1	10	0	1	W. M. Rogerson, 6, Mayfield Avenue, Walkden, Manchester, Lancs.	—
B154.	Leigh	(S.B.)	Leigh & District T. & L.C.	1	10	0	1	J. W. Bibby, J.P., 45, New Platt Street, Leigh, Lancs.	Coun. C. Holding, 132, Plank Lane, Leigh, Lancs.
B155/165.	Liverpool	(D.B.)	Liverpool T.C. & L.P.	1	10	0	1	Thomas J. Rowan, 19, Waltham Road, Liverpool.	Coun. Herbert Rose, J.P., 22, Apollo Street, Belmont Road, Liverpool.
B155.	Liverpool, East Toxteth	(B.D.)							—
B156.	Liverpool, Edge Hill	(B.D.)	Edge Hill D.L.P.	1	10	0	1	G. L. Barber, 94a, Selborne Street, Liverpool.	—
B157.	Liverpool, Everton	(B.D.)	Everton D.L.P.					E. Powell, 43, Pottier Street, Everton, Liverpool.	—
B158.	Liverpool, Exchange	(B.D.)							—
B159.	Liverpool, Fairfield	(B.D.)							—
B160.	Liverpool, Kirkdale	(B.D.)	Kirkdale D.L.P.					S. Shaw, 32, Pugin Street, Kirkdale, Liverpool.	—
B161.	Liverpool, Scotland	(B.D.)	Liverpool (Scotland) D.L.P.					J. McChrystal, 38, Dublin Street, Liverpool.	—
B162.	Liverpool, Walton	(B.D.)	Walton D.L.P.	1	10	0	1	W. A. Nelson, 68, Stuart Road, Liverpool.	—

Constituencies and Index Nos.	*Local Parties or Councils.*	*Affiliation Fees.* £ s. d.	*No. of Votes.*	*Secretaries and Addresses.*	*Delegates and Addresses.*
Lancashire *(continued)*					
B163. Liverpool, Wavertree (B.D.)	Wavertree D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	T. T. George, 1a, Bartlett Street, Liverpool.	Rev. J. V. Laughland, 265, Edge Lane, Liverpool. Mrs. J. V. Laughland, „ „
B164. Liverpool, West Derby (B.D.)	West Derby D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	J. W. Davey, 30, Clovelly Road, Anfield, Liverpool.	—
B165. Liverpool, West Toxteth (B.D.)	West Toxteth D.L.P.			C. H. Stephens, 359, Park Road, Dingle, Liverpool.	—
B166/175a. Manchester (D.B.)	Manchester (Borough) L.P.	1 10 0	1	W. T. Jackson, 3, Clarence Street, Albert Square, Manchester.	T. M. Larrad, 15, East Avenue, Burnage, Levenshulme, Manchester.
B166/175b. Manchester (D.B.)	Manchester & Salford T.C.	1 10 0	1	Coun. W. Mellor, J.P., 3, Clarence Street, Albert Square, Manchester.	Coun. W. Mellor, Secretary.
B166. Manchester & Ardwick (B.D.)	Ardwick Local L.P.	1 10 0	1	W. Calderwood, 20, Gilmour Street, Ardwick, Manchester.	—
B167. Manchester, Blackley (B.D.)	Blackley Local L.P.	1 10 0	1	Geo. G. Wellings, 1, Todd Street, Moston, Manchester.	W. A. Spofforth, Secretary.
B168. Manchester, Clayton (B.D.)	Clayton L.P.	1 10 0	1	J. McQueeny, 395 Manchester Road, Droylsden, Lancs.	—
B169. Manchester, Exchange (B.D.)					—
B170. Manchester, Gorton (B.D.)	Gorton U.T.C.	2 4 0	1	W. Davy, J.P., 63, Central Road, Gorton, Manchester.	J. Greirson, 5, Farnsdale Avenue, Reddish, near Manchester.
B171. Manchester, Hulme (B.D.)	Hulme Local L.P.	1 10 0	1	A. O'Donnell, 295, Stretford Road, Hulme, Manchester.	—
B172. Manchester, Moss Side (B.D.)	Moss Side D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	A. M. Thomson, 160, Chorlton Road, Manchester.	—
B173. Manchester, Platting (B.D.)	Platting D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	F. Winstanly, 51, Waverley Road, Moston, Manchester.	—
B174. Manchester, Rusholme (B.D.)	Rusholme L.P.	1 10 0	1	R. L. Lang, 38, Palm Street, Longsight, Manchester.	Mrs. C. Compton, 48, Whitby Road, Fallowfield, Manchester.
B175. Manchester, Withington (B.D.)	Withington, Manchester L.P.	1 10 0	1	Mrs. M. G. Davies, 9, Booth Avenue, Withington, Manchester.	Mrs. M. G. Davies, Secretary.
B176. Nelson and Colne (S.B.)	Nelson & Colne L.P.	2 10 0	1	W. Throup, 56, Railway Street, Nelson.	William Throup, Secretary.
B177. Oldham (D.M.B.)	Oldham & District T. & L.C.	3 10 0	2	Coun. I. Crabtree, J.P., 151, Union Street, Oldham.	Coun. Isaac Crabtree, J.P., Secretary.
[illegible] (T.M.B.)	Preston L.P. & T.C.	3 0 0	2	W. E. Morris, 14, Guildhall Street, Preston.	—

B181. St. Helens	(S.B.)	St. Helens T. & L.C.	1	10	0	1	Coun. R. Waring, 146, Newton Road, St. Helens, Lancs.	Coun. T. H. Boscow, 6, Junction Lane, St. Helens, Lancs.
B182/184. Salford	(D.B.)	Salford (Borough) L.P.	1	10	0	1	J. Openshaw, 207, Langworthy Road, Salford (West), Lancs.	—
B182. Salford, North	(B.D.)	Salford (North) L.P.	1	10	0 (1922)	1	C. Bramhall, 17, Clarence Street, Lower Broughton, Salford.	—
B183. Salford, South	(B.D.)							—
B184. Salford, West	(B.D.)	Salford (West) L.P.	1	10	0	1	J. Openshaw, 207, Langworthy Road, Salford, Manchester.	—
B185. Southport	(S.B.)	Southport T.C. & L.P.	1	10	0	1	E. Rimmer, 13, Warren Road, Southport.	—
B186. Warrington	(S.B.)	Warrington T.C. & L.P.	2	0	0	1	C. Dukes, 27, Cornwall Street, Warrington.	—
B187. Wigan	(S.B.)	Wigan & District T.C. & L.P.	1	10	0	1	R. Lewis, 26, Osborne Road, Ashton-in-Makerfield.	Robert Prestt, 52, Spring Street, Wigan.
B188. Chorley	(C.D.)	Chorley D.L.P.	1	10	0	1	Jas. Cox, St. George's Street, Chorley, Lancs.	—
B189. Clitheroe	(C.D.)	Clitheroe D.L.P.	1	10	0	1	F. Constantine, 36, Burnley Road, Padiham, Lancs.	—
B189a. Clitheroe	(C.D.)	Gt. Harwood T.C.	1	10	0	1	I. Dickinson, 2, Mount Street, Gt. Harwood.	—
B190. Darwen	(C.D.)	Darwen D.T. & L.C.	4	0	0	1	B. Clare, 20, Epworth Street, Darwen, Lancs.	—
B191. Farnworth	(C.D.)	Farnworth D.L.P.	1	10	0	1	Richard Matthews, 12, Barratt Avenue, Kearsley, Farnworth, S.O.	Richard Matthews, Secretary.
B192. Fylde	(C.D.)							—
B193a. Heywood & Radcliffe	(C.D.)	Heywood & Radcliffe D.L.P.	1	10	0	1	E. J. Hookway, Bleachers' Office, Blackford Brow, Bury, Lancs.	E. J. Hookway, Secretary.
B193b. Heywood & Radcliffe	(C.D.)	Heywood T.C. & L.P.	1	10	0	1	S. J. Bardsley, 8, Walker Street, Heywood.	—
B194. Ince	(C.D.)	Ince D.L.P.	1	10	0	1	R. T. Phillips, 3, Church Street, Hindley.	—
B195. Lancaster	(C.D.)	Lancaster D.L.P.	1	10	0	1	W. Oakes, Fenham Carr, Lancaster.	Coun. R. Carter, 8, Springfield Street, Lancaster.
B196. Lonsdale	(C.D.)	Lonsdale (North) D.L.P.	1	10	0	1	Jas. Hutchinson, Clarence Street, Ulverston.	—
B197. Middleton & Prestwich	(C.D.)	Middleton & Prestwich D.L.P.	1	10	0	1	J. Atkinson, 7, Rochdale Road, Middleton.	T. Stockton, 93, Mills Hill Road, Middleton Junction, near Manchester.
B198. Mossley	(C.D.)	Mossley D.L.P.	1	10	0	1	J. W. Ashworth, 4, Stamford Road, Mossley.	—
B199. Newton	(C.D.)	Newton D.L.P.	1	10	0	1	W. Speakman, Park Road, Newton-le-Willows	—
B200. Ormskirk	(C.D.)	Ormskirk D.L.P.	1	10	0	1	John Ruck, Troqueer Buildings, Aughton Street, Ormskirk, Lancs.	—

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Lancashire (*continued*)						
B201. Royton	(C.D.)	Royton D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	W. Barton, Trades Hall, Littleborough, Lancs.	—
B202. Stretford	(C.D.)	Stretford D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	Chas. Beaumont, 19, Albert Street, Cornbrook, Manchester.	—
B203. Waterloo	(C.D.)	Waterloo D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	M. Rochester, 4, Sycamore Road, Waterloo, near Liverpool.	James Macdonald, 7, College Avenue, Great Crosby, near Liverpool.
B204. Westhoughton	(C.D.)	Westhoughton D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	G. Harper, 47, Chorley New Road, Horwich, Lancs.	—
B205. Widnes	(C.D.)	Widnes D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	J. Warburton, 144, Albert Road, Widnes.	—
Leicester.						
C206/208. Leicester	(D.B.)	Leicester (Borough) L.P.		2	W. Howard, 88, Rutland Street, Leicester.	Miss Mackintosh, 317, Green Lane Road, Leicester William Howard, Secretary.
C206. Leicester, East	(B.D.)	Leicester (East)	1 10 0	1		—
C207. Leicester, South	(B.D.)	Leicester (South)	1 10 0	1		—
C208. Leicester, West	(B.D.)	Leicester (West)	1 10 0	1		—
C209. Bosworth	(C.D.)	Bosworth D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	W. Freer, 3, Malt Mill Bank, Barwell,, Leicester.	—
C210. Harborough	(C.D.)	Harborough D.L.P.	5 0 0	1	T. Rowland Hill, 14, Granby Street, Leicester.	T. Rowland Hill, Secretary.
C211. Loughborough	(C.D.)	Loughborough & District L.P.			B. W. Dawson, Glen Dhoon, Knighthorpe Road, Loughborough.	—
C212. Melton	(C.D.)	Melton Mowbray D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	D. F. Sanday, 8, Welby Road, The Valley, Asfordby, Melton Mowbray.	—
Lincoln and Rutland						
G213. Grimsby	(S.B.)	Grimsby D.L.P. & T.C.	1 10 0	1	G. G. McDonald, 337, Convamore Road, Grimsby.	—
G214. Lincoln	(S.B.)	Lincoln T.C. & L.P.	1 10 0	1	C. E. Snook, 13, Silver Street, Lincoln.	—
G215. Holland with Boston	(C.D.)	Holland with Boston D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	W. T. Cadmore, 33, Spring Gardens, Spalding.	—
G216. Kesteven, Grantham	(C.D.)	Grantham D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	M. W. Moore, Claypole, Newark-on-Trent	—
G217. Kesteven, Rutland and Stamford	(C.D.)	Rutland & Stamford D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	S. Bassendine, J.P., 8, Alexandra Road, Stamford.	—
G218. Lindsey, Brigg	(C.D.)	Brigg D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	J. Wilding, L.P. Offices, Highfield House,	—

G219. Lindsey, Gainsborough (C.D.)	..	Gainsborough and West Lindsey D.L.P.	..	1	10	0	..	1	..	W. B. Hargreaves, 1, Church Street, Gainsborough.	..	
G220. Lindsey, Horncastle (C.D.)	..		..				..		..		..	—
G221. Lindsey, Louth (C.D.)	..	Louth D.L.P.	..	1	10	0	..	1	..	A. Simons, 16a, Eastgate, Louth.	..	—
London.												
E222/282a. London, County of	..	London L.P.	..	1	10	0	..	1	..	Herbert Morrison, L.C.C., 58, Theobalds Road, London, W.C.1.	..	Herbert Morrison, Secretary.
E222/282b. London, County of	..	London T.C.	..	1	10	0	..	1	..	D. Carmichael, 7, Staple Inn Buildings, Holborn, London, W.C.1.	..	D. Carmichael, Secretary.
E222/223. Battersea (D.B.)	..	Battersea T.C. & L.P.	..	3	0	0	..	2	..	W. L. Coltman, 455, Battersea Park Road, London, S.W.11.	..	Coun. R. C. Kiloh, J.P., 12, Jedburgh Street, London, S.W.11. Ald. T. Pocock, 27, Matthews Street, London, S.W.11.
E222. Battersea, North (B.D.)	..		..				..		..		..	—
E223. Battersea, South (B.D.)	..		..				..		..		..	—
E224/225. Bermondsey (D.B.)	..	Bermondsey and Rotherhithe T.C. & L.P.	..				..		..	Coun. A. J. Bamford, 15a, Gomm Road, Rotherhithe, London, S.E.16.	..	—
E224. Bermondsey, West (B.D.)	..		..				..		..		..	—
E225. Bermondsey, Rotherhithe (B.D.)	..	Rotherhithe L.P.	..	1	10	0	..	1	..	G. J. Neville, 16, Hadland Street, Rotherhithe, London, S.E.16	..	—
E226/227. Bethnal Green (D.B.)	..	Bethnal Green Borough L.P. & T.C.	..	1	10	0	..	1	..	W. Windsor, 39, Hague Street, Bethnal Green Road, London, E.2.	..	—
E226. Bethnal Green, North East (B.D.)	..		..				..		..		..	—
E227. Bethnal Green, South West (B.D.)			..				..		..		..	—
E228/231. Camberwell (D.B.)	..	Camberwell T.C. and Borough L.P.	..	1	10	0	..	1	..	A. Creech Jones, 79, Red Post Hill, London, S.E.24.	..	—
E228. Camberwell, North (B.D.)	..	Camberwell (North) D.L.P.	1	10	0	..	1	..	J. Tomkins, 356, Old Kent Road, London, S.E.1.	..	—
E229. Camberwell, North West (B.D.)	..	Camberwell (North West) D.L.P.	1	10	0	..	1	..	E. Gomm, 25, Bromar Road, London, S.E.5.	..	—
E230. Camberwell, Dulwich (B.D.)		Dulwich D.L.P.	..	1	10	0	..	1	..	Frank Dawson, 102, East Dulwich Road, London, S.E.22.	..	—
E231. Camberwell, Peckham (B.D.)	..	Peckham D.L.P.	..	1	10	0	..	1	..	A. Franklin, 21, Oglander Road, Peckham, London, S.E.15.	..	H. Curtis, 2, Station Approach, Peckham, London, S.E.15.
E232. Chelsea (S.B.)	..	Chelsea T.C. & L.P.	..	1	10	0	..	1	..	Frank Self, 25, Upcerne Road, Chelsea, London, S.W.10.	..	Capt. Basil Hall, 95, Beaufort Mansions, London, S.W.10.
E233. City of London (D.M.B.)	..		..				..		..		..	—

Constituencies and Index Nos.		Local Parties or Councils.	Affiliation Fees. £ s d.	No. of Votes.	Secretaries and Addresses.	Delegates and Addresses.
London (*continued*)						
E234. Deptford	(S.B.)	Deptford L.A.	1 10 0	1	E. C. Wood, 435, New Cross Road, London, S.E.14.	—
E235. Finsbury	(S.B.)	Finsbury L.P. & T.C.	1 10 0	1	A. J. Frost, Gloucester House, 43-44, Middleton Street, London, E.C.1.	Coun. William Bonmaker, 17, Amias Place, Old Street, London, E.C.1.
E236/237. Fulham	(D.B.)	Fulham Borough L.P.	1 10 0	1	O. Waghorn, 19, Inglethorpe Street, London, S.W.6.	R. M. Gentry, 62, Kenyon Street, London, S.W.6.
E236. Fulham, East	(B.D.)	Fulham (East) L.P.	1 10 0	1	J. M. Browning, 49, Cassidy Road, Fulham, London, S.W.6.	—
E237. Fulham, West	(B.D.)	Fulham (West) L.P.	1 10 0	1	A. E. Edmonds, 29, Kenyon Street, Fulham, London, S.W.6.	Mrs. R. M. Gentry, 62, Kenyon Street, Fulham, London, S.W.6.
E238. Greenwich	(S.B.)	Greenwich L.P.	2 0 0	1	P. Pullen, 3, Sandtoff Road, Charlton, London, S.E.7.	—
E239/241. Hackney	(D.B.)	Hackney (Borough) L.P.			R. H. Cavill, 16, Glaskin Road, Well Street, Hackney, London, E.9.	—
E239. Hackney, Central	(B.D.)	Hackney (Central) L.P.	1 10 0	1	G. S. Holland, 180, Brooke Road, Upper Clapton, London, E.5.	—
E240. Hackney, North	(B.D.)	Hackney (North) L.P.			T. W. Marshall, 22, Jenner Road, Stoke Newington, London, N.W.	—
E241. Hackney, South	(B.D.)	Hackney (South) L.P.			J. J. Diver, 142, Clifden Road, Clapton, London, E.5.	—
E242/243. Hammersmith	(D.B.)	Hammersmith (Borough) L.P.	3 0 0	2	W. Harding, 61, Iffley Road, London, W.6.	W. H. Church, 17, Mascot Street, Wood Lane, London, W.12.
E242. Hammersmith, North	(B.D.)					—
E243. Hammersmith, South	(B.D.)					—
E244. Hampstead	(S.B.)	Hampstead L.P.	1 15 0	1	R. Stamp, 94, Mill Lane, Hampstead, London.	James Marley, 10, Estelle Road, Hampstead, London, N.W.3.
E245. Holborn	(S.B.)	Holborn L.P.			A. E. Hunter, 5, Thackery Buildings, Russell Square, London, W.C.1.	—
E246/249. Islington	(D.B.)	Islington (Borough) L.P.	1 10 0	1	J. A. Watson, 295, Upper Street, Islington, London, N.1.	Ald. H. G. Coleman, J.P., 4, Rocliffe Street, London, N.1.
E246. Islington, East	(B.D.)	Islington (East) L.P	1 10 0	1	W. Miles, 248, St. Paul's Road, London, N.1.	W. Miles, Secretary.
E247. Islington, North	(B.D.)	Islington (North) L.P.	1 10 0	1	C. T. Saunders, 403, Hornsey Road, London, N.19.	A. Hoskins, 27a, Farringdon Street, London, E.C.
[illegible]ington, South	(B.D.)	Islington (South) D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	H. J. Lincoln, 295, Upper Street, Islington, London, N.1.	—

E249. Islington, West	(B.D.)	Islington (West) L.P.	1	10	0	1	W. J. Trett, 50, Westbourne Road, London, N.7.		—
E250/251. Kensington	(D.B.)								—
E250. Kensington, North	(B.D.)	Kensington (North) L.P. & T.C.	1	10	0	1	Mrs. A. Jarrett, League House, 8, Bonchurch Road, N. Kensington, London, W.10.	Mrs. A. Jarrett, Secretary.	
E251. Kensington, South	(B.D.)	Kensington (South) L.P.	1	10	0	1	Andrew Clarke, 13, Penywern Road, Earls Court, London, W.		—
E252/255. Lambeth	(D.B.)	Lambeth (Borough) L.P. & T.C.	1	10	0	1	G. Anstey, 333, Milkwood Road, Herne Hill, London, S.E. 24.		—
E252. Lambeth, Brixton	(B.D.)	Brixton (Lambeth) L.P.					Mrs. A. Anstey, 333, Milkwood Road, Herne Hill, London, S.E.24.		—
E253. Lambeth, Kennington	(B.D.)	Lambeth (Kennington) L.P.	1	10	0	1	T. Reynolds, 44, Carroun Road, Fentiman Road, London, S.W.8.		—
E254. Lambeth, North	(B.D.)	Lambeth (North) L.P.	1	10	0	1	A. Deady, 24, Wincott Street, London, S.E.11.	Mrs. Ayrton Gould, 54, St. Mary's Mansions, Paddington, London, W.	
E255. Lambeth, Norwood	(B.D.)	Norwood L.P.	1	10	0	1	E. J. Lansbury, 53, Romola Road, London, S.E.24.		—
E256/257. Lewisham	(D.B.)	Lewisham (Borough) T.C. & L.P.					W. F. Howard, 159, Davenport Road, Catford, London, S.E.		—
E256. Lewisham, East	(B.D.)	Lewisham (East) D.L.P.	1	10	0	1	W. H. Spikes, 44, Lee Park, Blackheath, London, S.E.3.	H. J. Bullivant, 71, Muirkirk Road, London, S.E.6.	
E257. Lewisham, West	(B.D.)								—
E258/259. Paddington	(D.B.)	Paddington (Borough) L.P.	3	0	0	2	Hugh Roberts, 64, Droop Street, Queen's Park, London, W.10.		—
E258. Paddington, North	(B.D.)								—
E259. Paddington, South	(B.D.)								—
E260/261. Poplar	(D.B.)	Poplar T.C. & Borough L.P.	1	10	0	1	J. H. Banks, 6, Campbell Road, Bromley-by-Bow, London, E. 3.		—
E260. Poplar, Bow & Bromley	(B.D.)	Poplar, Bow & Bromley D.L.P.	1	10	0	1	J. H. Banks, 6, Campbell Road, Bromley-by-Bow, London, E. 3.		—
E261. Poplar, South	(B.D.)	Poplar (South) L.P.	1	10	0	1	G. J. Cressall, The Dockers' Hall, 1, Newbury Place, London, E.14.		—
E262. St. Marylebone	(S.B.)	Marylebone L.P.	1	10	0	1	Miss M. L. Simeon, 103, Abbey Road Mansions, London, N.W.8.		—
E263/265. St. Pancras	(D.B.)	St. Pancras (Borough) L.P. & T.C.	1	10	0	1	Harold H. Hughes, 67, Camden Road, London, N.W.1.		—

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London (*continued*)					
E263. St. Pancras, North (B.D.)	St. Pancras (North) L.P.	1 10 0	1	A. Leach Williams, 67, Camden Road, London, N.W.1.	J. Gilbert Dale, Bond Street House, Clifford, Street, London, W.1.
E264. St. Pancras, South East (B.D.)	St. Pancras (South East) L.P.	1 10 0	1	H. Dawson Large, 67, Camden Road, London, N.W.	T. Marshall, 27, Brunswick Square, London, W.C.1.
E265. St. Pancras, South West (B.D.)	St. Pancras (South West) L.P.	1 10 0	1	J. Macey, 34, Dalby Street, London, N.W.	—
E266. Shoreditch (S.B.)	Shoreditch T.C. & L.P.	1 10 0	1	Ald. W. Girling, 15, Newton Street, New North Road, London N.1.	—
E267/269. Southwark (D.B.)	Southwark T.C. and Borough L.P.		1	T. H. Hume, 3e, Peabody Square, Blackfriars Road, London, S.E.1.	R. Sudell, 61, Penrose Street, London, S.E.17.
E267. Southwark, Central (B.D.)	Southwark T.C. and (Central) L.P.	1 10 0	1	R. Sudell, 61, Penrose Street, Walworth, London, S.E.17.	J. R. Bailey, 75, Burton Road, Brixton, London, S.W.9.
E268. Southwark, North (B.D.)	Southwark (North) D.L.P.			L. J. Styles, 16, Bennett Street, Blackfrairs, London, S.E.1.	—
E269. Southwark, South East (B.D.)	Southwark (South East) D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	S. L. Harford, 36, The Palatinate, New Kent Road, London, S.E.1.	—
E270/272. Stepney (D.B.)	Stepney (Borough) L.P. & T.C.	1 10 0	1	H. Black, 55, Harford Street, London, E.1.	—
E270. Stepney, Limehouse (B.D.)	Limehouse D.L.P.			J. W. Edwards, 60, Maplin Street, London, E.3.	—
E271. Stepney, Mile End (B.D.)	Mile End L.P.	1 10 0	1	A. Kirkshaw, 3, Grafton Street, London, E.1.	—
E272. Stepney, Whitechapel (B.D.)	Whitechapel and St. George's L.P.	1 10 0	1	J. Sullivan, 1, New Tower Buildings, High Street, Wapping, London, E.1.	—
E273. Stoke Newington (S.B.)	Stoke Newington L.P.	1 10 0	1	A. Buckler, 119, Wilberforce Road, Finsbury Park, London, N.4.	—
E274/278. Wandsworth (D.B.)	Wandsworth (Borough) L.P. & T.C.	1 10 0	1	John M. Allen, 48, Yukon Road, Balham Hill, London, S.W.12.	Coun. C. A. G. Manning, L.C.C., 51, Barmouth Road, London, S.W.18.
E274. Wandsworth, Balham and Tooting (B.D.)	Balham & Tooting D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	H. A. S. Heath, 177, Lessingham Avenue, Tooting, London, S.W.17.	L. Silkin, 76, Ritherdon Road, Balham, London, S.W.17.
E275. Wandsworth, Central (B.D.)	Wandsworth (Central) D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	E. E. Fry, 1, Swaby Road, Wandsworth, London, S.W.18.	—
E276. Wandsworth, Clapham	Clapham D.L.P.			R. McGregor Reid, 57, Cavendish Road,	—

E277. Wandsworth, Putney and Southfields	(B.D.)	..	Putney, Southfields and Roehampton L.P.	..	1	10	0	..	1	..	W. Backhouse, 10, Mexfield Road, Putney.	..	—
E278. Wandsworth, Streatham	(B.D.)	..	Wandsworth (Streatham) L.P.		1	10	0	..	1	..	A. York, 113, Lewin Road, Streatham, London, S.W.16.	..	Rev. Godfrey Bell, M.A., 30, Westwell Road, Streatham, London, S.W.16.
E279/280. Westminster	(D.B.)	..	Westminster L.P.	..	1	10	0	..	1	..	Miss L. Dawson, 25, Tothill Street, London, S.W.1.	..	Frederick Temple, 146, Gloucester Terrace Hyde Park, London, W.2.
E279. Westminster, St. George's	(B.D.)	..		..				..		..		..	—
E280. Westminster Abbey	(B.D.)	..		..				..		..		..	—
E281/282a. Woolwich	(D.B.)	..	Woolwich (Borough) L.P.		10	0	0	..	1	..	Coun. W. Barefoot, J.P., 3, New Road, Woolwich, London, S.E.18.	..	—
E281/282b. Woolwich	(D.B.)	..	Woolwich and District T. & L.C.	..	1	10	0	..	1	..	F. G. Pell, 27, Dickson Road, Well Hall, London, S.E.9.	..	—
E281. Woolwich, East	(B.D.)	..		..				..		..		..	—
E282. Woolwich, West	(B.D.)	..		..				..		..		..	—
Middlesex.													
D283. Ealing	(S.B.)	..	Ealing L.P. & T.C.	..	1	10	0	..	1	..	E. A. Sargent, 63, Dudley Gardens,, Ealing London, W.13.	..	—
D284. Edmonton	(S.B.)	..	Edmonton L.P.	..	3	3	8	..	1	..	W. Walling, 341, Fore Street, London, N.9.	..	F. A. Broad, 39, Sweet Briar Walk, Edmonton, London, N.8.
D285. Hornsey	(S.B.)	..	Hornsey L.P.	..				..		..	E. G. Day, 3, Herniston Avenue, Hornsey, London, N.8.	..	—
D286/287. Tottenham	(D.B.)	..	Tottenham T.C. and Borough L.P.	..	1	10	0	..	1	..	G. E. Miller, 13, Nelson Road, Tottenham, London, N.	..	—
D286. Tottenham, North	(D.B.)	..		..				..		..		..	—
D287. Tottenham, South	(D.B.)	..	Tottenham (South) D.L.P.		1	10	0	..	1	..	A. J. Lynch, 626, Green Lanes, Harringay, London, N.8.	..	—
D288/289. Willesden	(D.B.)	..	Willesden (Borough) L.P.	..	0	15	0	..	1	..	A. E. Nunn, 375, High Road, London, N.W. 10	..	—
D288. Willesden, East	(B.D.)	..		..				..		..		..	—
D289. Willesden, West	(B.D.)	..	Willesden, (West) L.P.	..	1	10	0	..	1	..	W. E. Shepstone, 93, Burns Road, London, N.W.10.	..	—
D290. Acton	(C.D.)		Acton D.L.P.	..	1	10	0	..	1	..	F. W. Carter, 40, Avenue Road, Acton.	..	—
D291. Brentford & Chiswick	(C.D.)							..		..		..	—
D292. Enfield	(C.D.)	..	Enfield T.C. & L.P.	..	2	17	6	..	1	..	H. Scrivener, Silver Street, Enfield.	..	—
D293. Finchley	(C.D.)	..	Finchley D.L.P. & T.C.	..	1	10	0	..	1	..	A. T. Pike, 70, Leslie Road, East Finchley. London, N.2.	..	—

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Middlesex (*continued*)						
D294. Harrow	(C.D.)	Harrow D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	D. Driver, 44, Roxboro Road, Harrow.	—
D295. Hendon	(C.D.)	Hendon D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	R. J. Wise, 38, York Road, West Hendon, London, N.W.	C. Roden Buxton, 6, Erskine Hill, Golder's Green, London, N.W.
D296. Spelthorne	(C.D.)	Spelthorne D.L.P.			F. E. Horton, 59, Coleshill Road, Teddington.	—
D297. Twickenham	(C.D.)					—
D298. Uxbridge	(C.D.)	Uxbridge D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	P. Osborne Langton, 18, Angel Lane, Hayes, Middlesex.	—
D299. Wood Green	(C.D.)	Wood Green Divisional L.P.	2 0 0	1	C. Bigg, 120a Gladstone Avenue, Wood Green, N.22.	—
Norfolk.						
G300. Great Yarmouth	(S.B.)	Great Yarmouth L.P. & T.C.	1 10 4	1	A. Steele, Labour Club, 51, King Street, Great Yarmouth.	—
G301. Norwich	(D.M.B.)	Norwich L.P. & T.C.	1 10 0	2	G. F. Johnson, Hardie Hall, St. Gregory's Alley, Norwich.	—
G302. Eastern	(C.D.)	Norfolk (East) D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	A. W. Appleton, 28, Orchard Street, Norwich.	—
G303. King's Lynn	(C.D.)	King's Lynn D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	H. Stephens, 7, Paradise Parade, King's Lynn.	—
G304. Northern	(C.D.)	Norfolk (North) D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	S. J. Gee, 37, Bernard Road, Cromer, Norfolk.	Noel Buxton, 12, Rutland Gate, London, S.W.7.
G305. Southern	(C.D.)	Norfolk (South) D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	E. J. Gooch, Rydal Mount, Norwich Road. Wymondham, Norfolk.	—
G306. South West	(C.D.)	Norfolk (South West) D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	A. N. Barnes, 24, Ash Close, Swaffham.	—
Northampton.						
C307. Northampton	(S.B.)	Northampton L.P.	2 0 0	1	B. T. Spencer, 71, Hervey Street, Northampton.	A. W. Lyne, 21, Cranstoun Street, Northampton.
C308. Daventry	(C.D.)	Daventry (South Northants) D.L.P.	2 0 0	1	W. J. Randall, 11, Oak Street, Weedon, Northants.	—
C309. Kettering	(C.D.)	Kettering D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	J. E. Chapman, 7, Broadway, Kettering.	—
C310a. Peterborough	(C.D.)	Peterborough D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	H. F. Jeffery, 6, West Parade, Alderman's Drive, Peterborough.	Coun. J. Mansfield, 9, Harris Street, Peterborough.

C310b. Peterborough	(C.D.)	Peterborough T. & L.C.	1	10	0	..	1	..	H. C. Goodliffe, 254, Gladstone Street, Peterborough.		—
C311. Wellingborough	(C.D.)	Wellingborough D.L.P.	1	10	0	..	1	..	H. Allen, 5, Market Square, Wellingborough		—
Northumberland.											
A312. Morpeth	(S.B.)	Morpeth D.L.P.	1	10	0	..	1	..	Jas. Routledge, 37, South Row, Bedlington Colliery, Northumberland.	Thomas Gibb, 82, Bowes Street, Blyth, Northumberland.	
A313/316. Newcastle	(D.B.)	Newcastle (Borough) L.P.				..		..	W. Grainger, 79, Doncaster Road, Newcastle-on-Tyne.		—
A313. Newcastle, Central	(B.D.)	Newcastle (Central) D.L.P.	1	10 (1922)	0	..	1	..	W. C. Percival, I.L.P. Hall, 36, Diana Street, Newcastle-on-Tyne.	G. H. Laramay, 26, Beaconsfield Street, Newcastle-on-Tyne.	
A314. Newcastle, East	(B.D.)	Newcastle (East) D.L.P.	1	10	0	..	1	..	W. Locke, 37a, Heaton Park Road, Newcastle-on-Tyne.		—
A315. Newcastle, North	(B.D.)					..		..			—
A316. Newcastle, West	(B.D.)					..		..			—
A317. Tynemouth	(S.B.)	Tynemouth L.P.	1	10	0	..	1	..	F. Pattison, 17, Mariners' Homes, Tynemouth.		—
A318. Wallsend-on-Tyne	(S.B.)	Wallsend & District L.P.	1	10	0	..	1	..	J. T. Scanlon, 70, Station Road, Wallsend-on-Tyne.		—
A319. Berwick-on-Tweed	(C.D.)	Berwick D.L P. & T.C.	1	10	0	..	1	..	H. Moorhead, New Houses, Shilbottle, Lesbury, Northumberland.		—
A320. Hexham	(C.D.)	Hexham D.L.P.	1	10	0	..	1	..	J. Peel, 10, Tulip Street, Prudhoe-on-Tyne.	J. Peel, Secretary.	
A321. Wansbeck	(C.D.)	Wansbeck D.L.P.	1	10	0	..	1	..	J. Lees, 63, Gainsborough Grove, Newcastle.	R. Allan, J.P., 22, Church Row, Bates Cottages, Seaton Delaval, Northumberland.	
Nottingham.											
C322/325. Nottingham	(D.B.)	Nottingham (Borough) L.P.				..		..	Robert Bury, Corbyn Chambers, Market Place, Nottingham,		—
C322. Nottingham, Central	(B.D.)					..		..			—
C323. Nottingham, East	(B.D.)					..		..			—
C324. Nottingham, South	(B.D.)	Nottingham (South) D.L.P.	2	10	0	..	1	..	F. Wallis, 88, Whittier Road, Sneinton, Nottingham.		—
C325. Nottingham, West	(B.D.)	Nottingham (West) D.L.P.	1	10	0	..	1	..	G. Goodall, General Workers' Office, Newstead House, St. James St., Nottingham.		—
C326. Bassetlaw	(C.D.)	Bassetlaw, D.L.P.	1	10	0	..	1	..	A. Nixon, 12, Sherwood Road, Worksop.		—
C327. Broxtowe	(C.D.)	Broxtowe D.L.P.	1	10	0	..	1	..	H. G. Hall, 126, Portland Road, Hucknall, Notts.	H. G. Hall, Secretary.	
C328. Mansfield	(C.D.)	Mansfield D.L.P.	2	0	0	..	1	..	J. G. Pratt, 57, Harrington Street, Mansfield.	Chas. Brown, George V. Villas, Garden Lane, Sutton-in-Ashfield, Notts.	

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Nottingham (*continued*)						
C329. Newark	(C.D.)	Newark D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	E. Heaton, Labour Party Offices, Market Place, Newark, Notts.	F. Adamson, 43, Milton Street, New Balderton, Newark, Notts.
C330. Rushcliffe	(C.D.)	Rushcliffe D.L.P.	2 0 0	1	G. H. Shakespeare, 20, William Road, Stapleford, Notts.	—
Oxford.						
D331. Oxford	(S.B.)	Oxford D.L.P.	1 10 0 (1922)	1	F. Ludlow, 5, Walton Street, Oxford.	—
D332. Banbury	(C.D.)	Banbury D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	Percy Gilkes, 32, Parson's Street, Banbury.	—
D333. Henley	(C.D.)					—
Salop.						
C334. Ludlow	(C.D.)	Ludlow D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	P. Marshall, 37, Julian Road, Ludlow.	—
C335. Oswestry	(C.D.)	Oswestry D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	Albert Thomas, Trimpley, Ellesmere, Salop.	Albert Thomas, Secretary.
C336. Shrewsbury	(C.D.)	Shrewsbury D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	R. Webber, 42, Hill Crescent, Shrewsbury.	—
C337. The Wrekin	(C.D.)	Wrekin D.L.P.			J. E. Woollam, 36, Urban Terrace, Wellington, Salop.	—
Somerset.						
F338. Bath	(S.B.)	Bath L. & C.R.A.	3 10 0	1	J. J. Pendry, Labour Rooms, 23, Green Park, Bath.	—
F339. Bridgwater	(C.D.)	Bridgwater D.L.P.	2 10 0	1	A. E. King, 35, Eastover, Bridgwater.	—
F340a. Frome	(C.D.)	Frome D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	F. Gould, Midsomer Norton, Somerset.	—
F341. Taunton	(C.D.)	Taunton D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	H. T. Baten, 64, Wood Street, Taunton.	—
F342. Wells	(C.D.)	Wells D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	O. Lewis, Gwynfa, Timsbury near Bath.	—
F343. Weston-super-Mare	(C.D.)					—
F344. Yeovil	(C.D.)	Yeovil D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	A. E. Little, 140, Michael's Avenue, Yeovil.	—
Stafford.						
C345. Dudley	(S.B.)	Dudley L.P.	1 10 0	1	J. Price, 202, High Street, Dudley.	C. J. Starling, J.P., 50, Constitution Hill, Dudley.
C346. Newcastle-under-Lyme	(S.B.)	Newcastle-under-Lyme D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	Frank Lloyd, 105, Strafford Street, Hanley.	Col. Josiah C. Wedgwood, M.P., Moddersall Oaks, Moddersall, Stone, Staffs.
C347. Smethwick	(S.B.)					—

C348/350. Stoke-on-Trent	(D.B.)	Stoke-on-Trent (Borough) L.R.C.	1	10	0	..	1	..	G. H. Meir, 7, Cope's Avenue, Tunstall, Staffs.	..	—
C348. Stoke-on-Trent, Burslem	(B.D.)	Burslem & Tunstall L.P.	.. 1	10	0	..	1	..	G. H. Meir, 7, Cope's Avenue, Tunstall, Staffs.	..	—
C349. Stoke-on-Trent, Hanley	(B.D.)	Hanley Local L.P	.. 1	10	0	..	1	..	F. J. Kettle, Druids' Hall, Albion Street, Hanley.	..	F. J. Kettle, Secretary.
C350. Stoke-on-Trent, Stoke	(B.D.)	Stoke Local L.P.	..			..		..	W. Dodd, 22, Peel Street, Mount Pleasant, Fenton, Stoke-on-Trent.	..	—
C351. Walsall	(S.B.)	Walsall L.R.C.	.. 3	6	9	..	1	..	E. Baldwyn, 51a, Bridge Street, Walsall.	..	—
C352. Wednesbury	(S.B.)	Wednesbury D.L.P.	..			..		..	B. W. Griffiths, 13, Vicarage Road, Wednesbury.	..	—
C353. West Bromwich	(S.B.)	West Bromwich T.C. & L.P.				..		..	A. Guest, 319, High Street, West Bromwich.	..	—
C354/356. Wolverhampton	(D.B.)	..				..		..			
C354. Bilston	(B.D.)	Bilston D.L.P.	.. 1	10	0	..	1	..	G. H. Howgate, 7e, Tipton Street, Sedgley, near Dudley.	..	—
C355. Wolverhampton. East	(B.D.)	Wolverhampton (East) L.P.	1	10	0	..	1	..	Ernest Robinson, 46, Temple Chambers, Lichfield St., Wolverhampton.	..	Mrs. Foot, 10, Victoria Road, Fallings Park, Wolverhampton.
C356. Wolverhampton, West	(B.D.)	Wolverhampton (West) L.P.	.. 1	10	0	..	1	..	C. W. Hill, 45, North Road, Wolverhampton.	..	D. Davies, 35, Queen Square, Wolverhampton.
C357. Burton	(C.D)	Burton-on-Trent D.L.P.	.. 1	10	0	..	1	..	Mr. Silcock, 80, Spring Terrace Road, Burton-on-Trent.	..	—
C358. Cannock	(C.D.)	Cannock D.L.P.	.. 1	10	0	..	1	..	W. Jukes, Allport Road, Cannock.	..	—
C359. Kingswinford	(C.D.)	Kingswinford D.L.P.	.. 1	10	0	..	1	..	Percy Cox, Workers' Institute, Cradley Heath, Staffs.	..	—
C360a. Leek	(C.D.)	Leek D.L.P.	.. 1	10	0	..	1	..	J. J. Stonier, 17, Dukebank Terrace, Norton-le-Moors, Stoke-on-Trent.	..	—
C360b. Leek	(C.D.)	Leek T. & L.C.	.. 1	10	0	..	1	..	T. Birch, Foxlowe, Market Place, Leek, Staffs,	..	—
C361. Lichfield	(C.D.)	Lichfield D.L.P.	.. 1	10	0	..	1	..	H. Riley, Daw End Road, Walsall, Staffs.	..	—
C362. Stafford	(C.D.)	Stafford T.C. & L.P.	.. 1	10	0	..	1	..	G. Hindle, Co-operative Hall, Wolverhampton Road, Stafford.	..	—
C363. Stone	(C.D.)	Stone D.L.P.	.. 1	10	0	..	1	..	H. C. Hurd, 55, Victor Street, Stone, Staffs.	..	—
Suffolk.											
G364. Ipswich	(S.B.)	Ipswich T.C. & L.P.	.. 1	18	0	..	1	..	W. T. Harris, 35, Silent Street, Ipswich.	..	Adam Stewart, 31, Gibbons Street, Ipswich
G365. Suffolk, East, Eye	(C.D.)	Eye D.L.P.	.. 1	10	0	..	1	..	W. H. Amy, Station House, Eye, Suffolk.	..	—
G366. Suffolk, East, Lowestoft	(C.D.)	Suffolk East (Lowestoft) D.L.P.	1	10	0	..	1	..	E. F. Rose, 23, May Road, Lowestoft.	..	—

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Suffolk (*continued*)					
G367. Suffolk, East, Woodbridge (C.D.)	Woodbridge D.L.P.	..	..	M. Barham, Rockbank, Victoria Road, Woodbridge.	—
G368. Suffolk, West, Bury St. Edmunds (C.D.)	Bury St. Edmunds D.L.P.	..	..	R. Bass, 6, Athenæum Lane, Bury St. Edmunds.	—
G369. Suffolk, West, Sudbury (C.D.)		..	..	..	—
Surrey					
D370/371. Croydon (D.B.)		..	..	..	—
D370. Croydon, North (B.D.)	Croydon (North) L.P.	.. 1 10 0	.. 1	Harold Croft, Ruskin House, Croydon.	Harold Croft, Secretary.
D371. Croydon, South (B.D.)	Croydon (South) L.P.	.. 1 10 0	.. 1	Harold Croft, Ruskin House, Croydon.	—
D372. Kingston-on-Thames (S.B.)	Kingston-on-Thames D.L.P.	.. 1 10 0	.. 1	F. G. Derry, 39, Grange Road, Kingston-on-Thames.	—
D373. Richmond (S.B.)	Richmond D.L.P. & T C.	1 10 0	.. 1	R.C. Osborne, 15, The Barons, St. Margarets, Middlesex.	—
D374. Wimbledon, Merton and Morden (S.B.)	Wimbledon, Merton and Morden L.P.	.. 1 10 0	.. 1	G. Burgess, 427, Kingston Road, London, S.W.20.	—
D375. Chertsey (C.D.)		..	..	..	—
D376. Eastern (C.D.)	Surrey (East) D.L.P.	.. 1 10 0	.. 1	C. J. Kitching, 31, Elm Road, Purley, Surrey.	Mrs. Marjory Pease, J.P., The Pendicle, Limpsfield, Surrey.
D377. Epsom (C.D.)	Epsom D.L.P.	.. 1 10 0	.. 1	F. C. Haggar, 37, Mulgrave Road, Sutton, Surrey.	Coun. Horace Sharp, J.P., "Chandos," Lower Road, Sutton.
D378. Farnham (C.D.)	Farnham (Woking) D.L.P.	2 8 0	.. 1	R. C. Williams, 21, Holyoake Crescent, Horsell, Woking.	Allan Young, "Brackley," South Street, Farnham, Surrey.
D379. Guildford (C.D.)	Guildford D.L.P.	.. 2 0 0	.. 1	S. G. Steer, 9, Nettles Terrace, Guildford.	—
D380. Mitcham (C.D.)	Mitcham D.L.P.	..	..	Mr. Abbott, 14, Hackbridge Road, Wallington Surrey.	—
D381. Reigate (C.D.)	Reigate D.L.P.	..	..	A. Mitchell, 128, Monson Road, Redhill.	—
D382. Brighton (D.M.B.)	Brighton & Hove L.P.	.. 3 0 0	.. 2	J. E. Hassett, 10, Queen's Place, Brighton.	—
D383. Hastings (S.B.)	Hastings T. & L.C.	.. 1 10 0	.. 1	A. T. White, 11, Ashburnham Road, Hastings	—
Sussex East.					
D384. Eastbourne (C.D.)	Eastbourne D.L.P.	.. 1 10 0	.. 1	Mrs. Langridge, 41, Whitley Road, Eastbourne.	—

D385. East Grinstead	(C.D.)	East Grinstead D.L.P.	1	10	0	1	T. Crawford, "Doona," Lewis Road, East Grinstead.		—
D386. Lewes	(C.D.)	Lewes D.L.P.	1	10	0	1	A. E. Huckle, 35, Station Road, Portslade.		—
D387. Rye	(C.D.)								—
Sussex West.									
D388. Chichester	(C.D.)	Chichester D.L.P.	1	10	0	1	A. Mann, The Hut, Ferring, Sussex.		—
D389. Horsham & Worthing	(C.D.)	Horsham & Worthing D.L.P.	1	10	0	1	Mrs R. Stanlake, Walden, Broadwater Road, Worthing.		—
Warwick.									
C390/401. Birmingham	(D.B.)	Birmingham (Borough) L.P.					F. W. Rudland, 262, Corporation Street, Birmingham.	F. W. Rudland, Secretary.	
C390. Birmingham, Aston	(B.D.)	Aston L.P.					W. T. Hammett, 459, Lichfield Road, Aston Manor, Birmingham.		—
C391. Birmingham, Deritend	(B.D.)								—
C392. Birmingham, Duddeston	(B.D.)	Duddeston & Nechells L.P.	1	10	0	1	J. Keenan, 47a, Ashted Row, Birmingham.		—
C393. Birmingham, Edgbaston	(B.D.)								—
C394. Birmingham, Erdington	(B.D.)	Erdington L.P.	1	10	0	1	D. Gleadall, 3, Brockley Place, Eliot Street, Nechells, Birmingham.		—
C395. Birmingham, Handsworth	(B.D.)								—
C396. Birmingham, King's Norton	(B.D.)								—
C397. Birmingham, Ladywood	(B.D.)								—
C398. Birmingham, Moseley	(B.D.)								—
C399. Birmingham, Sparkbrook	(B.D.)	Sparkbrook L.P.	1	10 (1922)	0	1	G. J. Sutton, 42, White Road, Sparkbrook.		—
C400. Birmingham, West	(B.D.)	Birmingham, West D.L.P.	1	10	0	1	G. R. Hughes, 42, White Road, Sparkbrook, Birmingham.	Frank Smith, 370, Camden Street, Brookfield, Birmingham.	
C401. Birmingham, Yardley	(B.D.)	Yardley L.P.	3	3	9	1	S. Powell, 198, Banks Road, Small Heath, Birmingham.	Prof. C. R. Beazley, 6, Arthur Road, Edgbaston, Birmingham.	
C402. Coventry	(S.B.)	Coventry L.P.	1	10	0	1	J. T. Tyson, 29, Much Park Street, Coventry.	J. T. Tyson, Secretary.	
C403. Nuneaton	(C.D.)	Nuneaton D.L.P.	1	10	0	1	T. Langley, Labour Club, The Arcade, Nuneaton.		—
C404. Rugby	(C.D.)	Rugby D.L.P.	3	0	0	1	H. Tarbox, 10, St. Matthew Street, Rugby.		—

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Warwick (*continued*)						
C405. Tamworth	(C.D.)	Tamworth D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	J. E. Yates, Holte Villas, Curdworth, near Birmingham.	—
C406. Warwick & Leamington	(C.D.)	Warwick & Leamington D.L.P.	3 0 0	1	H. N. Dunstan White, 43, Parade, Leamington Spa.	C. W. Gardner, C.C., 34, Clarence Street, Leamington Spa.
Westmoreland.						
B407. Westmoreland	(C.D.)					—
Wilts.						
F408 Chippenham	(C.D.)	Chippenham D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	E. J. Green, 7, Foundry Lane, Chippenham.	—
F409. Devizes	(C.D.)	Devizes D.L.P.	1 10 0 (1922)	1	A. J. Bungay, Mount Pleasant, Devizes.	—
F410. Salisbury	(C.D.)	Salisbury D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	C. E. Cowmeadow, 70, St. Ann Street, Salisbury.	—
F411. Swindon	(C.D.)	Swindon D.L.P.	6 4 2	1	E. Weatherley, 93, Commercial Road, Swindon.	—
F412. Westbury	(C.D.)	Westbury D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	W. Riddick, Bath Road, Melksham.	—
Worcester.						
C413. Worcester	(S.B.)	Worcester L.P.	1 13 4	1	E. Huckfield, 288, Astwood Road, Worcester.	—
C414. Bewdley	(C.D.)	Bewdley D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	Coun. J. J. Edmonds, "Ascot," Malvern Links, Worcester.	—
C415. Evesham	(C.D.)	Evesham & District T. & L.C.	1 10 1	1	W. Fielding, Rynal House, Evesham.	—
C416. Kidderminster	(C.D.)	Kidderminster D.L.P.	3 7 0	1	A. Turner, 6, Sion Hill, Broadwaters, Kidderminster.	—
C417. Stourbridge	(C.D.)	Stourbridge D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	S. T. Melsom, 20, Perrott Street, Oldbury, Birmingham.	—
Yorkshire.						
A418. Barnsley	(S.B.)	Barnsley & District T.C. & L.P.	1 10 0	1	E. Sheerien, 26, Cope Street, Barnsley.	—
A419a. Batley & Morley	(S.B.)	Batley, Morley & Ossett L.P.	1 10 0	1	F. Baines, 11, West Park Terrace, Healey.	—
A419b. Batley & Morley	(S.B.)	Morley T. & L.C.	1 10 0	1	B. Simpson, 4, Cardigan Avenue, Morley	—
A420/423a. Bradford	(D.B.)	Bradford L.P.	1 10 0	1	T. Ashworth, 1, Peckover Street, Church Bank, Bradford.	Tom Ashworth, Secretary.

							Bradford.		Toller Lane, Bradford.
A420. Bradford, Central	(B.D.) ..	..	..	..	..	..		..	—
A421. Bradford, East	(B.D.) ..	Bradford (East) L.P.	..	1	10	0	1 ..	F. Edmonson, 135, Gladstone Street, Bradford ..	—
A422. Bradford, North	(B.D.) ..	Bradford (North) L.P.	..	1	10	0	1 ..	Harold Child, 1, Peckover Street, Church Bank, Bradford. ..	—
A423. Bradford, South	(B.D.) ..	Bradford (South) L.P.	..	1	10	0	1 ..	..	—
A424a. Dewsbury	(S.B.) ..	Dewsbury L.P.	..	1	10	0	1 ..	A. Wilcock, Textile Hall, Union Street, Dewsbury. ..	—
A424b. Dewsbury	(S.B.) ..	Dewsbury & District T. & L.C.	..	1	10	0	1 ..	J Mayman, 1, Cromwell Street, Dewsbury. ..	—
A425. Halifax	(S.B.) ..	Halifax Federated T.C.	..	1	10	0	1 ..	F. Austin Leach, 17, Charlesworth Grove, Halifax. ..	F. Austin Leach, Secretary.
A426. Huddersfield	(S.B.) ..	Huddersfield T.C.	..	1	10	0	1 ..	G. A. Boothroyd, Friendly and Trades Societies' Club, Northumberland Street, Huddersfield. ..	—
A427/430. Kingston-on-Hull	(D.B.) ..	Hull (Borough) L.P	..	1	10	0	1 ..	H. E. Jordan, 7, Darrismere Avenue, Edinburgh Street, Hull. ..	—
A427. Kinsgton-on-Hull, Central	(B.D.) ..	Hull (Central) L.P.	..	1	10	0	1 ..	S. Klein, 3, Clarence Place, Portland Street, Hull. ..	—
A428. Kingston-on-Hull, East	(B.D.) ..	Hull (East) D.L.P.	..	1	10	0	1 ..	T. Savage, 15, East Park Avenue, Hull. ..	—
A429. Kingston-on-Hull North West	(B.D.) ..	Hull (North West) L.P.	..	1	10	0	1 ..	W. Hewitt, 187, Park Avenue, Hull. ..	—
A430. Kingston-on-Hull South West	(B.D.) ..	Hull (South West) L.P.	..	1	10	0	1 ..	George Rowan, 165, Woodcock Street, Hull. ..	—
A431/436a. Leeds	(B.D.) ..	Leeds (Borough) L.P.	..	1	10	0	1 ..	W. J. Armstrong, 14, Upper Fountaine Street Leeds. ..	Coun. J. Arnott, 23, Colenso Road, Holbeck, Leeds.
A431/436b Leeds	(D.B.) ..	Leeds T. & L.C.	..	1	10	0	1 ..	O Connellan, 6, Cariton Mount, Dorrington Road, Leeds. ..	James J. Braily, 10, Lofthouse Terrace, Carlton Hill, Leeds.
A431. Leeds, Central	(B.D.) ..	Leeds (Central) D L.P.	..	1	10	0	1 ..	A. Whitaker, 3, Rillbank Lane, Westfield Road, Leeds. ..	—
A432. Leeds, North	(B.D.) ..	Leeds (North) D.L P.	..	1	10	0	1 ..	A. Turner, 50, Woodside Avenue, Burley, Leeds. ..	David Stewart, M.A., 277, Dewsbury Road, Leeds.
A433. Leeds, North East	(B.D.) ..	Leeds (North East) D.L.P.	1	10	0	1 ..		S. Craven, 60, Bankside Street, Roundhay Road, Leeds. ..	—
A434. Leeds, South	(B.D.) ..	Leeds (South) D.L.P.	..	1	0	0	1 ..	J. Wade, 10, Langthorpe Place, Leeds. ..	—
A435. Leeds, South East	(B.D.) ..	Leeds (South East) D.L.P.	1	10	0	1 ..		Ben Ainsworth, 31, Welbeck Road, York Road, Leeds. ..	J. Walsh, 3, Raincliffe Street, York Road, Leeds.

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Yorkshire (*continued*).					
A436. Leeds, West (B.D.)	Leeds (West) D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	W. Portwood, 9, Swallow Avenue, Upper Wortley, Leeds.	—
A437/438. Middlesbrough (D B.)	Middlesbrough (Borough) L.P.	3 0 0	2	J. Beilby, 57, Borough Road West, Middlesbrough.	—
A437. Middlesbrough, East (B.D.)					—
A438. Middlesbrough, West (B.D.)					—
A439. Rotherham (S.B.)	Rotherham L.P.	1 10 0	1	G. E. Caine, 14, Norfolk Street, Rotherham	—
A440/446. Sheffield (D.B.)	Sheffield Fed. T. & L.C.	1 10 0	1	C H. Miller, 63, Bionk Street, Sheffield.	Coun. E. G. Rowlinson, 69, Dorothy Road, Hillsborough, Sheffield.
A440. Sheffield, Attercliffe (B.D.)	Attercliffe L.P.	2 18 0	1	W. Hancock, 3h, Back. 757, Attercliffe Road, Sheffield.	William Hancock, Secretary.
A441. Sheffield, Brightside (B.D.)	Brightside L.P.	1 10 0	1	C. T. Richardson, 61, Limpsfield Road, Sheffield.	—
A442. Sheffield, Central (B.D.)					—
A443. Sheffield, Ecclesall (B.D.)	Ecclesall L.P.	1 10 0	1	F. Cook, 57, Empire Road, Sheffield.	—
A444. Sheffield, Hallam (B.D.)	Hallam L.P.	1 10 0	1	S. Blackwell, 143, Western Road, Crookes, Sheffield.	—
A445. Sheffield, Hillsborough (B.D.)	Hillsborough L.P.	1 10 0	1	A. E. Butcher, 76, Kirkstone Road, Walkby, Sheffield.	Dr. Paul Telles, 2, Minto Road, Hillsbro, Sheffield.
A446. Sheffield, Park (B.D.)	Park D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	Miss Lilian Varley, 4, Stainton Road, Endcliffe, Sheffield.	—
A447. Wakefield (S.B.)	Wakefield L.P.	1 10 0	1	J. P. Butterworth, 1, Burkhill Street, Sandal, Wakefield.	Ald. J. Tennant, J.P., 10, Duke of York Street, Wakefield.
A448. York (S.B.)	York L.P.	1 10 0	1	O G. Willey, 2, Railway Street, York.	J. J. Pendry, Secretary.
A449 East Riding, Buckrose (C.D.)					—
A450 East Riding, Holderness (C.D.)					—
A451. East Riding, Howdenshire (C.D.)					—
A452. North Riding, Cleveland (C.D.)	Cleveland D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	J. Kelsall, 17, Ruby Street, Saltburn-by-Sea.	—

A453.	North Riding, Richmond (C.D.)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	—
A454.	North Riding, Scarborough and Whitby (C.D.)	Scarborough & Whitby D.L.P.	..	..	..	..	..	J. Dennis, 164, Victoria Road, Scarborough.	..		—
A455.	North Riding, Thirsk and Malton (C.D.)	.. Thirsk & Malton D.L.P.	..	1	10	0	.. 1 ..		..		—
A456.	West Riding, Barkston Ash (C.D.)	.. Barkston Ash D.L.P.	..	1	10	0	.. 1 ..	W. Dale, 4, Hills Terrace, S. Milford, Yorks.	..		—
A457.	West Riding, Colne Valley (C.D.)	.. Colne Valley D.L.P.	..	1	10	0	.. 1 ..	S. Eastwood, 53, Wood Top, Slaithwaite, near Huddersfield.	..	Nelson Gartside, Council Houses, Delph, near Oldham.	
A458.	West Riding, Doncaster (C.D.)	.. Doncaster D.L.P.	..	1	10	0	.. 1 ..	John Elliott, 61, Albany Road, Doncaster.	..	H. F. Heaviside, 13, Wainwright Road, Doncaster.	
A459.	West Riding, Don Valley (C.D.)	.. Don Valley D.L.P.	..	5	0	0	.. 1 ..	J. T. Rowan, 38, Princess Road, Mexbrough.	..	B. Gethen, 6, Don View, Doncaster Road, Mexbrough, Yorks.	
A460.	West Riding, Elland (C.D.)	.. Elland D.L.P.	..	1	10	0	.. 1 ..	J. Lawson, 44, Bradford Road, Brighouse.	..		—
A461.	West Riding, Hemsworth (C.D.)	.. Hemsworth D.L.P.	..	1	10	0	.. 1 ..	G. A. Griffiths, 267, South View, Royston, near Barnsley.	..		—
A462.	West Riding, Keighley (C.D.)	.. Keighley T.C. & L.P.	..	1	10	0	.. 1 ..	W. A. Atkins, 84, Wesley Place, Keighley, Yorks.	..		—
A463.	West Riding, Normanton (C.D.)	.. Normanton D.L.P.	..	1	10	0	.. 1 ..	M. Bairstow, 12, Ackton Road, Hightown, Castleford.	..		—
A464.	West Riding, Penistone (C.D.)	.. Penistone D.L.P.	..	1	10	0	.. 1 ..	J. Hibbert, Bilham Road, Clayton West, near Huddersfield, Yorks.	..	J. Hibbert, Secretary.	
A465.	West Riding, Pontefract (C.D.)	.. Pontefract D.L.P.	..	1	10	0	.. 1 ..	E. Kent, 47, Manual Street, Goole.	..		—
A466.	West Riding, Pudsey and Otley (C.D.)	.. Pudsey & Otley D.L.P.	..	2	0	0	.. 1 ..	W. E. Dickinson, 21, Eddison Street, Farsley, near Leeds.	..		—
A467.	West Riding, Ripon (C.D.)	.. Harrogate & District T.C.				..	..	A. Locke, Newnham Terrace, Harrogate.	..		—
A468.	West Riding, Rother Valley (C.D.)	Rother Valley D.L.P.	..	1	10	0	.. 1 ..	J. Jones, Lawn Moor Villas, Thurcroft, Rotherham.	..		—
A469.	West Riding, Rothwell (C.D.)	.. Rothwell D.L.P.	..	1	10	0	.. 1 ..	W. Heald, 3, Pawson Street, The Fall, East Ardsley, Wakefield.	..	Fred White, Hough's Buildings, Newton Hill, near Wakefield.	
A470.	West Riding, Shipley (C.D.)	.. Shipley D.L.P.	..	1	10	0	.. 1 ..	T. H. Grange, 26, Hope View, Windhill, Shipley.	..		—
A471.	West Riding, Skipton (C.D.)	.. Skipton D.L.P.	..	1	10	0	.. 1 ..	H. Atkinson, Bleach House, Bentham, near Lancaster.	..		—
A472.	West Riding, Sowerby (C.D.)	.. Sowerby D.L.P.	..	1	10	0	.. 1 ..	M. Crossley, Bank Chambers, Sowerby Bridge, Yorks.	..	J. W. Bishop, 21, Melbourne Street, Hebden Bridge, Yorks.	

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Yorkshire (*continued*).						
A473. West Riding, Spen Valley (C.D.)	..	Spen Valley D.L.P.	.. 2 0 0	.. 1 ..	J. S. Bryan, 9, Holdsworth Street, Cleckheaton, Yorks. ..	—
A474. West Riding, Wentworth (C.D.)	..	Wentworth D.L.P.	.. 3 0 0	.. 1 ..	T. Phipps, Forest House, Dodworth, near Barnsley. ..	—
WALES.						
Anglesea.						
H475. Anglesea	(C.D.) ..		..	.. ..	..	—
Brecon and Radnor.						
H476. Brecon & Radnor	(C.D.) ..	Breconshire and Radnorshire D.L.P.	.. 1 10 0	.. 1 ..	S. G. Davies, Grosmont, Harcourt Road, Brynmaur. ..	—
Cardigan.						
H477. Cardigan	(C.D.) ..		..	.. ..	..	—
Carmarthen.						
H478. Carmarthen	(C.D.) ..		..	.. ..	..	—
H479. Llanelly	(C.D.) ..	Llanelly & District D.L.P.	1 10 0	.. 1 ..	A. Glyn Evans, 57, Tunnel Road, Llanelly. ..	J. H. Williams, Snowdon House, Burry Port, South Wales.
Carnarvon.						
H480. Carnarvon	(S.B.) ..		..	.. ..	..	—
H481. Carnarvon	(C.D.) ..	Carnarvon L.P.	.. 1 10 0	.. 0 ..	J. E. Thomas, Water Street School, Penygroes, Carnarvon. ..	—
Denbigh.						
H482. Denbigh	(C.D.) ..		..	.. ..	..	—
H483. Wrexham	(C.D.) ..	Wrexham T.C. & D.L.P.	.. 2 5 0	.. 1 ..	H. Edwards, J.P., Trades and Labour Hall, Hill Street, Wrexham. ..	—
Flint.						
H484. Flint	(C.D.) ..	Deeside T.C. & L.P.	.. 1 10 0	.. 1 ..	H. H. Millar, J.P., 10, Hawarden Terrace, Shotton, near Chester.	
Glamorgan.						

H485. Cardiff, Central	(B.D.) ..	Cardiff (Central) D.L.P.	..	1	10	0	..	1	..	— Colbeck, 9, Rennie Street, Canton, Cardiff.	..	—
H486. Cardiff, East	(B.D.) ..	Cardiff (East) D.L.P.	..	1	10	0	..	1	..	M. Rees, 20, Partridge Street, Cardiff.	..	—
H487. Cardiff, South	(B.D.) ..	Cardiff (South) D.L.P.	..	1	10	0	..	1	..	F. G. Lamb, 33, Ascog Street, Cardiff.	..	—
H488/489. Merthyr Tydvil	(D.B.) ..		..				..		..		..	—
H488. Merthyr Tydvil, Aberdare	(B.D.	Aberdare L.P.	..				..		..	Edward Davies, 50, Dean Street, Aberdare.	..	—
H489. Merthyr Tydvil	(B.D.) ..	Merthyr L.P.	..				..		..	J. A. Lewis, 5, Hankey Terrace, Plymouth Road, Merthyr Tydvil.	..	—
H490/491. Rhondda	(D.B.) ..	Rhondda (Borough) L.P.					..		..	T. I. Mardy Jones, 16, Llantwit Road, Treforest.	..	—
H490. Rhondda, East	(B.D.) ..	Rhondda (East) D.L.P.	..				..		..	Tom Llewellyn, Sunnybank, Aldergrove, Porth.	..	—
H491. Rhondda, West	(B.D.) ..	Rhondda (West) D.L.P.	..				..		..	David Evans, 58, Tyntyla Road, Ystrad.	..	—
H492/493. Swansea	(D.B.) ..	Swansea L.A. (comprising East & West Divisions)	3	10	0	..	2	..		J. G. Davies, 50, Terrace Road, Swansea.	..	Stanley Awbery, 28, Gerald Street, Hafod, Swansea. J. G. Davies, Secretary.
H492. Swansea, East	(B.D.) ..		..				..		..		..	—
H493. Swansea, West	(B.D.) ..		..				..		..		..	—
H494. Aberavon	(C.D.) ..	Aberavon D.L.P.	..	1	10	0	..	1	..	Miss M. Pallister, 89, Suffolk Place, Porthcawl, Glam.	..	—
H495. Caerphilly	(C.D.) ..	Caerphilly D.L.P.	..	3	0	0	..	1	..	C. Denscombe, 8, St. Fagan's Street, Caerphilly.	..	—
H496. Gower	(C.D.) ..	Gower, D.L.P.	..				..		..	W. J. Jones, Birch Grove, Llansamlet, Swansea.	..	—
H497. Llandaff & Barry	(C.D.) ..	Llandaff & Barry L.P.	..	1	10	0	..	1	..	E. C. Gough, 11, Westward Rise, Barry.	..	—
H498. Neath	(C.D.) ..	Neath D.L.P.	..	1	10	0	..	1	..	E. Hopes, 5, Burnside, Neath.	..	—
H499. Ogmore	(C.D.) ..	Ogmore D.L.P.	..	1	10	0	..	1	..	D. J. Thomas, Westfield, Caedu Crescent, Ogmore Vale.	..	—
H500. Pontypridd	(C.D.) ..	Pontypridd D.L.P.	..	1	10	0	..	1	..	Evan Morgan, 28, Gyfeillion Road, Trehafod.	..	—
Merioneth.												
H501. Merioneth	(C.D.) ..		..				..		..		..	—
Monmouth.												
H502. Newport	(S.B.) ..	Newport (Mon.) T.C.	..	1	10	0	..	1	..	F. H. Heath, 39, London St., Newport, Mon.	..	—
H503. Abertillery	(C.D.) ..	Abertillery D.L.P.	..	1	10	0	..	1	..	W. J. Williams, 21, Havod Arthen Road, Llanhilleth.	..	—
H504. Bedwellty	(C.D.) ..	Bedwellty D.L.P.	..	1	10	0	..	1	..	Coun. W. Jones, Cefn Forrest, Garden Village, Pengam, Monmouthshire.	..	—

Constituencies and Index Nos.		Local Parties or Councils.	Affiliation Fees. £ s. d.	No. of Votes.	Secretaries and Addresses.	Delegates and Addresses.
Monmouth (*continued*)						
H505. Ebbw Vale	(C.D.)	Ebbw Vale D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	Coun. W. C. Francis, Station House, Tredegar.	—
H506. Monmouth	(C.D.)	Monmouth D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	T. H. Edwards, "Rosewood," Bassaleg, Mon.	—
H507. Pontypool	(C.D.)	Pontypool D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	H. D. Bowden, Osborne Chambers, Osborne Road, Pontypool.	—
Montgomery.						
H508. Montgomery	(C.D.)	Montgomeryshire D.L.P.			T. R. Bridgwater, The Crescent, Newtown.	—
Pembroke.						
H509. Pembroke	(C.D.)	Pembroke (County) L.P.	1 10 0	1	D. T. Lewis, N.D. School, Mathry, Letterston, Pembroke.	—
SCOTLAND.						
Aberdeen & Kincardine.						
J510/511. Aberdeen	(D.B.)	Aberdeen T. & L.C.	3 0 0	2	J. Balfour, 47, Belmont Street, Aberdeen.	G. R. McIntosh, 46, Holburn Road, Aberdeen. Miss J. Coutts, 111, Spital, Aberdeen. James Balfour, Secretary.
J510. Aberdeen, North	(B.D.)					—
J511 Aberdeen, South	(B.D.)					—
J512. Aberdeen and Kincardine, Central,	(C.D.)					—
J513. Aberdeen & Kincardine, Eastern	(C.D.)					
J514. Aberdeen & Kincardine, Western	(C.D.)					—
Argyll.						
J515. Argyll	(C.D.)					—
Ayr & Bute.						
J516. Ayr Burghs	(S.B.)					—
J517 Bute & North Ayr	(C.D.)					—
J518. Kilmarnock	(C.D.)	Ayrshire T.C.	1 10 0	1	R. Climie, 25, Armour Street, Kilmarnock.	Robert Climie, Secretary.

J520. Banff	(C.D.)	..		..		..	..			..		—	
Berwick & Haddington.													
J521. Berwick & Haddington	(C.D.)	..	Berwick & Haddington D.L.P.	..	1	10	0	..	1	..	T. Logan, 14, John Street, Tranent.	..	—
Caithness & Sutherland.													
J522. Caithness & Sutherland	(C.D.)	..	Caithness & Sutherland D.L.P.	..				..		..	D. G. MacKay, 15, Wellington Street, Wick.	..	—
Dumbarton.													
J523. Dumbarton & Clydebank	(S.B.)	..	Dumbarton & Clydebank D.L.P.	..				..		..	M. McElwee, 11, Dunn Street, Dalmuir, Scotland.	..	—
J524. Dumbarton	(C.D.)	..	Dumbartonshire D.L.P.	..				..		..	W. H. Martin, 109, Bath Street, Glasgow.	..	—
Dumfries.													
J525. Dumfries	(C.D.)	..		..				..		..		..	—
Fife.													
J526. Dunfermline Burghs	(S.B.)	..	Dunfermline Burghs L.P.	..	1	10	0	..	1	..	W. M. Watson, 341, Broad Street, Cowdenbeath.		—
J527. Kirkcaldy	(S.B.)	..	Kirkcaldy Burghs D.L.P.	..	1	10	0	..	1	..	D. Pearson, 74, Dunniker Road, Kirkcaldy.	..	—
J528. Eastern	(C.D.)	..		..				..		..		..	—
J529. Western	(C.D.)	..	West Fife D.L.P.	..	1	10	0	..	1	..	W. M. Watson, 341, Broad Street, Cowdenbeath.	..	James Clark, Gilmour Place, Jamphlars, Cardenden, Fife.
Forfar.													
J530. Dundee	(D.M.B.)	..	Dundee L.P.	..	3	0	0	..	2	..	John Ogilvie, Labour Club, 48, Murrygate, Dundee.	..	—
J531. Montrose Burghs	(S.B.)	..	Montrose Burghs D.L.P.	..	1	10	0	..	1	..	D. Duncan, 101, Montrose Street, Brechin.	..	John Carnegie, The Nook, Barry, near Dundee.
J532. Forfar	(C.D.)	..	Forfarshire D.L.P.	..	1	10	0	..	1	..	John L. Lumsden, South Whitehills, Forfar.	..	—
Galloway.													
J533. Galloway	(C.D.)	..		..				..		..		..	—
Inverness.													
J534. Inverness	(C.D.)	..		..				..		..		..	—
J535. Ross & Cromarty	(C.D.)	..		..				..		..		..	—
J536. Western Isles	(C.D.)	..		..				..		..		..	—

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Lanark.					
J537/551. Glasgow (D.B.)	Glasgow T. & L.C.	1 10 0	1	Coun. W. Shaw, 95, Bath Street, Glasgow.	W. Shaw, Secretary.
J537. Glasgow, Bridgeton (B.D.)	Bridgeton L.P.			John Taylor, 88, Canning Street, Bridgeton.	—
J538. Glasgow, Camlachie (B.D.)	Camlachie D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	G. Wilson, 8, Lochiel Street, Gallowgate, Glasgow.	William Barrie, 826, Duke Street, Glasgow.
J539. Glasgow, Cathcart (B.D.)	Cathcart D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	Dan McPhun, 299, Allison Street, Govanhill. Glasgow.	—
J540. Glasgow, Central (B.D.)					—
J541. Glasgow, Gorbals (B.D.)	Gorbals D.L.P.	1 10 0 (1922)	1	W. Richardson, 358, Methieson Street. Glasgow.	Coun. Geo. Buchanan, 28, Pollok Street, Glasgow.
J542. Glasgow, Govan (B.D.)	Govan D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	W. Murphy, 182, Longlands Road, Govan.	—
J543. Glasgow, Hillhead (B.D.)					—
J544. Glasgow, Kelvingrove (B.D.)					—
J545. Glasgow, Maryhill (B.D.)	Maryhill D.L.P.	1 10 0 (1922)	1	T. Hannan, 20, Campbell Street, Maryhill, Glasgow.	Coun. J. W. Muir, 250, Cumlodden Drive, Maryhill, Glasgow.
J546. Glasgow, Partick (B.D.)					—
J547. Glasgow, Pollok (B.D.)	Pollok D.L.P.	1 10 0 (1922)	1	A. Durward, 158, Queen's Drive, Camphill.	Allan A. Durward, Secretary.
J548. Glasgow, St. Rollox (B.D.)	St. Rollox D.L.P.	1 10 0 (1922)	1	W. E. Jones, 15, Windsor Street, St. George's Cross, Glasgow.	—
J549. Glasgow, Shettleston (B.D.)	Shettleston D.L.P.	1 10 0 (1922)	1	R. Baxter, 339, West Muir Street, Parkhead, Glasgow.	Coun. John Wheatley, Hill Street, Shettleston, Glasgow.
J550. Glasgow, Springburn (B.D.)	Springburn L.P.	1 10 0	1	T. A. Hannah, 235, Edgefauld Road, Springburn, Glasgow.	Thomas A. Hannah, Secretary.
J551. Glasgow, Tradeston (B.D.)	Tradeston, D.L.P.	1 10 0 (1922)	1	J. MacDougall, 188, Watt Street, Glasgow.	—
J552. Bothwell (C.D.)	Bothwell D.T. & L.C.	1 10 0	1	Andrew W. Gore, 3, Suvla Drive, North Road, Bellshill.	—
J553. Coatbridge (C.D.)	Coatbridge & Airdrie T.C. & L.P.	1 10 0	1	John G. Jardine, 41f, Kippen Street, Airdrie.	—
J554. Hamilton (C.D.)	Hamilton D.L.P.			J. McGhie, 6, Miller Street, Larkhall. Lanarkshire.	—

J556. Motherwell	(C.D.)	Motherwell D.L.P.	1	10	0	1	W. Ballinger, 20, Quarryhall Street, Motherwell.	W. Ballinger, Secretary.
J557. Northern	(C.D.)	North Lanark D.L.P.	1	10	0 (1922)	1	A. Keith, 33, Bridgend Cryston, Lanarkshire.	—
J558. Rutherglen	(C D.)	Rutherglen D.L.P.	1	10	0	1	E. Penman, 51, Farmeloan Road, Rutherglen.	—
Linlithgow.								
J559. Linlithgow	(C.D.)	West Lothian D.L.P.	1	10	0	1	J. S. Barr, 7, Mid Street, Livingston Station, Linlithgow.	—
Midlothian & Peebles.								
J560/564. Edinburgh	(D.B.)	Edinburgh & District T.C. & L.P.	1	10	0	1	Alex. Smith, J.P., 33, Royal Park Terrace, Edinburgh.	George Hogg, J.P., 71, Iona Street, Leith.
J560. Edinburgh, Central	(B.D.)	Edinburgh (Central) D.L.P.	1	10	0 (1922)	1	D. B. Mackay, 3, Upper Gray Street, Edinburgh.	Mrs. Francis Johnston, 7, Panmure Place, Edinburgh.
J561. Edinburgh, East	(B.D.)							—
J562. Edinburgh, North	(B.D.)							—
J563. Edinburgh, South	(B.D.)							—
J564. Edinburgh, West	(B.D.)	Edinburgh (West) D.L.P	1	10	0	1	P. Gray, 44, Stewart Terrace, Edinburgh.	Coun. A. M. Millar, 212, Gorgil Road, Edinburgh.
J565. Leith	(S.B.)	Leith D.L.P.	1	10	0	1	R. F. Wilson, 100, Ferry Road, Leith.	—
J566. Northern	(C.D.)	Midlothian (North) D.L.P.	1	10	0	1	R. Hood, J.P., Burnbank, Ratho Station, Midlothian.	—
J567. Peebles & Southern	(C.D.)	Peebles & Southern Midlothian D.L.P.	1	10	0	1	John Mackay, High School, Peebles, Scotland.	Joseph Westwood, 56, Pottery Street, Gallatown, Kirkcaldy, Fife.
Moray & Nairn.								
J568. Moray & Nairn	(C.D.)							—
Orkney & Zetland.								
J569. Orkney & Zetland	(C.D.)							—
Perth & Kinross.								
J570. Perth	(C.D.)	Perth D.L.P.	1	10	0	1	Mrs. J. Boyd, 181, High Street, Perth.	—
J571. Kinross & Western Perth	(C.D.)							—

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Renfrew.					
J572. Greenock (S.B.)	Greenock L.P.			James Swan, 12, Ardgowan Street, Greenock.	—
J573. Paisley (S.B.)	Paisley T. & L.C.	1 10 0	1	G. Angus, 2, Blacklaw Lane, Paisley.	—
J574. Eastern (C.D.)					—
J575. Western (C.D.)	Renfrewshire (West) D.L.P.			R. G. Cook, 84, Albert Road, Gourock.	—
Roxburgh & Selkirk.					
J576. Roxburgh & Selkirk (C.D.)	Roxburgh & Selkirk D.L.P.			D. Crosland, 277, Gala Park Road, Galashiels.	—
Stirling & Clackmannan.					
J577. Stirling & Falkirk (S.B.)	Stirling, Falkirk and Grangemouth D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	J. Moore, 47, Firs Street, Falkirk.	J. Moore, Secretary.
J578. Clackmannan & East Stirling (C.D.)	Clackmannan & Stirling East D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	R. Johnstone, Church View, Denny Road, Larbert.	R. Johnstone, Secretary.
J579 Clackmannan & West Stirling (C.D.)	West Stirling L.P.	1 10 0	1	M. Turner, Shirva, Twechar by Glasgow.	—
Universities.					
K580. Cambridge (U.)					—
K581. Cambridge (U.)					—
K582. Combined (U.)					—
K583. Combined (U.)					—
K584. London (U.)	London University L.P.	1 10 0 (1922)	1	Miss E. Winter, London School of Economics, University of London, Houghton Street, Aldwych, London, W.C. 2.	—
K585. Oxford (U.)					—
K586. Oxford (U.)					—
K587. Wales (U.)					—
K588. Scotland (U.)					—
K589. Scotland (U.)					—
K590. Scotland (U.)					—
University Labour Federation	500	6 5 0 (1922)	1	A. Henderson, Junr., 81, Carlisle Mansions, Carlisle Place, London, S.W.1.	K. M. Lindsay, Park View, Devonshire Road, Forest Hill, London, S.E.
Isle of Man	Manx L.P.	1 10 0	1	J. H. Cowley, Railway Terrace, Douglas, Isle of Man.	—

Fraternal Delegate.

Mr. R. B. Walker, 72, Acton Street, Gray's Inn

REPORT OF CONFERENCE.

The Twenty-second Annual Conference of the Labour Party opened at the United Free sembly Hall, Edinburgh, on Tuesday, June 27th, 1922, the number of delegates, organisa-ns, and voting power represented being as follows :—

	No.	Delegates.	Votes.
ade Unions	107	621	3,876,000
ades Councils and Local Labour Parties	154	163	166,000
cialist Societies	5	36	37,000
	266	820	4,079,000

TUESDAY, JUNE 27th.

Morning Session.

On the motion of MR. A. G. CAMERON (Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers), seconded Mr. BEN C. SPOOR, M.P. (Bishop Auckland D.L.P.), Mr. F. W. JOWETT, J.P. (Independent bour Party) was elected to preside over the Conference.

ADDRESSES OF WELCOME.

MR. WILLIAM ELGER, J.P. (President of the Edinburgh and District Trades and Labour uncil), said it gave him very great pleasure, and he regarded it as a personal privilege, to be le to welcome the Conference to Edinburgh in the name of the Edinburgh and District ades and Labour Council, representative of some 25,000 organised Trade Unionists and bour people in that City. They were rather proud of the beauties of Edinburgh and he uld recommend to their notice, during their leisure time, if they had any, those particular aces of the City that they would desire them to see. If delegates were at all historically clined, he recommended the Royal Mile from the Castle to Holyrood, though their Labour mpathies would probably be stirred by the fact, that even in the twentieth century, Edinburgh, common with other large cities, still herded a considerable number of its people like cattle. e also recommended them to get the fine views of the City which were to be obtained from e Calton Hill and from the Braid Hills. To those who for the first time would see the Scot home, he would ask them to notice that he was by no means similar to the popular figure the ordinary comic paper. (Laughter.) They would notice, probably at once, that the pular advertisement of "Bang goes saxpence!" was a national libel. (Laughter.) They uld find out that Sir Harry Lauder was not regarded as the Patron Saint of Scotland, d that those airs which he sang, particularly in London music halls, were by no means old ottish ballads. He believed it was customary, when welcoming Labour Conferences, to mment in some way or other upon the relative strength of the Labour Movement, and to use at as a particular reason why they should have honoured the City with their presence. He ther took the opposite view. As much as he would wish them to enjoy themselves while Edinburgh, they were really glad to have the delegates there because locally they needed em so much. The political strength of Labour in Edinburgh was remarkably weak. They gretted the fact, but were not ashamed of it, because they knew that they had worked as rd as it was possible for human beings to work. At the present time, out of the Town uncil of 71 members there were only seven Labour Members, and out of a Parish Council of members, there were only five Labour representatives. The Education Authority with members had only one as a representative of Labour. That condition of things inevitably flected upon the general progress of the Movement in the City. They had now a completely actionary Town Council stultifying municipal enterprise as much as they possibly could, d in consequence of that condition of affairs they were particularly glad to have the Con-rence in Edinburgh in order that they might render assistance in awakening the working sses in the City out of the political lethargy in which they were at present, and make the rk of the local people easier in the future. They had one bright spot, however, and one nfident note to strike at the Conference, and that was, bad as Labour might be numerically, d reactionary as the Town Council and other bodies in the City might be, there was no litical representative that could be brought down to Edinburgh from any national political rty who would be strong enough to defeat Mr. Graham at the next Election. They were nfident at any rate that Mr. Graham would be returned to the House of Commons as their presentative, and as they were proud of Edinburgh, in spite of its defects, they were un-ubtedly proud of the fact that Mr. Graham represented an Edinburgh constituency in the

House of Commons. It was not his business, in a brief speech of welcome, to comment any way on the work the Conference had before it. All he could assure the delegates w that during the whole time they would be in conference, their discussions and decisions wou be watched very carefully by those who were active in the Labour Movement in the City Edinburgh. They would follow as closely as they possibly could the decisions that would arrived at, because they believed that those decisions would, undoubtedly, in the near futu mean much for the Labour Movement, and would help to build up that strong body of Labo thought that would, sooner or later, cast aside the iniquities of the present system of socie and put in their place a more humane method. He welcomed them as heartily as he co to the City of Edinburgh, and hoped the Conference would be a great success.

Mr. W. Graham (M.P. for Central Edinburgh) said he wanted in the first place to expr his indebtedness to Mr. Elger for the very kindly reference he had made to him. It w perfectly true that they met to-day in a City in which Labour had had a very arduous a up-hill fight, but he wanted to say at once, that difficult as their conditions were at prese there was no reason why Edinburgh should not make a powerful and conspicuous contributi to the progress of the Labour Movement of the future. All that he had to do was to join the welcome which Mr. Elger had offered. He regarded the fact that the Conference had co to the City as, first of all, a tribute to the capital of Scotland, and if he might say so in additio it was a tribute to the most distinguished constituency that the capital contained, becau they met that morning very near to the heart of the Central Division, within a ston throw of St. Giles' Cathedral, very near to the Castle of Edinburgh, in immediate proximi to its University and leading school, and in a building bound up with ecclesiastical and religio tradition. He could not imagine any environment of greater historical interest in which Conference of that kind could meet. But in the first place it was a tribute which the Moveme paid to Scotland as a whole. He thought every delegate present, however determined English sympathies, would admit that the Labour cause owed a very great deal to Scotti leadership and to Scottish qualities. Many of their distinguished predecessors in the Hou of Commons, many of the ablest of their Trade Union officials had been Scotsmen, and the industrial side of the Movement Scottish women, and they remembered those two fa that morning, when they joined in the welcome they offered to the Conference. Th met at a time when the whole Movement urgently required what he might venture to call t service of Scottish qualities. They were in a period of slump and depression. There h been a vast reduction in remuneration, there were 1,500,000 people unemployed, and th were large numbers who had only partial occupation. There was a certain decline also the membership of some of the Unions, and there was a feeling that Labour, at the mome was fighting with its back to the wall. That was precisely the time when they required th Scottish qualities of vision, penetration and endurance, and when they must fall back up an analysis of all that lay at the heart of their Movement, and, above all, of all that lay behi this economic system which it was their common duty to attack. For these reasons, a believing that would be a memorable Conference in the history of the Labour Movement, gave them a very cordial welcome to the Central Division, to the capital of Scotland and Scotland itself, and he had no doubt whatever that in their proceedings they would do a gr deal to build up that higher social and economic order which it was their common purp to promote.

Mr. W. Thorne, M.P. (Chairman of the Conference Arrangements Committee), t presented the Report of the Conference Arrangements Committee, which included the followi appointments and was adopted without discussion :—

TELLERS.

J. H. Brown (*Operative Bakers and Confectioners*).
H. Murdoch (*Central Ironmoulders' Association*).
Joseph Cotter (*Amalgamated Marine Workers' Union*).
J. Dickenson (*National Association of Plasterers, &c.*).
H. Knox (*National Union of Railwaymen*).
H. E. Clay (*Transport and General Workers' Union*).
E. G. Yates (*Typographical Association*).
Miss McFadden (*National Union of General Workers*).
George Hogg (*Edinburgh and District Trades and Labour Council*).

SCRUTINEERS.

Councillor P. Graham (*National Amalgamated Union of Life Assurance Workers*
Ald. S. E. Walters (*Boilermakers & Iron & Steel Shipbuilders*).
G. W. McIntosh (*Clerical Association, Civil Service*).
W. Fagan (*Amalgamated Engineering Union*).
F. Anderson (*Railway Clerks' Association*).
John Battle (*Bolton Operative Cotton Spinners*).
Councillor P. F. Pollard (*Independent Labour Party*).
Mrs. Francis Johnston (*Edinburgh Central Divisional Labour Party*).

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

Mr. F. W. Jowett then delivered the Presidential address, which was as follows :—

This Conference, the twenty-second since the formation of the Party and the fourth ce the close of the war, meets in time of great peril. The war which was to have made an d of war has changed its form, but still continues. For the present, the armies of Europe tch each other from within their own frontiers, for the war has been transferred to the nomic front. And on the economic front the loss of life and the suffering are no less great, t they fall more exclusively on the common people. The war of tariffs and blockades ; e collapsed exchanges ; the war of concession-hunters working the degradation of the people famine and starvation, have their casualties of millions. Millions have already perished m famine and preventible disease. Millions more have been stunted, deformed, and dis-led for life through privation in early childhood. They mock at the people, who call this ace.

Capitalism it was, hungering for new openings for investment of its ever-increasing alth, that supplied the urge which drove the diplomatic puppets into the last war. That nger for new fields of exploitation is not yet appeased. War finance—watered capital, nk balances built up by fabricated credit and war profiteering—has swollen the surplus be re-invested. This is the great menace which threatens a series of big and little wars the future.

The reasons for the failure of all the Peace Conferences from Versailles to Genoa are not scure. Fear and falsehood, and the struggle between rival groups of capitalists and political venturers for spheres of influence and possession of the sources of raw materials ; these ve made agreements on matters of substance impossible. The Treaty of Versailles was the st crazy product of these destructive elements. It is founded on a lie—the most deadly structive lie in the history of the world—the lie that Germany alone was responsible for the r. The whole policy of punishment embodied and elaborated in the Versailles treaty, a licy which has compelled millions of workers to toil like slaves for a beggar's supply of food d clothing and shelter, and millions of others to unemployment and poverty, is the spawn that lie. There is no excuse now for believing that falsehood. The steadily accumulating t of official documents disclosing the pre-war arrangements of the victorious states and arist Russia ; along with the published statements of one after another of the men who ed responsible posts and took part in the events leading up to the war, have exposed its ameless character. Even the Prime Minister, who, to keep the war going in 1917, called on men to abandon their homes and give their lives, " To defeat," he said,

> " the most dangerous conspiracy ever plotted against the liberty of nations ; carefully, skilfully, insidiously, clandestinely planned in every detail with ruthless, cynical determination "

's long since acknowledged in a speech he made on December 23rd, 1920, that,

> " The more one reads of the memoirs and books written in the various countries, of what happened before August 1st, 1914, the more one realises that no one at the head of affairs had quite meant war at that stage. It was something into which they glided, or rather staggered and stumbled, perhaps through folly, and a discussion, I have no doubt, would have averted it."

When Lord Grey told the House of Commons on August 3rd, 1914, it was free to decide ether to go to war or not, he spoke truly only in the formal sense. In reality, his assurance s a lie. For in the same speech he disclosed the existence of an agreement with France which und the Prime Minister and himself, along with the Government to which they belonged, an obligation of honour—or rather dishonour—to go to war. Speaking of the part which s very engagement played in the causes of the war, Mr. Chamberlain said in the House of mmons on February 8th last :

> " Suppose that engagement had been made publicly in the light of day. Suppose it had been laid before this House and approved by this House, might not the events of those August days of 1914 have been different ? If our obligations had been known and definite, it is at least possible, and I think it is probable, that war would have been avoided in 1914."

The Prime Minister may stage as many Conferences as he likes, but until it is definitely d openly admitted that, as Signor Nitti, ex-Premier of Italy, has said, " all the warring ntries have their share of responsibility " for the war " in differing degree," and also that e Treaty of Versailles does not carry out the Armistice terms and is therefore a monstrous ach of faith, the ground cannot be cleared for the reconstruction of Europe and the estab-ment of the yearned-for peace.

But Mr. Lloyd George has not the courage to renounce the Versailles Treaty, though he s hard to escape from its consequences. He is entangled in a net of his own making. e Treaty embodies the promises on which he won the last General Election. It is the sole hority for the acquisitions of territories and the infliction of commercial penalties which dare not restore and remit. Even were it otherwise, Mr. Lloyd George and those who ure his past would still be unfitted for the task of building up the world anew on the ruins

they themselves have made. At best it can only be said of them that they seek to avo military warfare. But the Conferences have exposed them continually acting in collusi with groups of Capitalists, securing for them control over raw materials, access to cheap labo and favourable opportunities for profitable business. So, whilst seeking to prevent anoth armed struggle, they are actually intensifying the conditions which will make war inevitab Peace between nations and the welfare of the peoples cannot be promoted if at the same ti the earth is being parcelled out for the exploitation of powerful groups of capitalists. That t Governments do contend with each other in the interests of their capitalist nationals is oper acknowledged. The reply of the British Government to the recent French memorandu on the projected Hague Conference, states that:

> "A prolongation of present conditions is bound to lead to a struggle between co cession hunters of all nations for titles in Russia, which, without substantially assisti her recovery, will produce grave controversy between the governments of the countr to which the concession-hunters belong."

This note is strikingly candid, for a diplomatic memorandum. Great Britain does f competition between concession-hunters in Russia. She fears that Russia, knowing t insidious methods of capitalism to gain a strangle-hold on a country through its misfortu and being served by men who have watched the game and know it, may take a leaf out of t Capitalists' book, and play one off against the other. So Great Britain plays desperat for a united front of concession-hunters to work the exploitation of Russia.

But other countries, offering rich fields for the joint-stock adventurer, make no su difficulties. There, groups of Capitalists are free to quarrel and involve their governme in disputes about spheres of influence and questions of sovereignty. In these lies the root modern wars.

It is sometimes said that the Labour Party devotes too much attention to questi relating to people in other lands. It was never true to say that, and in these days wh Capitalism moves so readily from country to country in quest of materials and labour exploitation, it is less true than ever. We have not only to stand for self-determinatior the present stage of the world's history—self-determination for Ireland, for India and Egypt—but we have to relate these national claims to the economic facts which lie beh them. Ireland as a nation, for example, can, and I believe, will, make new and help departures in agricultural and industrial organisation, from which the workers of this coun and of the whole world will profit. Patrick Pearse and James Connolly did not come toget for nothing.

India too, and Egypt, concern us not alone because we cannot deny their claim to nati ality and freedom without weakening our own cause with the curse of insincerity, but a because the standard of living of the British workers is involved. Is it nothing to the fact workers of Lancashire that in the textile mills of Bombay women are working twelve hou day, for a working month of thirty days, for twenty-five shillings? Is it nothing to jute-workers of Dundee that already *ten million pounds* are invested in Bengal jute factor where the wages range from fourteen up to thirty-eight shillings a month? And in all th countries there is growing a closer association between the claims for national and econo emancipation. These ties are binding us in a common cause.

Nor can the Labour Party be indifferent to the penetration—economic as well as Impe istic—of that most ruthless and militarist state, Japan. Its operations, accompanied cruelty and murder, in China and Korea are fairly well known. Less known is its sin action in the Far Eastern Republic, where it is even now working incessantly to overth the Republic and establish itself in possession, in spite of a solemn pledge to non-interven in the internal affairs of Russia. It is the duty of the British Government to press for fulfilment of this pledge, made as it was in the most formal manner at the Washington C ference, and the Labour Party cannot do otherwise than make it known that the Japa Government will meet with all the opposition the Party can bring to bear in Parliam and elsewhere, until this pledge has been fulfilled.

Labour has never yet been deaf to the cry of starving children, and the best of the wor of this country have made great sacrifices on behalf of the Russian Famine Fund. We re that there should be need to call upon them not to flag or tire in their efforts. It is not for what we owe Russia for her publication of the secret treaties, nor for our sympathy admiration for her in her struggle to reconstruct the country on better lines, from a war-wre ruin; least of all is it from a fear of the menace which a Russia defeated, and a prey to unchecked exploitation of Capitalism, would become to the workers of every other l that we make this appeal. The appeal of the Russian Famine Fund to the workers of country is an appeal to the sympathy which adversity has planted in the hearts of those toil in uncertainty of bread. It is an old proverb and a true one, that only the poor will the poor.

At home, the steady economic pressure caused partly by the loss of the bulk of foreign trade, to which should be added the loss of purchasing power by our own workers produced stagnation in industry. Capitalism, on the other hand, is relatively more pow than ever it has been. As was foreseen, it is making use of its power ruthlessly to des

he defences of organised labour. First, the miners were attacked. The miners have deserved ell of the community. During the war, they occupied an unassailable position. Coal was vital necessity, and coal-mining a skilled trade. They were in a position to dictate terms. Had they chosen to do it, they could have swollen their wages to enormous figures, careless f the fact that the employers would immediately recoup themselves—more than recoup hemselves—by enormous increase of prices. This, in fact, actually occurred in every trade hen the soaring cost of living made higher wage demands inevitable. And so the vicious ircle, or " vicious spiral " as it would have been more correct to call it, went on. The miners id at least make some attempt to check this mad race to ruin. It was only partially successil, but it showed their public spirit and their concern for the community at large. " We hall not demand increased wages," they repeatedly said, " if the cost of living is kept within easonable bounds." And they demanded control of prices, and measures to be taken against rofiteering.

Notwithstanding this, the Capitalist Press raised all the prejudice possible by means of nendacious comments, between the miners and other sections of the community. The niners were represented as being callously indifferent to the price the public paid for coal, nd to the unemployment, consequential (as the Press made it appear) on the high price of oal. Their wages were represented as being extortionately high and unfair to the remainder f the workers. This deprived the miners of some amount of public support. Public opinion vas partially turned against them, and after a lengthy struggle they had to accept defeat. And now over a large area of coalfields, a minimum wage obtains which is only 20 per cent. bove pre-war rates, whilst the official cost of living figures admit that prices are 80 per cent. igher than pre-war.

The reduction of wages has not brought cheap coal for the fires of the workers' houses. Production also is as high or higher per man than pre-war. Yet the public was told that the ow rate of production was a serious factor in the high price of coal.

The miners having been dealt with, Capitalism turned its attention to the powerful ngineering trade unions. On the pretext that the Engineers hampered urgency work by efusing to work necessary overtime, a demand was made for the right to be conceded to mployers to impose overtime on the workers at their discretion. This, with nearly 100,000 nembers of the A.E.U. tramping the streets unemployed ! It was an impudent demand, and ad to be resisted. The engineers have never refused—indeed, they have always willingly onsented—to work overtime for emergency work.

It soon transpired that overtime was not the only issue. There emerged a demand for he right of the employer to alter the conditions of labour, which demand really meant that he employers intended to make free use of semi-skilled and unskilled labour in substitution or skilled labour. The lockout was subsequently extended to the whole engineering industry, nd after a long and bitter struggle the workers have had again to accept defeat.

It is not to be expected that these conflicts between Labour and Capital will be the last f the series. The relentless depression of the standard of life of the workers goes on. It nay be argued that it is useless to stand up against the encroachments of Capital on the life nd liberty, the leisure and status of the worker, but the degradation must end somewhere. How far it would go if not resisted, Heaven only knows. And those who say that resistance s useless, and blame Labour when it fights a losing battle, should remember that even losing ights in the industrial field shield the workers from the worst, and make the capitalists hink twice before imposing a new oppression.

It is not only in the industrial field that Capitalism intends to destroy Labour's resistance. The shameless proposal to revoke the Act of Parliament which only a few years ago regularised nd determined the conditions upon which Trades Unions should engage in politics, shows learly that it is the intention that the political weapon shall be struck from the hands of Labour. It is the proposal of a political party whose funds are secret, and acquired largely by the sale of honours and offices, and of an industrial organisation so accustomed to practise lemocracy that when it consults its membership in regard to a proposed lockout, it counts he members who do not reply as though they had voted in favour of the lockout. The lemands of these two precious organisations are that before a political levy can be imposed n any trade union, there shall be a ballot vote in which not less than 50 per cent. of the membership shall take part : that the ballot shall show a 20 per cent. majority in favour of the evy, and even then, the levy can only be collected from those who give written notice of their lesire to pay it, and who renew their written notice every year.

But what hope is there for a world in ruins whilst its destinies are in the hands of men vho are of the Capitalist mind, and think and act in the interests of Capitalism ? What the vorld needs is men who will bring nations together to arrange the best means whereby food, clothing and shelter may be made available for all who work by hand or brain, for the children, and for all who by reason of age and infirmity cannot work. This is no impossible ask. It only needs the will to do it, and a beginning can be made at once. The problem of he workless man is no more difficult than it was during the war, and the nation solved the

problem then. Capitalism and private enterprise failed to accomplish the national purpo when the national purpose was war. It failed to produce the shells and guns the nation neede and the nation had to step in and supply them. Then, when the nation functioned for common cause there was work for all, and the able-bodied unemployed man was practical unknown.

Capitalism is failing no less disastrously now. While there is crying need for food, shelt and clothing, the raw materials flood the warehouses, the machinery lies idle, the men tra the streets in search of work. Meanwhile, what industry is carried on pays a terrible ta in tribute to Rent, Interest and Profit.

The staggering sum of nearly £400,000,000 a year is paid out in interest on the national deb swollen to colossal proportions by fabricated credit; contracted at a time when the pou was worth about eight shillings, but payable at a time when the pound will be worth a goo deal nearer its pre-war value. This high rate of interest, payable on colossal and large fictitious capital, and the consequential rise in the rate of interest on all municipal loans a industrial investments; these together with increased rent charges enrich mainly the cla which has already more to spend than it can usefully spend. It is this class which gives the spectacles of senseless and wasteful display at race meetings, royal levees and roy weddings, hunting and shooting parties, and the gatherings of the swell mob at continent pleasure resorts. For the Royal homecoming it is "roses all the way" as evening papers sai For the miner's wife trudging to the guardians for relief it is tears all the way. A twofo injury is done to workers by this idle class. By the extortion of the rent, interest and pro charge on everything the workers need, the workers pay for the disgusting vulgar orgies the well-to-do. By the transference of spending power from the workers to the owning cla when payments on account of rent, interest and profit are increased, the effective dema for necessary goods is reduced. Fine ladies pay a thousand pounds for a fur cloak, where th workers would use the same sum in buying food and clothing, or in building houses, there calling for the useful labour of their class. Two hundred millions a year is spent in pleasur motoring: more than enough in three years to build the "million homes for heroes" promise in 1918. Half this amount would revolutionise the whole transport system of the countr and reduce fares and carriage costs. The owning class pays for things rare and curious the working class for things useful and necessary.

By means of a capital levy; by means of a graduated income-tax falling heavily on th largest incomes, by the appropriation of economic rent, accompanied by the abolition of a taxes on food and necessary commodities, the Labour Party means to transfer spending pow to the workers when opportunity comes within its grasp. But by these means alone th working class cannot make the world safe for the workers. So long as Capitalism is in charg of production and distribution: so long as the Capitalist class is allowed to hold the supp of raw materials and dispose of them in such a manner as idleness or their greed f further plunder dictate: so long will reconstruction in the large sense have to wait. Th last eight years of waste and destruction have made further waiting dangerous. It is urgently necessary to prevent waste and organise production as it was during the war. Wha was done then shows the way.

Take Gretna. It cost ten million pounds, but it was built at a time when speed was mo important than cost. Twenty thousand people were employed there. Houses and hostel fully furnished and equipped, were provided for all. Central dining halls, a central baker a great central laundry, lecture and concert halls, picture halls; every requirement for th comfort and convenience of the workers was rapidly provided. The most up-to-date machine was installed there, and the efficiency of production far surpassed that of privately-owne establishments. Unpleasant labour, filth and fumes were abolished so far as possible, by mea of every device known to men.

For the protection of Capitalism this great concern was abandoned just when it cou have been turned to the production of useful things instead of munitions of war. If th had been done the profiteering ramp of 1919-20, in the very products to the production which Gretna might have been devoted, would have been impossible.

Or take wool products. Clothing and wool textile goods for the army had to be take in hand by the Government, through sheer necessity, during the war. Capitalism would on produce wool textile goods for the army at its own convenience, and at plundering price Capitalism failed, and therefore the Government had to buy and control the raw materia and ration them to the mills, and insist on Government requirements being met at fixe prices. Cost was ascertained by experts, and the price fixed at cost plus a commission. one time 80 per cent. of the production of all the worsted and woollen mills was for the Britis and Allied Governments. And, once the scheme began to operate, there was no opportuni of plunder on the Government's orders, for the Capitalist profiteer. He did plunder, mo heavily, but it was on the balance of civilian trade, which was limited to a small percentage his outpu Cloth and woollen fabrics for civilian consumption were never charged less tha 25 per cent. above Government prices for similar qualities and weights.

The sale of national factories, and the abandonment of the system of costing and rationi private factories for the protection of the public, was a crime. It was a crime made possib by a campaign of falsehood in the Capitalist Press. It was to the advantage of Capitalis

that national enterprise should be crabbed when the war ended, and the Press did its work : an achievement fit to rank with that of imposing on the public the story of the Belgian babies with their hands cut off by the wicked Germans ; the story that the German Government had sanctioned polygamy to replenish the war-wasted population, and the story of the German corpse-factories to turn dead soldiers into margarine. The ease with which the million-tongued Press passed lies off for truth during the war has not been lost on Capitalism. By doping the public again with false stories, public opinion was turned against national enterprise, and national plant and national property have been sold off. Expensive machinery has been disposed of at scrapping prices, and raw materials and clothing carefully unloaded, in consultation with big profiteers, to avoid spoiling their market and compelling them to reduce prices.

Oh for twenty *Daily Heralds* ! If there had been an edition of the *Herald* circulating in every part of the country at that time, to make it known everywhere what the national factories and national enterprise had achieved in war, and what public benefits they could be made to serve in peace, the profiteering ramp of 1919 and 1920 could have been prevented, and the national property preserved. The admissions of Lloyd George, Winston Churchill and Sir Auckland Geddes regarding the accomplishments of State Socialism could have been thrust under the eyes of every working-class reader. The changes could have been rung on them in a hundred different forms, as is done in the Capitalist Press.

The Ministers of State and their capitalist patrons know as well as we that the country could be organised for peace just as well as for war. They know it is not necessary to pay able-bodied men and women doles, to keep them alive until a private person can make a profit out of them. They know house-building need not stop when thousands are homeless, and hundreds of thousands are herded in filthy slums. Buildings, of whatever sort were required, were provided in quick time when the national purpose was war. They know that the export trade could be induced to flourish again if Governments would trade with each other, as the Allied countries did during the war.

They know that there is food and clothing and shelter for all if the resources of the country were used for the benefit of the community.

These many years we have been continuously stating these facts. We were willing to wait patiently for the people to become aware of them : working in the meanwhile for useful reforms, helpful to the purpose we have in view. That our aim is true was proved beyond doubt when the country took five millions of workers into the army and war services, and so organised the work of the remainder that not only the five millions taken away, but the remaining workers also, were, on the average far better off than ever they had been.

Before the war our achievements in the way of social reform also proved as helpful as we had any right to expect. But conditions are changed now. The old order in industry and commerce can only be reestablished if the worker will consent to lower his standard of living to leave a sufficient balance to pay the colossal sums of interest on war debt, watered capital, fabricated bankers' credits, and inflated rents. It is no use now expecting to remove this massed collection of evil impositions by gradual ameliorative reform. We can make little impression on it that way in the lifetime of a generation. Besides, it is like mowing ripe thistles. As you cut down this year's crop, you scatter the seed for the next.

It is the new social order we want. Nothing else will prevent the degradation of Labour now. But the Government, and all the other forces at the disposal of Capitalist ascendancy, including the Press, insist on maintaining the old order. Hostile legislation, and the sequestration of public funds to pay the debt charges, make our work on public bodies increasingly difficult.

What then shall we do ? Shall we continue merely to repeat the evidence against Capitalism, and point out the advantages of public ownership, taking care to explain the details of how precisely it would work out ? What will be the use of it if we do ? The Capitalist ascendancy will not be moved that way. It will only set its million-tongued Press to misrepresent plans and haggle over details to confuse the issue. The case is clear enough, and our proposals are well known. The Government in their extremity during the war adopted them sufficiently to show they were sound. They have since abandoned them in the interests of Capitalism. Well, let them shoulder the responsibility. It is for us to thrust the unemployed man in their midst. If they won't employ him, they must keep him. The onus is on them, and they need not be short of funds. They know where the money is. The outward and visible sign of it is to be seen where Society with a big S foregathers—Ascot and elsewhere.

In like manner the Government and the rich class it serves must not be allowed to forget that hundreds of thousands in the land " have not where to lay their head," whilst others who keep them in that condition have town houses, country houses and mansions, not in the skies, but here upon earth. Mond's bathroom would indeed seem a mansion to not a small proportion of the families in the land. If Mond were confronted with a mass demand for requisitioning the mansions for hospitals, and spare houses for the homeless, he would get a move on.

At all events, it would help on the united front, for the biggest hindrance we all have to contend with is the slow-moving mass mind, which is too full of the thought of its daily bread to see far-off visions of nationalisation, although such visions have not only to do with the worker's daily bread, but with his status and his leisure, and a life of which he does not know. But if he can be made to feel his every-day wrongs, and demand redress, he will move. And when he becomes conscious of his wrongs and finds the will to put them right, then, if ever he needs to strike in the industrial field, a demonstration will be enough for his purpose. And when he finds his consciousness and his will, then Labour in Parliament will speak with the imperial voice of millions.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

The Conference then proceeded to consider the Report of the Executive Committee.

THE LEITH CANDIDATURE.

Mr. McQuater (Leith L.P.) raised the question of the turning down of Mr. Foulis, the candidate nominated in Leith. He said that in Leith they attempted to find a candidate who would be financed by local money. They had got a nominee who had agreed to allow his name to go forward, but unfortunately, owing to health reasons, he had to withdraw. On January 15th, Comrade Gallacher, of the Communist Party, addressed a meeting in Edinburgh. At that meeting, speaking in regard to the affiliation of the Communist Party to the Labour Party, he made the statement that Mr. Saklatvala, a member of the Communist Party, had been endorsed as candidate for Battersea, and in reply to a question Comrade Gallacher said that he had been endorsed on the same terms as any other candidate but subject to the mandate of the Communist Party. The local Secretary thought that was rather strange, and in view of the fact that they were likely to have a Communist member put forward as a nominee, it was determined to write to Mr. Henderson setting forth the details and telling him that they were likely to be confronted in Leith with having a member of the Communist Party nominated. (Mr. McQuater here read the letter which had been written to Mr. Henderson and Mr. Henderson's reply). Continuing, he said that on receipt of that communication they went to a conference feeling sure that everything was perfectly in order. Then they had the bombshell thrown at them that, despite the fact that they had a statement in writing from Mr. Arthur Henderson that a member of the Communist Party could be a Labour Party candidate, when they received the nomination of Mr. Foulis, they were informed that Comrade Foulis could not be accepted. Mr. Ben Shaw (the Scottish Secretary), speaking on behalf of Mr. Wake (the National Agent of the Party) said that the nomination of Mr. Foulis was not in order. They in Leith pointed out that Mr. Henderson was the National Secretary and that they had it on his authority that a Communist could be a Labour Party candidate provided he was prepared to accept the Constitution and the principles of the Labour Party. They then wrote to Mr. Henderson and pointed out that Mr. Foulis, a member of the Communist Party, had been nominated. Mr. Henderson, however, did not reply to this letter, but turned it over to Mr. Wake, and Mr. Wake said that Mr. Foulis could not be accepted because he was a member of the Communist Party. They then wrote back again to Mr. Henderson and pointed out the position which they themselves had created in Battersea, and said that if it had been done in Battersea it could surely be done in Leith. They were told, however, that Battersea must not be taken as a precedent. They thought that that was rather curious, because if Mr. Saklatvala had been an unknown person, who had slipped through without it being noticed, they would have thought probably the Executive had made a mistake and that they did not know he was a member of the Communist Party when they endorsed his candidature. It had taken six months to get through this business. It was evident that the only thing against Mr. Foulis was his membership of the Communist Party and for that reason alone he was turned down by the Scottish Executive, and the National Executive hid behind the decision of the Scottish Executive. He wished to know from Mr. Henderson what was asked of Mr. Saklatvala. To this day neither Mr Henderson nor Mr. Wake had answered that question. They had to go to the Battersea Labour Party for the information, and they were told there that nothing had been asked from them except what was stated in Mr. Henderson's first letter. He wanted to draw attention to the treatment meted out to them in Leith as against the treatment meted out to the Labour Party in Battersea.

Rt. Hon. Arthur Henderson, M.P., in reply, said that Mr. McQuater had just told them it had taken six months to reach a certain stage in the negotiations with regard to this candidature. He could assure the Conference it had been a fairly long six months so far as they at Head Office were concerned. There was a long and difficult history connected with this business. They had done their best to satisfy the friend who had just spoken, and those acting with him but they found it absolutely impossible. After all, they had got to keep in mind that in Scotland the question of candidature went, in the first instance, to the Scottish Council. This question came up at the Scottish Council and the Scottish Council refused to endorse the candidature. The matter was then referred to the Head Office and a good deal of correspondence had taken place. In the latter stages of the correspondence the Leith friends fastened very severely on to the endorsement the Executive had given to Comrade Saklatvala as a can

didate for one of the Battersea constituencies. Their friend seemed to think that Mr. Saklatvala was endorsed because he occupied some prominent position in connection with the Communist movement. He could assure them he was entirely mistaken, and he was going to give them the reasons why Saklatvala was endorsed.

Mr. Henderson then read a communication of December 12th, 1921, to Mr. Coltman, the Secretary of the Battersea Party, setting out the terms on which the Executive had agreed to endorse the candidature of Mr. Saklatvala for Battersea North, stating that the candidate should appear before the constituency with the designation of "Labour Candidate" only, independent of all other political parties, and if elected should join the Parliamentary Labour Party; that at the General Election he should, in his election address and in his campaign give prominence to the issues as defined by the National Executive from the general Party programme; that if elected he should act in harmony with the Constitution and Standing Orders of the Party. On March 3rd, 1922, a letter was received from Mr. Coltman, addressed to Mr. Wake, stating that he had called a Special Meeting of the Executive Committee of Battersea North, at which Mr. Saklatvala was present, and that the following resolution had been unanimously passed:—"That this Special Meeting of the Executive Committee of Battersea Trades Council and Labour Party accepts the endorsement of the candidature of Mr. Saklatvala for Battersea North on the conditions laid down in the communication from the Labour Party dated December 12th, 1921," and that Mr. Saklatvala, who was present at the Committee, re-affirmed his adhesion to the conditions laid down in the above-mentioned communication and that a copy of this letter had been sent to Mr. Saklatvala, who would no doubt reply in due course. Mr. Henderson said the delegates would now see the position that the Executive took up with regard to the Saklatvala candidature. If there was anything wrong with that candidature, in his judgment it was not from the standpoint of the Labour Party but from the standpoint of the Communist Party. Mr. Saklatvala, who was a delegate sitting in that Conference, knew full well that he was in exactly the same position as one of their candidates as any of the 73 Members of the House of Commons, or any of the 400 candidates whom the Executive had endorsed. The Scottish people had not got the other people up to that position, and he hoped that until they did their candidate would not be endorsed, as it would be a most unfortunate thing for the Party if they were not going to make all their candidates accept the same conditions,no matter by which constituency they were nominated.

A Delegate asked whether it was not a fact that Mr. Foulis had definitely refused to sign the undertaking of the Labour Party.

Mr. Henderson replied that that was so, and that was why he said he hoped they would all be made to toe the same line.

Another Delegate asked whether it was a fact that there were other candidates who were members of the Communist Party whose candidatures had been endorsed by the Executive.

Mr. Henderson said there was not one to his knowledge, and they would see that the Executive had exercised a great deal of care before it endorsed the candidature at North Battersea.

Mr. W. Shaw (Glasgow T.C. and L.P.) asked whether this nomination of Mr. Foulis came from a branch or from a society, and did the branch or society indicate, in accordance with the Constitution, that they were prepared to accept financial responsibility?

Mr. Henderson replied that it was not a question of financial responsibility, but it was quite true the nomination came from a branch of the Woodworkers. He thought he was correct in saying that Mr. Foulis was a member of the Scottish Council that turned down his own endorsement.

The Chairman said that if the delegate was not satisfied with the explanation given on behalf of the Executive he could move a resolution.

Mr. McQuater then moved that the whole question be referred to a Committee drawn from the body of the hall, but the Chairman declined to accept that motion.

Mr. McQuater then moved that this part of the Report be referred back, but on the motion being put to the Conference it was defeated.

The Chairman stated that one of the tellers, Mr. George Hogg, of the Edinburgh and District Trades and Labour Council, was not able to serve, and said it was suggested by the Conference Arrangements Committee that Mr. John Baker, of the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation, be appointed in his place.

This was agreed to.

REGIONAL CONFERENCES.

A Delegate asked whether, in view of the fact that the Regional Conferences were highly successful, and the private Conferences particularly useful, it would not be well for the new Executive to take into consideration the advisability of having such Conferences annually.

Mr. Henderson said there was a resolution on the Agenda dealing with that subject, when a statement would be made on behalf of the Executive.

PARTY AGENTS.

Mr. E. J. Hookway (Heywood and Radcliffe Labour Party), speaking on the paragraph "Reference from last Annual Conference" (page 61), said that the delegates would observe that the resolution was not the resolution of the last Annual Conference. The resolution of the last Annual Conference, which was carried, instructed the Executive not only to enquire into the terms of service,

but to call in advice from the representatives of the National Agents' Association. The Executive Committee, it appeared, referred this matter to the Organisation Sub-Committee, who were apparently satisfied that things were quite all right in the country, that they had all the information necessary and that they were not going to do what the Conference determined they should do on the last occasion they met. He wanted to say first of all that the Executive Committee had not the information concerning the conditions of service of agents. There were agents in his part of the country to whom the local Labour Party were in debt in very large sums of money in respect of wages. It might not surprise some of the delegates to know the dodges that some agents had to adopt, whilst serving candidates, to raise the money to pay their own wages, and many of them would know the constant changes which were taking place in the position of the agents throughout the country. The Executive Committee appeared to be satisfied because the Conference had set up an Adjustments Board. He wished the correspondence relating to the Adjustments Board could be read to the Conference, as it would show the dilatory methods adopted at Eccleston Square. It took nine months before a meeting was called, and weeks and months passed before an answer was received from Eccleston Square to a communication asking for a meeting to be held dealing with questions concerning security of tenure and even the wages of agents. He felt that the Executive Committee, apart from the mistaken statement it made in the Report, had gone out of its way to disregard the instructions of the Conference. They had not attempted to carry out what the Conference willed they should carry out, and the difficulties of the agents was still worthy of the Report they decided on last year. In order that the Executive Committee should carry out the instructions he moved that the paragraph referring to Party Agents be referred back.

Mr. F. H. Edwards (Bury Labour Party), in seconding the reference back, said the matter was one of considerable importance. He contended that agents would work with greater diligence and would show greater efficiency in their work if there was some measure of continuity of employment, which was for the most part lacking to-day. It was quite obvious that in days to come this matter would have to receive due attention. After the next General Election certain Unions would issue notices terminating the employment of their agents, and he submitted that was a most unsatisfactory state of affairs. The resolution of which he was the author last year was passed largely because of the solid vote of certain Unions, and he appealed to those Unions to support the reference back on this occasion.

Mr. Henderson, in reply, said he thought it was going to be most unfortunate that if, at each of their Annual Conferences, the agents were not only going to attend to raise this question, turning it into a "hardy annual," but to do so in speeches that would create the impression that the National Executive was out of sympathy with the agents and did not realise the difficult work they had to do. He could assure the Conference that nothing was further from the facts. In this paragraph, that was moved to be referred back, they expressed their sympathy with the agents and they referred to the very point that had been emphasised by the seconder—the question of security of tenure; but as they had pointed out under the existing organisation they could not guarantee security of tenure. The agents were not the agents of the National Executive, they were either the agents of the Trade Unions, or of the local Labour Parties whom the delegates represented. The Executive had done everything they could to encourage the agents. They started a system of grants to encourage local Labour Parties and Trade Unions to appoint permanent agents. They had never lost an opportunity of trying to persuade Trade Union candidates and local Labour Party candidates that it was of the highest importance they should have the very best agents it was possible for them to secure. So much for the implication that there was any lack of sympathy on the part of the Head Office or the National Executive. With regard to the complaint made by Mr. Hookway, it was quite true a resolution was adopted last year that a Conference of some kind had to be called to consider the position of the agents. He believed the meeting of the Adjustments Board took place in February. No one knew better than Mr. Hookway that they had probably had more Bye-Elections in the year than in any single year during the time he had been Secretary. They had given the best attention to these Bye-Elections, but that had imposed considerable work on Mr. Wake, the National Agent. The Conference was held in June and then they had the holiday period and they were exceptionally busy at the Head Office, and yet they had Mr. Hookway, whom they had had to call upon to assist, complaining that about nine months had elapsed before anything was done. He (Mr. Henderson) could not make it nine months. But they had a meeting when they discussed this very question, and there was present the Chairman, the Secretary, and one of the members of the Executive of the Agents' Association, and they discussed the whole matter. They went into a number of cases where there was uncertainty and unsatisfactory payment, and they did their best to adjust the difficulties. If the Conference were going to censure the Executive, let them proceed with the censure. All he could say was they had done their best. He was quite certain security of tenure could not be accomplished until they completely transformed the Association and made every agent in the country the agent of the Executive and of the Conference. In the meantime it seemed to him it was better to let them go on and do the best they could, not only in the interests of the agents, but in the interests of the whole Party.

Miss E. H. Howse (Union of Post Office Workers) said she was surprised at the speech of Mr. Henderson, which seemed to indicate that the Executive accepted no responsibility. It was rather like the reply of the Postmaster-General to representations her Society had made, which stated that at Headquarters they endeavoured to impress upon sub-postmasters that they should give decent wages, but there their responsibility ended. What Mr. Henderson had said did not do away with the difficulty expressed by the seconder of the resolution, that after the next Election notice to terminate appointments might be given. She supported the reference back.

Mr. J. Beard (Workers' Union) hoped they were not going to attempt to create anything in the shape of security of tenure, because that was impossible. He regretted that the agents were continually bringing up these matters. What official of a Trade Union had got security of tenure beyond a certain period? Every agent knew, when he took the job on, what it meant. They were presuming that each agent came in a full-fledged skilled workman, that he could do the job, and that there was no question of experiment about it. But everyone knew there were failures amongst agents just as there were failures elsewhere. Some one had got to talk straight to the agents and tell them they must not try to run this show altogether themselves. As a matter of fact, however great their ability, if they had not got the money behind them to win, they could not do very much. The agents must not kill the goose that lays the golden eggs.

Mr. Tom Shaw, M.P., in opposing the reference back, asked in what way it would help the agents. The speech of the lady delegate drew an analogy between the action of the Postmaster-General and the speech of the Secretary of the Conference, but there was no analogy. If Mr. Henderson were in the position of the Postmaster-General, and making the payments, he could then decide both to give security of tenure and reasonable wages, but he was not in that position at all. With regard to the point raised as to the danger of notices of dismissal after the next Election, he asked in what way the Executive could influence that except by the way already adopted of conciliation, advice and help. After all, the agents were not employed by the National Party, and were not under the orders of the Executive. They were either directly employed by the Trade Unions or by the local Labour Parties, and the Executive had no power whatever. He asked the Conference to pass the Report as it was and let the Executive go on with its work.

The reference back was lost, on a show of hands, by a large majority.

PROPOSED NEW RULE.

Mr. Henderson moved the following proposed new rule :—

Conditions of Eligibility of Delegates from Constituent Bodies to either Local Labour Parties or to any National or Local Conference of the Labour Party.

(a) *Every person nominated to serve as a delegate shall individually accept the Constitution and principles of the Labour Party.*

(b) *No person shall be eligible as a delegate who is a member of any organisation having for one of its objects the return to Parliament or to any Local Governing Authority of a candidate or candidates other than such as have been endorsed by the Labour Party, or have been approved as running in association with the Labour Party.*

He said they would see an explanatory note to the effect that this new rule had been produced by the Executive very largely at the request of a number of local Labour Parties who had found themselves faced with the difficulty of delegates turning up at their local Conferences, sometimes when the very important business of selecting candidates had to be considered, who were not members of the Party, and who, in their constituencies, were actually working in opposition to the Party candidates. The Executive had been very slow in taking the matter up, but they felt, owing to the complaints they had received from different parts of the country, that the time had now arrived when they should try to deal with it, and therefore they proposed this new rule. He was quite certain that no arguments were necessary in its favour. It was a most inconsistent position that they should be engaged in discussing these very serious matters and have what he might call, the "enemy" right in the midst of them, listening to all the private and confidential discussions and going away and taking the information to the other parties who were going to fight them in the constituencies. He trusted the Conference would unanimously adopt the new rule.

Mr. Tom Griffen (Amalgamated Union of Dyers, Bleachers, &c.) asked what was to prevent any individual accepting the Constitution of the Labour Party and attending the Conferences and doing exactly what Mr. Henderson feared they were going to do. This resolution was aimed directly at the Communist Party of Great Britain, and was intended to prevent any member of the Communist Party from attending any Conference. If a Communist paid his affiliation fee through his Trade Union to the Labour Party, why should he be prevented from attending any Conferences in the interests of the working class movement in the country? They would notice the last sentence of the resolution excepted candidates who had been approved as running in association

with the Labour Party. What did that mean ? That Isaac Foot or Viscount Haldane could have the support of the Labour Party when they ran as Members of Parliament ?

Mr. Henderson, replying to the question, said there was nothing to prevent a man coming to the Conference under false pretences, but it constituted a crime of the worst description. Mr. Griffen was entirely mistaken with regard to the second paragraph of the resolution. It had no reference to Lord Haldane or Mr. Isaac Foot, but was put there because they were in very close association with candidates run by the Co-operative Party. There was a bye-election going on at that present time in Nottingham, which they hoped would be won, and they were supporting the Co-operative Candidate there. It was to aid such candidatures, that they were anxious to have the Conference pass the final words of the second clause.

Councillor E. Shinwell (Independent Labour Party) asked with regard to Clause (b), whether the eligibility of delegates also affected the eligibility of organisations, because the organisations were not dealt with.

Mr. Henderson replied that they had already declared that no Society could be admitted to the Conference that refused to accept the Constitution of the Party, and having done that with regard to Societies, they were now trying to do it with regard to individuals.

Councillor Shinwell said if they had made it perfectly clear that they could not accept an organisation, having for one of its objects the return to Parliament of candidates who were not prepared to accept the Constitution of the Labour Party, perhaps Mr. Henderson would be good enough to tell the Conference why there appeared the name of the National Sailors' and Firemen's Union on the list of affiliated Societies.

Mr. Henderson replied that that was the position at the Brighton Conference last year when the Union referred to was first admitted. Mr. Shinwell was present at that Conference and took no exception to it, and he (Mr. Henderson) did not know what had arisen since to make him take exception to-day. The affiliation, however, was made, and they were aware of the difficulty. They had to deal with that difficulty, and might be assisted in dealing with it by this very rule. But they were not going to fight out there a dispute which ought to be fought out on the floor of the Trades Union Congress.

Mr. J. H. Palin (National Union of Railwaymen) said the Executive were to be heartily congratulated in endeavouring to meet what had been a very difficult situation for them all during the past few years. If the Communists thought the resolution was aimed at the Communist Party, then the Communist Party must have guilty consciences. If they accepted the Constitution of the Party and honestly endeavoured to carry it out they would welcome them, but if not, they would be better without them. The members of the Communist Party might be mistaken in their methods, but he trusted the majority of them were honest. But what about those people who would accept the beer and free billiards of the Unionist Labour Party ? Thousands of pounds were being spent at the present time in endeavouring to undermine the position of the Labour Party from that standpoint. These people did not hesitate to come to the Party Conferences ; they were members of Trade Councils, but they were afraid to show their hands and say who they were. They were not even as honest as the Unionist Party, but they were a far greater danger because they were the people who were finding the powder and shot for those dirty paragraphs that were appearing in the daily newspapers. He trusted, therefore, they would cleanse their own house by keeping these people out, or at any rate give the delegates an opportunity of challenging these people and making them prove their *bona fides*.

Mr. John Jagger (National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers) hoped the Conference was going to take a sane view of this matter and not follow the advice of Mr. Henderson. When the cardinals of Nonconformity set out on a heresy hunt, the Pope himself would be lucky if he kept out of the Star Chamber. He felt certain that these people must have forgotten that the Labour Party had always been an umbrella Party, and had been able to mould the material that came into it to the Labour Party point of view. Any further restriction on members would, in his opinion, be hurtful to the best interests of the Party.

Mr. Alex. Gorman (Amalgamated Engineering Union) also opposed the resolution. He said that what he was concerned about was the administrative difficulties of the Trade Unions themselves when men were nominated for the position of delegates to any particular Conference. The Executive took up a lot of the time of the Conference and consequently branches got their backs up and seceded from the local Labour Party because some particular individual whom they had sent had not got his chance. He hoped they would not put another law on their statute book that could be broken from time to time.

Mr. A. Seaton (Union of Post Office Workers) said he was quite prepared that they should be as broadminded as possible, but he wanted other people to be as honest to the Party as the Party would be to them. He was not prepared to have the Party used for the purposes of bolstering up the position of people who were absolutely opposed to them all the time—people who were made aldermen by the Tory Party, and who did not come to these Conferences out of love for the Labour Party at all. They must get rid of those people who would use the Party Conferences for the purpose of condemning the democratic movement.

Mr. Fred Bramley (National Amalgamated Furnishing Trades Association) said it appeared to him perfectly clear if this Clause were adopted by the Conference, a member of the Communist Party could not be a delegate. He wanted to know if it was still possible for a member of the Communist Party to be nominated and to be adopted and endorsed as a Labour candidate under their articles.

Mr. D. McCarthy (National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives) stated that in the programme of the Labour Party the words "Co-operative Commonwealth" were used, and he wished to know whether that would not imply Socialism. If so, how would that affect Mr. J. H. Thomas who had declared that he was not a Socialist?

A vote was then taken on the resolution, and the result declared as follows:—

For the resolution	.. ..	342
Against the resolution	..	161
Majority for	..	181

The Conference then adjourned.

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TUESDAY, JUNE 27th.

Afternoon Session.

AGRICULTURAL POLICY.

At the opening of the Afternoon Session the Conference proceeded to discuss the paragraph in the Report dealing with Agricultural Policy.

Mr. H. J. Bullivant (East Lewisham) moved that the paragraph be referred back. He said that it violated the policy laid down at Scarborough, when a resolution was unanimously passed demanding the expropriation of the landowners, and this point had been emphasised in the Chairman's speech that morning. That resolution did not appear to have been brought to the notice of delegates at all, and although he had corresponded with the Head Office he had not got any satisfactory reply. He considered that this part of the Report was *ultra vires* and should therefore be referred back.

Mr. J. H. Alpass, C.C. (Thornbury Labour Party) hoped it would not be referred back, because, in his opinion, as representing a rural area, the effect would be disastrous so far as their propaganda was concerned. At the Brighton Conference last year it was decided they should have a definite agricultural policy, and he thought the calling of the Special Conference of people who were interested in agricultural matters from a practical standpoint, and the evolving of the programme had been one of the finest achievements for which the Labour Party had been responsible. They were left, after the resolution last year, in a state of suspension, and they had no agricultural policy to place before the electors. He thought the Executive had acted very wisely in asking those who knew about agricultural matters to attend that Conference to thrash out an agricultural programme. Agricultural people objected to being dictated to by town people, and people sitting at Whitehall did not know the needs of the agricultural districts. They spent two days in Conference, and came to certain definite decisions, and a committee was appointed to arrange these decisions in the shape of a programme. In his opinion it was the finest thing that had ever been done by the Labour Party so far as getting hold of the agricultural workers was concerned. And not only the manual workers on the land, but also the agriculturalists themselves, because they could now go to them and say that the Labour Party was the only political party in the State that could offer anything like a constructive programme. It was true they did not state the exact methods by which they were going to acquire the land, but a programme of this character was not designed to work out the details. That this programme was of an eminently practical character was acknowledged not only by those in the Labour Party, but by eminent agriculturalists. It contained what everyone felt the agriculturalist wanted and had never before been offered—a firm ground for hope.

Mr. Henderson said complaint had been made about the character of the Conferences that formulated the agricultural programme. For the benefit of the delegate who made that complaint, he wished to call his attention to what took place at the Conference at Brighton last year, when it was reported that a meeting of the new Executive had been held, that the Executive had appointed a committee of five, and that it had decided there should be a Conference of representatives of organisations which specially catered for agricultural workers. That Conference sat twice during the year, and it framed this programme, and he did not think Mr. Alpass had said one word of exaggeration as to the effect that that programme had had on the agricultural industry from one end of the land to the other.

Mr. J. Foster (West Ham Trades Council and Labour Party) said it was a good enough policy and he did not see any reason to refer it back, but what they wanted was for the people in urban districts to understand that it had got to be carried out. The man in an agricultural constituency was placed at a terrible disadvantage, and they had to make up their minds that they were going to support the agricultural labourer for all they were worth. He hoped they would do all they could for this bottom dog, for he was the bottom dog of the whole lot.

The motion to refer back was lost.

FINANCE.

The Statement of Accounts was then passed without discussion.

AUDITORS' REPORT.

Mr. Robert Young, M.P., in submitting the Auditors' Report, said he had to apologise in the first place for the absence of his colleague, Mr. John Lawson, M.P., who, not being a delegate to the Conference and being engaged in Parliamentary duties, was unable to attend. He had instructed him to say, however, in submitting the report, that he endorsed what he (Mr. Young) was about to say. He did not intend to go into the details of the accounts but to summarise the Report in two or three words. The balance at the end of the previous financial year was £20,798 13s. 11d., and the total income for the year was £56,528 16s. 7d., whilst the expenditure was £54,294 7s. 0d., leaving at the end of the financial year a balance of £23,033 3s. 6d., being a slightly better balance than at the end of the last financial year. He wanted to say, in submitting this Report, that great credit was due to the General Secretary and those responsible under him for the financial accounts of the Labour Party during the past year, which was the first year under the new arrangement. As the result, the expedition in getting the accounts audited and the work done was certainly in the right direction.

The Auditors' Report was then adopted.

PARLIAMENTARY REPORT.

Mr. A. Spencer (Amalgamated Engineering Union) said that in connection with the amendment to the Address at the opening of the Parliamentary session of 1921, there was a word to which, he thought, the attention of the Parliamentary Party ought to be drawn He wanted information as to what was meant by the words "genuine unemployed." In his opinion there was an implication there that there was a section of the working class who, because of the position they found themselves in, were worthy of condemnation. If it was not that, and if it was intended to apply to the parasitical class it ought to be made quite clear. He contended that the presence of those words in the resolution was an insult to the bottom dog.

A Delegate said that Mr. Clynes, in his speech in the House of Commons, stated "it was dangerous to take away rights which did the State no harm," but he (the speaker) had read an essay by Mr. Bernard Shaw in which he vehemently said "the State was simply a huge machine for robbing and slave-driving the poor." He wanted to ask Mr. Clynes what he meant.

The Rt. Hon. J. H. Clynes, M.P., said the Chairman of the Parliamentary Labour Party must be willing to accept great responsibility, but he would decline to accept responsibility for what Mr. Bernard Shaw said. What he (Mr. Clynes) had said was that there were Trade Union rights which they possessed which did the State no harm, and in his judgment it was wrong to take away those rights.

Mr. J. Foster (West Ham Trades Council and Labour Party) asked, with regard to unemployment benefits, how Mr. Clynes, or whoever was responsible, came to the conclusion that "anyone other than a head of a family," could live on 25s. a week. If they were going to ask for maintenance of any description, they should ask for something that was just, and a man, other than a head of a family, was as much entitled to a living as a head of a family.

Mr. Clynes replied that the figures mentioned were actually taken from a decision of a Conference of the Party on Unemployment. They had to propose some figure, and although the benefits might not meet the view of many of them as to what the unemployed should receive, they were certainly much more than the present House of Commons was likely to accede.

Mr. Skene Mackay (National Union of Vehicle Builders) wished to know whether the Party was still sticking to the attitude expressed in the Report towards the question of reparations. He wished to know whether they were still expecting to get some money from Germany, and whether they were still proposing, after having got the money, to reduce the National Debt. The point he wished to bring out was to ascertain whether the Parliamentary Party had continued their policy during the past year.

Mr. Clynes said that the policy of the Parliamentary Labour Party was the policy of the Labour Party proper, as laid down in numerous National and International Conferences.

The Parliamentary Report was then agreed to.

THE CANDIDATURE OF MR. HAVELOCK WILSON, M.P.

Mr. T. Williams (Miners' Federation), referring to the list of Parliamentary Candidates, said they had a miners' nominee for South Shields (Mr. William Lawther) who was approved by the National Labour Party, and his opponent (Mr. Havelock Wilson, M.P.) was a member of a Union affiliated to the Labour Party. In view of the resolution passed that morning he wished to know how that was going to be dealt with.

Mr. Henderson replied that that was a matter which would have to be decided by the new Executive.

Mr. Shinwell wished to know whether it was possible to move a resolution of instruction to the new Executive, but the Chairman stated that that could not be done without notice.

Mr. Shinwell said he was entirely in the hands of the Chairman, but on the other hand he did not want this important question to be evaded. They were all obviously interested in the question raised by the Miners' Federation.

THE CHAIRMAN said that no motion could be taken except at the instance of the Standing Orders Committee.

MR. ROBERT WILLIAMS (Amalgamated Marine Workers' Union) said that the Member for South Shields was a representative of the Coalition Government, and was a predominating individual in an Association affiliated to the Conference. It might be said that this was a Trade Union matter, and ought to be brought to the Trades Union Congress, but that was not the case. It was purely a political matter. This same Member fought one of the official Candidates of the Party in 1918, and he was at present a Candidate who was endorsed by the Annual Conference of his own Union, and was determined to fight against the Labour Party Candidate. He (the speaker) remembered an occasion when the Miners' Federation were asked to exert disciplinary influence on their members and they did so. In order to mete out even-handed justice, they must carry the same thing to the other side. The Movement demanded that. If, because of the alleged membership of 75,000 of this organisation, they tolerated this sort of thing—if because of the £98 which he saw they had paid to the Party—they would have further trouble. Renegade members going over to the Coalition was not going to stop. They had the statement which had been made by Mr. G. H. Roberts, of the Typographical Association, and they had Mr. Jesson and Mr. Wardle acting in the same way. If it was not stopped these people would make an organisation amongst themselves which would prejudice the great united Labour Party. The Executive should deal with the matter and count the cost. He suggested that this particular organisation would have to make up its mind whether it owed its allegiance to the Labour Party or to its chief official who had gone against the Party on every possible occasion. If they were going to exercise discipline on the "left," they must, in common honour, exert equal discipline on the "extreme right."

MR. HENDERSON said he did not think the Conference should go further that day. They had adopted a new rule, and when this question was raised he had stated that the new Executive would have to consider the matter. Next year, if they had not considered the matter on the lines Mr. Williams had suggested, then would be the time to raise the question. He pointed out, however, that Mr. Williams was a member of the Executive that admitted the Sailors' and Firemen's Union.

AMENDMENT TO STANDING ORDERS.

The Conference then proceeded to consider the proposed amendment to Standing Orders.

MR. HERBERT MORRISON (London Labour Party) moved :—

> That Standing Order 4 be amended so as to read as follows :—
>
> (i.) "The National Executive shall be elected by the Annual Conference, and shall consist, apart from the Treasurer, of (a) 13 representatives of affiliated National Organisations, (b) five representatives of Local Labour Parties, and (c) four women. The Executive shall be elected by ballot vote on the card basis from three lists of nominations confined to delegates appointed to attend the Annual Conference. On list (a) National Organisations only shall vote ; on list (b) Local Labour Parties only shall vote ; on list (c) the Conference shall vote as a whole."

He said this was the third occasion upon which this amendment to the Constitution had been brought before the Conference, and he hoped that the third time they would carry it. The resolution reviewed and brought up before the Conference a question of principle as to the method of electing the Executive Committee of the Party. Before the new Constitution was adopted the local Labour Parties not only nominated but elected directly to the Executive Committee of the Party, but when the new Constitution was adopted a new device was introduced which, in the judgment of the local Labour Parties, had falsified their hopes. The present process was that the constituency Parties nominated but the Conference as a whole elected. The constituency Parties might put names down upon the paper, but when they had done that they had finished with it altogether, and the vote of the whole Conference selected which of the nominees of the constituency Parties should be elected to the Executive Committee. This resolution raised an elementary question of principle—the principle of self-determination. They had talked a lot about self-determination for Ireland, for Egypt and for India, but the Conference had said on two occasions "Whilst you have self-determination for Ireland, Egypt and India, do not bring any of your sentimental nonsense into the Labour Party. We believe in self-determination for other countries but not for our own Party." Therefore they had said what the Government might have said to Ireland : "After you have nominated your candidates, they will be elected by Great Britain and Ireland as a whole." He submitted that that kind of election was pharisaical. It might be said that they did not wish to encourage sectionalism, but the whole of the Conference was based on sectionalism. They had their three lists. Why not, he asked, be logical and carry the whole thing through and say that if the local Parties had the right to nominate, they also had the right to elect ? It had been pointed out that one of the grand features of the work of the Party during the past year had been the development and expansion of the work of organisation in the constituencies. He submitted that it was no good looking merely at it from the point of view of the balance sheet and the amount of money contributed by the Unions and the local Labour Parties,

and then to say that the local Labour Parties were to be kept in their places. The local Labour Parties were spending huge sums of money which in no way figured in the national balance sheet. If they added it up they would find that the 2,400 local organisations were spending more on national politics than the whole of the National Labour Party was spending. They could not have a Labour Party which was purely a federation of national organisations; their Party must depend upon constituency organisation. Why should not the Conference recognise the facts? Why should not the Trade Unions be as generous to the local Labour Parties as they were to Egypt, India and Ireland? Was the present system giving the National Executive the proper experience of the constituency Labour Parties? Were those elected to the Committee elected because of their knowledge of constituency organisation? He could speak without bias, because he got on to the Executive one time under the whole Conference voting and got knocked off the next. He had no personal interest in it, but he wished to say that the local Labour Party representatives were the subject of bartering of votes between Unions. What right had Trade Unions to exchange votes in respect of a section of the Executive which did not represent them at all? They ought to stand up and say that these 2,400 constituency Parties had a vital function to perform to the whole of the Labour Party, and they wanted them to be effectively represented on the Executive. He hoped the Conference would recognise that the local Labour Parties were a growing force and increasingly important, and the thing they needed to give them was a sense of responsibility to the whole of the National Movement. For these reasons he asked the Conference to pass the resolution.

Mr. W. J. Brown (Civil Service Clerical Association) in seconding the proposal, speaking as a representative, not of one of the local Parties, but of his own national organisation, appealed to the Conference to support the motion. In his view the claim which the local Labour Parties were making was a very much smaller claim than they were entitled to make. If they were to extend their claim so as to embrace a much larger proportion of seats on the National Executive, he thought they would be justified in doing so. Important as were the financial contributions which Trade Unions made to the Labour Movement, in his view that contribution was by no means as important as the contribution in work and organisation which was made by the local Labour Parties. His own position was that of a man whose candidature had been arranged by the local organisation, and who depended for his financial support upon his Trade Union, but he knew, if he had to make a choice between the financial support of his organisation and the support of the constituency organisation, he should choose the latter as by far the more important. The actual claim of the local Labour Parties was not for greater representation on the Executive Committee, not for a greater share in influencing the policy, but only that the small proportion of representation which was given to them on the Executive should be chosen by them and by them alone. What happened under the existing system was that men who were not keen for constituency organisation, men who had not been put up by their own trade organisation, were able to get their names put forward through Group B and were able to get elected at the expense of the very men who knew what organisation meant and who ought to be on the Executive. Not only so, but elections for Group B, which ought to be the sole concern of the local group, were made the subject of bartering of votes. They had an example of that last year. He suggested to the Conference that they ought to concede to the local constituency organisations the very small claim they were making. Otherwise the feeling in the constituencies that there was far too much Trade Union domination, was going to be intensified, and the whole Party would suffer on that account.

Mr. F. H. Edwards (Bury Labour Party), in supporting the motion, said that this amendment to the Constitution did not ask for any alteration in the representation of any section. All it asked for was a certain amount of justice with respect to the election of the representatives of the local Labour Party. He made a special appeal to the Trade Unions to recognise the fairness of this proposal. He thought they were often actuated in casting their votes for the nominees of the local Labour Party by the fact that certain nominees were prominent Trade Union men. He suggested that the proper course, and the more reasonable course would be to view their fitness for election by their association with local Labour Party work. There were many technical electoral matters which representatives of the local Labour Parties would be best able to explain on the Executive Committee, and in view of the appropriateness of this resolution which would introduce, if carried, a better method of election in respect of the local Labour Parties, he hoped the delegates of the Trade Unions would do themselves the credit of voting for it.

A Delegate asked whether the Secretary could say how many local Labour Parties there were in the country and how many were represented at that Conference. He noticed that eleven local Labour Parties who had sent in resolutions had not sent delegates.

Mr. Henderson replied that there were 2,500 local Labour Parties, but a number of them were inside one constituency, and there were about 500 who were entitled to representation at the Conference.

Mr. W. R. Raynes (Derby Labour Party) said that this was a matter which had been debated in Conference for several years, and the only thing which prevented it passing last year and at Scarborough, and which

possibly might do so to-day was the fact that yesterday, to-day and possibly to-morrow Trade Union groups had met and would be meeting to decide how they would apportion their votes in Group B. Was it fair, he asked, to allow the Labour Parties to nominate when there was not the slightest chance of their nominees securing election unless they approached, by some means or other, the Trade Union groups for their votes? Two years ago at Scarborough their friend Morrison got on to the Executive. (Mr. Morrison: "It was by accident.") Mr. Morrison said it was by accident, but he (the speaker) remembered the circumstances very distinctly, because when Mr. Morrison was the last winner he (the speaker) was the first loser. If that experience were repeated to-day he should not mind at all. A man who was representing a great Labour Party organisation was one who could speak best for the local Labour Parties. The Executive Committee were not sufficiently informed as to the work of the local organisations and never would be while prominent Trades Union organisers were being elected on list B. He could tell them of a local organisation with a turnover last year of £8,000, which was financing and running its own candidate for Parliament, who had for six years been nominating for list B. and had never seen their nominee elected.

Mr. James J. Braily (Leeds Trades and Labour Council) said although he was a member of a Trade Union and was representing the Leeds Trades Council he supported this resolution and appealed to his fellow Trades Unionists to do the same. He could not help feeling that the Trade Unions themselves had suffered under the method they adopted of electing the local Labour Party representatives. They were democrats and were bound as democrats to believe in the policy of direct election.

Mr. Henry H. Slesser (South Bucks Labour Party) said that the local Labour Party he represented had come to a view different from that put forward by all the Labour Parties so far. He was instructed to vote for the continuance of the present position. The view that his local Labour Party took was that it was an unfortunate thing to have a National Executive in sections at all. They realised that the development of the Movement had necessitated it, but they did not wish to perpetuate it, and they would much rather that the whole Conference nominated and the whole Conference elected. He did not believe there was such a thing as a local Labour Party point of view. There was only one thing here and that was the point of view of the whole Labour Party. Therefore, they thought, as the whole Conference now had to elect a body which had to consider things in a broad national spirit, which, in the next few years might become enormously important, anything which could make that Executive feel as one body responsible to the whole Movement and not to sections was very desirable.

Councillor J. Arnott (Leeds Labour Party) said that if they were discussing to-day the reconstruction of the whole Labour Party they would probably reconstruct it purely on the basis of constituency representation, but that was not before them. They needed some persons on the Executive who had knowledge of what was being done in the constituencies where elections were being won. All they were asking for in this resolution was that the people who understood the local difficulties, who had to carry on the work of the local bodies—which was quite as important as Parliamentary work—who had to deal very often with prominent members of the Labour Party—that these people should have the right to elect some persons to the Executive; not to represent their point of view on national politics, but who would be in a position to give information and speak of the difficulties of the local bodies. He hoped, on these grounds, the resolution would have the support of the Conference.

Mr. G. Beardsworth (National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers), in supporting the resolution, expressed his astonishment that any one should come to a Labour Conference and put forward the views which Mr. Slesser had given that afternoon. If it proved anything at all it proved that Mr. Slesser did not understand Labour Party work in the country. When he said that there was no local Labour Party point of view, if proved absolutely that he at least had not been taking that interest in Labour Party work that he ought to have done. If he had he would have known that the whole local Labour Party point of view was definitely opposed to that uninstructed mass point of view represented by the Trade Unions. He made bold to say that the only people who mattered within this great Labour Movement were those who represented and were members of the local Labour Movement. It was no good having large masses of people simply because they got money from them. The only people who mattered were those who were doing the spade work on the doorsteps and propaganda in the streets. He was a member of a large Trade Union, and he could say that all the members of his Union who counted for anything were members of the local Labour Parties. It was perfectly true that the local Labour Parties had to have a national point of view, but he contended they had the national point of view and they disagreed with much of the national policy. So long as they had the dominating money influence of the large Unions, and so long as the local Labour Parties were prevented from electing their own representatives there would be dissatisfaction.

A Delegate here moved "that the question be now put," and it was duly seconded.

The Chairman said, in putting the motion, that if it was carried, the Executive would still have the right to have its view expressed.

The resolution "that the question be now put" was carried with practical unanimity.

MR. HENDERSON said it had been suggested, he thought rather unfairly, that the motive the Executive had in continuing to oppose this resolution was to permit of the bargaining for votes. As an Executive they were not concerned with bargaining for votes, and he ventured to say that neither on that Committee nor any other National Committee was it the members who did the bargaining for votes. He thought perhaps their Unions might do so, but he had been associated with the Executive now for some 17 or 18 years, and he could assure the Conference that, so far as he knew, the charge could not be maintained. The reason why the Executive took up a position against the change was that they thought it was a mistake to be changing the Constitution too frequently. They reorganised the Party four years ago. The Party had been in existence for 22 years. For 18 out of those 22 years they elected the Executive on the system described with such eloquence that afternoon by Mr. Morrison, but after 18 years the Conference, in 1918, decided that there was a better way to elect the Executive, and that was to have a National Executive, speaking on great social, economic, political and international questions, with the full voice of that Conference behind it, and that could only be secured, in the judgment of the Executive Committee, by having the full vote behind the whole of the members whom they elected from year to year. For 18 years the local Labour Parties had to be content with one representative. Since 1918 they had had five. Unfortunately the Conference took it into its head not always to elect the right people. But was it not carrying it too far when this Conference was told that because somebody was taken on to the Executive and somebody left off, that this thing had to be brought up year after year? Mr. Morrison had suggested that the third time might be the catchy time. He (Mr. Henderson) hoped it would not. If the change had to be made, he appealed to the Conference not to make it this way. If they were tired of trusting the people whom the whole Conference elected, then let the whole matter be investigated and ascertain where the shortcomings were, and on the recommendation of the National Executive let a new system be propounded for the election of the Committee which was to do their work. Last year he appealed, and he appealed again, that they would leave the Constitution for the time being where it was, and if there was anything like a general desire for change, let it go to the new Executive with an instruction to bring up a report.

MR. HERBERT MORRISON, in reply, regretted that one of the Trade Union delegates had taken the opportunity to make a swinging attack on the Trade Unions. He could not associate himself with the remarks of that delegate. It would have been noticed that all the local Labour Party speakers had treated the Trade Unions with the respect that was their due. He believed it was vitally important for the steady development of the policy of the Labour Party that the great industrial organisations should have a big voice in making that policy; but what he could not understand was Mr. Henderson's very conservative frame of mind when he said, "having done the wrong thing for so many years, for heaven's sake do not leave off doing the wrong thing!" No one had greater respect for Mr. Henderson than he, but what Mr. Henderson really meant to say was "change your Constitution when I want it changed, but for God's sake do not change it when Morrison wants it!" If the amendment was wrong, let it be rejected. All he asked was that the question should be considered upon its merits. With regard to the remarks of Mr. Slesser, although he came from a local Labour Party, and was an enemy within the gates, he came from South Bucks which was not exactly one of the most progressive parts of the country. But Mr. Slesser was logical, for he said "I do not believe in sections in the Party at all. I believe that every Party should have a right to nominate on a perfect basis of equality." Well, that would at least be logical. He was sorry that personal matters had been brought into the debate. He asked the Conference not to worry about him. Whether on the Committee or off the Committee, his heart was with the Labour Party all the time. All he asked them was to consider this as a matter of elementary justice.

The amendment was then put to the Conference and a card vote taken. The result being declared as follows:—

For the amendment to the Constitution	954,000
Against the amendment to the Constitution	2,688,000
Majority against ..	1,734,000

TRADE UNION ACT (AMENDMENT) BILL.

THE RT. HON. J. R. CLYNES, M.P., moved the following emergency resolution:—

That this Conference expresses its indignation at the attempt now being made in the House of Commons, by means of the Trade Union Act (Amendment) Bill, to reverse the decision of Parliament in 1913, *which restored to Trade Unions the right of political action of which they were deprived by the Osborne judgment; and the Conference calls on its constituent associations to take effective action to resist this attack, and to maintain their political rights unimpaired.*

He said the Executive of the Party felt that the issues recently raised by the Bill now before Parliament were of sufficient importance to ask the Conference to consider a special resolution on the question. It would not be worth while submitting the resolution, in view of the unanimity of view in working class circles, were it not that there was some danger of indifference, of which

their opponents in the House of Commons would take advantage; and it was on that account they asked the delegates that they should take effective action in the country to maintain such political rights as they now possessed. By that was meant that locally, by every and any political means, they should take such action in the constituencies, especially in relation to Members of the House who were not members of the Party, as would make this a real live issue, and therefore prevent the small minority representing Labour in the House of Commons being beaten on this question. They would observe that Mr. Walsh was named as being the seconder, but he was not able to reach the Conference. They greatly valued the services of Mr. Walsh and his colleagues on the Committee that had been dealing with the question, and who had worked admirably in their consistent resistance to the Bill. The position in 1913 was one where a measure of agreement was reached, which enabled the House of Commons unanimously to give a third reading to the Bill of that year, and they regarded the attempt now being made as a violation of the arrangement and the pledges that were expressly given by the leaders of both the Liberal and Conservative Parties to recognise the rights of the organised workers in respect of their political claims, and to embody those rights in an Act of Parliament, which had permitted the Unions to establish separate funds for Parliamentary and general political purposes. The attempt was to reverse and destroy the unanimous decision of the House of Commons in that year, and it was being made because the hopes then expressed by their opponents had not been realised. It was hoped that many hundreds of thousands of workers—Trade Unionists—would contract out and would refuse to pay any political contribution. Not only had but a comparatively few workmen contracted out, but he was told that not one single complaint had been lodged with the Registrar of failure to give any individual such legal rights as were established for him by the Statute. Their opponents then saw the uselessness of the move which, in 1913, enabled them to make provision whereby individual conscientious objectors might contract out of the payment of any political contribution. He thought it might be claimed, if they had to claim it, that Labour, in the last ten years, had, upon slender financial resources, achieved great and significant political successes. In the last year perhaps more than in any other year these successes had been of a kind to strike real fear into the hearts of the other political parties, and not being able to beat them, as they did heretofore, at the polls in the constituencies, they were seeking, through their great majority in the House of Commons, to destroy whatever provision the Trade Unions had made. He thought that the wealthy men who were behind the Bill now being promoted should, if they were capable of shame at all, be the first to be ashamed of interfering with the internal financial arrangements of any working class organisation in this way. The Labour Party was the only political party in the land making known to the world what their financial transactions were, what had to be paid, by whom it was paid, how it was got and how it was spent. He wished they could make others reveal the source of their financial support and the manner in which their money was spent. Delegates were, no doubt, familiar with the provisions of this Bill. Briefly, it would reverse the present system of contracting out of the payment, to a system of contracting in, to permit themselves to pay it. He need say no more. It was an attempt to throttle completely any system of an organised kind to gather money and to spend it according to the terms of the law, and what might be the electoral or political necessities of the case. He regarded this Bill as an impudent interference with their elementary rights to decide these things for themselves, and he asked the Conference, not merely to approve this resolution condemning it, but for them to carry back in their mind, when they returned to their constituencies the necessity of taking serious note of what was now being done, and doing all they could to prevent anyone who might be misrepresenting them at the moment from making this Bill into an Act of Parliament.

Mr. F. B. Varley (Miners' Federation), in seconding the resolution, said that in spite of what had been said that afternoon he did not expect that even the South Bucks Labour Party would vote against this resolution. Were the Bill now before the House to go through, it would bring to a conclusion the whole of the political action of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain.

The resolution was passed with acclamation.

Mr. J. Cross (United Textile Factory Workers) asked whether it was the intention of the Annual Conference to give a lead to the constituencies in this matter.

Mr. Clynes replied that steps had already been taken in that direction. They had written to the Trade Unions and local Labour Parties, and had called attention to it in the constituencies of those Members on the Committee who were supporting the Bill. They thought that if this resolution were carried with the unanimity it had received, that would be the best lead in addition to what had already been done. He assured the Conference that they were watching the matter very closely.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION.

Mr. H. H. Elvin (National Union of Clerks) proposed the following amendment to Standing Order No. 4:—

> "Line 4: After 'vote' insert 'on the principle of Proportional Representation by the single transferable vote.'"

He said they were again bringing before the Conference an important principle—a principle which had been recognised by Conference as one that ought to be adopted in the in-

terests of fair play in national elections. What he was asking the Conference was that they should apply that principle to their own elections. A good deal had been said about the Trade Unions dominating the issue at the elections for the National Executive. He wanted to make it clear, as far as they were concerned, so long as the big battalions had the vote according to their strength, so they would have their voice in the election of the National Executive. But he considered that no organisation should have more than its due share in that election. He wanted to put that point to the Conference in a very simple manner and he thought they would all be able to appreciate it. Supposing there was an organisation with 100,000 members and another organisation with 5,000 members. The difference in voting power between those two organisations would be 95,000. Now assuming that ten members had to be elected to the National Executive, he thought they would see at a glance that the difference in voting power, as their elections were conducted at the present time, was not 95,000, but 950,000 votes, and he wanted to say to the Conference that the difference as between the assumed strength of votes of the two organisations was not fair. In past discussions it had been assumed that, because there were different voting units dependent upon the size of the parts, it was not possible to carry the system of proportional representation into effect. With regard to that, he referred them to the method adopted by his own organisation. They elected their National Executive, their officials, their delegates to various National Conferences by the system of the single transferable vote. There were different units ranging from 40 to over 1,000, and there was not the slightest difficulty whatever in electing their representatives on that system. He suggested that if that was possible in one organisation it was possible in an organisation like the National Labour Party. Mr. Sidney Webb had stated that if they were to adopt the suggestion he was putting forward they would not be able to get the result of the voting during the period of the sittings, but that they would have to wait a considerable time. With all due respect, that was "moonshine" and was certainly not the result of experience. It would be possible for the votes to be cast one day and for the result to be known by the time they rose the next evening. At any rate it would be possible to have the result before the Conference closed. The point had been made by Mr. Henderson that there should be no change in the Constitution, but the National Executive had already decided upon a change which was to meet changing circumstances and development of thought and ideas, and he suggested they should not hesitate at any time to change the Constitution, if by so doing they were going to improve their machinery. Lastly, by adopting the amendment he was proposing, they would still be able to get the vote of the whole Conference determining the personnel of the National Executive for the ensuing twelve months, but no organisation would be able to exercise more than its fair share of voting power.

Mr. Richard Clements (National Union of Clerks), in seconding the motion, said that quite a number of things which had been said in previous discussions that day would not have been necessary had they had a different system of voting. In these days of rapidly changing conditions he thought they should have a method by which every form of thought in their Party could obtain its just representation, and he ventured to think there was no system which they could devise which would enable that to be done more fairly than the system of proportional representation. He had the pleasure of speaking, he thought at the Glasgow Conference of the Labour Party, in favour of proportional representation from the Parliamentary point of view, but he always had some fear as to how it would work when they began to apply it inside their own Trade Unions. Last year, however, at the Scarborough Conference of his own Union, he watched closely the manner in which the vote was carried through, and in the course of the day he found they could distribute their votes, making every vote count for its full worth, and they could get their voting through in a day. He also paid some attention to the vote carried out at their own London Conference only a few weeks ago, and he thought delegates who had any doubt whatever would have those doubts removed if they watched the manner in which people applied the principle of proportional representation on delegate voting.

Mr. Fred Bramley (National Association of Furnishing Trades) said that the principle of proportional representation as it might be applied to Municipal or Parliamentary elections was not the principle they had to discuss at this Conference. They were not in that position. At this Conference they had a system of voting, not by voters but by representatives. In Municipal and Parliamentary elections they had a system of voting in which each representative who marked the ballot paper put a cross representing votes of an equal value. A vote did not always mean the same thing, and to talk about the principle of proportional representation as it could be applied to voting at that Conference was absolute nonsense. What was the principle of proportional representation? Why was it suggested as an alternative to their present system? It was suggested for the purpose of making provision for minority representation, and minority representation must be secured by the exercise in voting of an alternative choice. In exercising an alternative choice the personal opinion of the voter must operate, and also when that alternative was exercised and the vote was transferred from one individual to the other, in order to meet the requirements that that transferred vote should be of equal value. As a supporter of the principle of proportional representation he was entirely opposed to the attempt which was being made to get it put into operation

at that Conference. He hoped the verdict of the Conference would suggest to Mr. Elvin that he should give this matter closer consideration, that he should make some effort to recognise the difference between unit voting and voting at a Conference like theirs when votes were of different values.

Mr. W. R. Raynes (Derby Labour Party) thought that Mr. Bramley might also have added that the present system helped the big battalions to manœuvre so that they could get members on to the Executive. As the principle of proportional representation was likely to be either widely adopted or dropped in the near future, he suggested that the best way to discover its weakness or strength would be to give it a trial. If it proved to be a failure it would not worry the Conference at any future time. He thought it was the best thing they could do in the interests of the Movement for the future.

The motion on being put to the Conference was defeated by a large majority.

UNEMPLOYED DEPUTATION.

The Conference then received a deputation from the National and Scottish Unemployed Committees.

Mr. F. Douglas (Scottish Organiser of the Unemployed) said that he and Mr. Campbell were present as representing the National Unemployed Workers' Committee movement. Their movement was one which sprung into existence as the result of industrial depression and the consequent unemployment. At first there were a few sporadic attempts to organise the unemployed, and in different parts of the country committees sprang into existence, and finally they had such a large number of committees all over the country that they were able to unite and link them together in a national movement. It had become a powerful factor in the working-class movement in Scotland. He had listened to the words of sympathy that came from the lips of the Chairman of the Conference in regard to the unemployed, and he believed those words voiced the spirit of the delegates assembled at the Conference and also the spirit of the Labour Party in general. They welcomed that, but they felt that the Labour Party must pass from words of sympathy to work of practical assistance. This hall in which they were meeting had been used on innumerable occasions for Church Conferences, and Church Conferences sometimes thought that social problems were worth dealing with. But in the past Church Conferences had tried to find a solution for unemployment in prayers and resolutions. He suggested that prayers to God or resolutions hurled at the head of the Prime Minister were not going to accomplish anything for the unemployed, and he asked the delegates not to act like the ministers, but to deal with the matter in a practical fashion. His movement had decided on political action, and the question that concerned them, and which ought to concern the Labour Party also, was whether that movement was going to conduct its political activities as a separate unit or as a part of the Labour Party. They were prepared to merge themselves with every recognised expression of working-class political activity on certain conditions, and those conditions were that the present Labour Party would endorse their demands, endorse their policy and the claims they were making on the Government. In the first place he believed the Labour Party was going to earn the support of the unemployed movement if the Party was prepared to endorse the maintenance of the unemployed at Trade Union rates of wages. If their demand in this respect was endorsed they would be prepared to merge with the Labour Party and to support the Labour Party candidate. Another appeal they were making was for recognition on the same basis as Trade Unions and political Parties. They believed that the unemployed organisation, because of its importance and its strength, ought to become an integral part of the Labour Party, and consequently they applied for affiliation. Some of the delegates might say that many of those in the unemployed movement were already represented through their Trade Unions. That was not altogether the case. In the first place their ranks comprised a large number of people who were unskilled and who had never previously come within the scope of any working-class organisation. Secondly, their organisation comprised a large number of people who, due to economic pressure, had been compelled to leave the Unions, and the fact that they had left the Unions was not so much their fault as the fault of the hide-bound Trade Unions who were not able to adapt themselves to altered circumstances. The I.L.P. and the S.D.F. were affiliated to the Labour Party and both these organisations contained people who were represented through their Unions. The Labour Party allowed these people dual representation, and therefore they ought not to deny those Trade Unionists in the unemployed movement dual representation also. His body considered it was absolutely necessary, in the interests of the working class, for them to be working together instead of as separate units. They considered that the political activity of the entire working class ought to be merged and there ought to be one policy.

Mr. A. M. Campbell (Chairman of the Scottish Divisional Council of the Unemployed) said he came to the Conference as a person representing 2,000,000 unemployed. He fully realised that in the very near future the unemployed were going to be a political force, and he would not be surprised if, at the next election, the unemployed organisation had the power in its hands to decide what party should govern and what party should not govern. Whilst they had 2,000,000 unemployed workers competing for jobs at the shipyards, the factories and the railways, the effect would be that the wages of the working classes would be forced down below the subsistence level. He had been asked to submit a questionnaire to the Conference.

If the Conference decided to accept the points raised in the questionnaire, they, in turn would support the Labour candidates in every constituency up and down the country. But if the Conference turned down their questionnaire they would be antagonistic to every Labour candidate at the General Election and would use their machinery in that direction. They had in the National Unemployed Workers' Committee movement no less than 1,000,000 members, and they had 400 affiliated committees. They also had these unemployed committees linked up into various Divisional Councils. They had seven divisional councils, the basis of representation to the National Administrative Council being one from each Divisional Council. Therefore their National Divisional Council had links of communication from one end of the country to the other. The questionnaire he wished to put to the Conference was as follows :—

(1) That they should demand 36s. per week for a man and wife; 5s. for each child up to 16 years of age; rent up to 15s. per week; and 1 cwt. of coal or its equal in gas.

30s. for single persons 18 years of age and over, and 1 cwt. of coal or its equal in gas per week.

15s. per week for single persons between 16 and 18 years of age.

No deductions to be allowed from these sums except from the Labour Exchange.

(2) That until the unemployed demands have been conceded, and full maintenance provided, no interest shall be paid on the National Debt, except to parties holding £100 or less in value.

(3) That as a means of finding employment in the trades with which they are associated, the Government will put into immediate operation the trading agreement with Russia.

That was their questionnaire. If it was accepted by the Conference his Association was prepared to support every Labour candidate up and down the country. Since the formation of the National Unemployed Workers' Committee movement they had discovered that the Labour Party in this country had absolutely no discipline over its membership. They had had deputations to Town Councils on which there were members of the Labour Party, and had found that they were supporting most reactionary proposals. Therefore he wished to tell them, if they wanted the support of his organisation, they would need to exercise discipline over every member of the Party who sat on a Parish Council, Town Council, or in the House of Commons. If the unemployed failed to get redress through the medium of the Parish Councils, the Town Councils, or the House of Commons, then the working-class discontent would have to express itself in some other way.

THE CHAIRMAN: We have listened to the two speeches. The Conference will take due note of the questionnaire that has been given by Mr. Campbell, the last speaker. I am sure I need not say that this Conference is prepared to do everything in its power to assist the unemployed. I do not know that we can do more than just state that.

The Conference then adjourned for the day

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 28th.

Morning Session.

On Wednesday morning the Conference resumed consideration of those parts of the Executive Committee's Report which had been left over from the previous day.

MR. TOM GRIFFEN (Amalgamated Society of Dyers, &c.) asked what was meant by the third paragraph of the portion referring to "Disarmament" (page 28), which said: "Consequently, on the one hand, the German working class will continue its effort to exercise through the Trade Union organisation a vigilant control over the disarmament of the German armed forces in men and materials, in order to prevent any manufacturing and any dissimulation, and thus maintain this disarmament." In the following paragraph, referring to other nations, he said, there was no talk about Trade Union organisation, but simply political organisation—they asked the Germans, but not the others to use their industrial organisation.

MR. TOM SHAW, M.P., said that the complaint made in France was that armaments were being secretly manufactured in Germany under the direction of the Junker class, and against even the desire of the Government. The German Trade Union Movement had given the most specific guarantees that their organisation would be used against the manufacture of armaments, and against all secret preparations, and in his opinion that was a better guarantee than any other guarantee France could possibly have.

A DELEGATE remarked that they should have a like guarantee from the Trade Union Movement in this country.

FOREIGN POLICY.

MR. TOM SHAW, M.P., then moved a lengthy resolution on Foreign Policy, the amended text of which is given below.

He said it was impossible to attempt to explain this resolution in the space of ten minutes, and as no concession had been made, either by the Chair or by the Conference, he hoped he would be excused if he dealt with the argument as briefly as possible and touched only upon the essential points. He thought there no longer existed any doubt in the minds of anybody that the Peace Treaties had been so conceived as to crush the people of Central Europe, and to prevent economic reconstruction, not only in Central Europe but in Western Europe as well. There could be nothing worse than a state of uncertainty, which meant that

ations could not properly deal with each ther and that intercourse was hampered nd fettered. What the resolution demanded as, he believed, what the last Conference of ankers would have recommended: that reasonable sum should be fixed for reparaons, and that a definite statement should e made so that the whole world would now what Germany was expected to pay. hat would have done more to stabilise xchanges and get the countries to work gain than anything else. With regard to ussia, delegates would remember the osition of the Party quite clearly and disnctly—that whatever was the form of overnment in Russia, whether they agreed ith that form or not, they held to the lea that the Government of Russia was a natter for the Russians themselves, and no nterference should take place on the part f any other country. He thought they ight apply it not only to Russia but to every ther country in the world. With regard o the question of pacts between nations, it as evident to anyone who would give a oment's consideration to the subject that hen nations again began to enter into ilitary pacts it would merely be a repetition f the old system that existed before the war. f they had France, Belgium and Britain ound together by a pact, Czech and Slav nd the little nations bound together by a act, Russia and Germany bound together y a pact, they would arrive at the old system f the balance of power which meant war gain. It was for the Labour Party to work or a purified, revivified, universal League f Nations, containing all the countries, ictors and vanquished, with equal rights, qual voices, and a plain understanding that uestions of dispute should be settled by nternational arbitration. They were asking or a readjustment of the Treaty of Versailles. A Treaty which had brought about a condition f affairs in which the money of a nation had totally different value outside its frontiers han inside was a Treaty that was economicly unsound. They must, however, always ave before their eyes the fact that there ere reparations to make in France and elgium. The German Socialist Movement ad recognised that it was the duty of Gerany to make those reparations, and the abour policy should be directed towards uggesting the method by which the reparaons could be made in a sensible way instead f the uncertainty which at present existed. low could Germany make reparations when, ccording to a statement which had been ade, one sergeant of the army of occupaon was costing her more than one of her wn Cabinet Ministers? How could Gerany ever repair France and Belgium if e was being bled white by a military ccupation which was not only not of service ut which actually prevented the building p of German industrial life? There could e reparation made to France and Belgium y agreement between the French and elgian Labour Parties and the German ocial Democrats, but it could never be done long as Governments continued to squander money uselessly in military occupation, which not only prevented the reconstruction of Europe, but which inevitably led to the triumph in Germany either of the Junkers or the Communists. If the Germans were driven too far, there would either be a revolution of the Junkers or a revolution of the Communists, and in his opinion either result would be bad, not only for Germany but for the rest of Europe as well. There were not only the bonds of humanity, which ought to be the first consideration, but there were also the bonds of economics and the bonds of commerce which made it imperative, at the earliest possible moment, that Germany should come into the family of nations with full rights like every other nation. Then they would have a chance not only of peace in the world, but of reparation for France and Belgium and a chance for the economic rebuilding of Europe. With regard to military alliances and pacts, he said a good deal of work had been done by the Executive since the last Conference to come to a common agreement in order that there should be no differences expressed in the Parliaments of the two countries on questions like the very important question of the Anglo-French Pact. In France there was a deep-seated fear of Germany. People feared that secret preparations were going to be made, and there was no doubt that in France the overwhelming mass of opinion, including Socialist opinion, was in favour of agreement with this country so that they might have some guarantee of security. It was for the Labour Party to show them the futility of the Pact and to convince them that the greatest guarantee was the good faith and goodwill of the German working class. It was their duty to see there was a common understanding with their friends in France, so that, whether it concerned the Treaty or the Pact, the voice should be the same, the ideas should be the same, and the actions, so far as possible, should be the same on all these important international questions. Then they suggested in the resolution that the Party's efforts should be devoted towards the real remedy. The real remedy for international quarrels, disputes and dislocations was a purified and extended League of Nations, and there could be no real League of Nations so long as they had individual agreements and so long as they had a body of nations which really dominated the issue to the exclusion of every other voice. A League of Nations would be the only thing which would give a real guarantee that in future Governments would not enter into conflict without the knowledge of their peoples, and without a chance of arbitration in cases where agreement could not be reached by any two nations. That was a suggestion they were making in another resolution. He commended it to the Conference, believing it was the real idea at which they ought to aim, and even a beginning on these lines was better than a pact.

Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald said that Mr. Shaw had made such an exhaustive speech in moving this resolution that second-

ing it could almost be reduced to a mere formality. The resolution itself contained nothing new. It was like the Confession of Faith that they made week after week and year after year in the same words, simply because until the Confession was carried out in world policy they must continue to make it and do their best to get their own country to live up to it. If this resolution had been carried into effect two years ago; if the spirit behind it had been the spirit of our statesmen, thousands of men and women and scores of thousands of children into whose souls the iron of poverty and destitution was entering, would have been happy, would have been fairly comfortable, and they would not have had one-half the problems to face that they had now to face. And these people—one was almost ashamed to quote it again—told us, after having ruined Europe, after having brought war, after having failed to make peace, that they (the Labour Party) who had told them how to solve the problems of the times, and who had been justified by events, were totally unfit to accept the responsibility of government. He thought they should try another game than that. This resolution outlined the Labour Party policy. It was a policy of negotiation, it was a policy of justice, it was a policy of reason, it was a policy of enquiry into the facts and of adopting a policy to suit the facts, not believing that the facts were going to suit their own or anyone else's convenience. They therefore said to our French friends: "Why do you go back to your military ideas of pacts and force and so on? Have they ever defended you? It is perfectly true that you are afraid trouble may come. It is perfectly true that you see a cloud beyond the Rhine. It is perfectly true that you want security; but will you tell us when an army ever made you secure?" If they went to-day to any of the devastated areas of Belgium and France their hearts and their eyes would weep to see them. But if they had been living five centuries ago, four centuries ago, three centuries ago, and had gone to the same districts they would have seen the same. Five centuries ago, at the end of those devastating wars, they said "we must have a pact," and they had a pact, and four centuries ago, the pact, instead of being a security had been an insecurity, instead of avoiding war it made war inevitable. To-day they stood up before the world with the courage to believe in reason, the courage to believe in moral right, and to say the policy of the Labour Party would be inspired by this conception and not the conception that every page of history had shown to be inadequate. The League of Nations—a society of nations, a community of nations, a commonwealth of nations, united not merely in common interest and common sentiment, united not merely to produce petrol, but to produce comfort, happiness, human values, human wealth, human riches: that was their idea and that was the only idea that would save Europe from further wars, and that was embodied in this programme. He had much pleasure in seconding the resolution.

Mr. C. Roden Buxton (Hendon Labour Party) said he had just returned from France where he had found out what their French friends, and particularly their French Socialist friends, were thinking, and there was no problem to which they should devote themselves more carefully just now than to this country's relations with France. Their French friends, both of the Socialist and Labour Movement, not to say of the Radical and Republican Movement, had expressed a desire that they should keep in close touch with one another. They were anxious to understand the British Labour point of view and they were not less anxious that we should understand their point of view. While he agreed with the hearty condemnation of the military pact, at the same time he thought our attitude must not be a negative attitude but that it must be a positive policy of sympathy and help for their comrades in France. They thought in France that we did not realise their point of view. First, with regard to armaments, they said: "It is all very well for you to preach, and we do not object provided that you deal in the same way with your own naval armaments." A non-socialist statesman made a speech lately to the effect that while France was spending five milliards on their armies, Great Britain was spending ten milliards on armaments. He was not prepared to accept those figures but he did not think they were far out. He had had a very long conversation with Merheim, the Secretary of the French metal workers, and he had said that just after the delivery of that speech he had been moving among the metal workers and they were rather impressed with it and were all quoting it, and they said: "This is all very well but we hope our English friends will equally condemn a Government which is spending twice as much on armaments as we are." Another point was the question of reparations. They said: "It is all very well for you to say we must not demand excessive reparation and that we ought to live up to methods of conciliation, but at the same time while we are waiting for our reparations to be paid, you, the British people have collared your plunder already. You have got the greater part of the German colonies, and the German merchant shipping. It was the only property to be handed over immediately, and you therefore kept a very careful eye on it." He thought that anyone who had stood amongst the ruins of Verdun and other towns must have felt that whatever may be blameworthy in the methods of reconstruction that had been adopted, nevertheless there the ruins were and there the ruins would remain, and the people living amongst those ruins could not but be expected to place first the reconstruction of those ruins. Now while they were insisting with all the strength they could upon the withdrawal of the army of occupation and the modification of the Peace Treaty, they ought to show sympathy with their French friends in a desire to see the reparation for their districts. Their resolutions and various declarations did make it clear that they were

favour of helping them and in favour remitting the debt of France to this untry on account of war loans. He ought that on every occasion they ought show their sympathy, while at the same ne making it clear, in return for their help, ey must have the complete withdrawal of e armies of occupation from the Rhine and e complete and radical revision of the Peace eaty, which was a poison to the whole body litic in Europe.

Mr. Tom Griffen (Amalgamated Society Dyers, &c.) said they did not need to to France to stand amongst the ruins in der to see the devastation which has been ought. They were standing to-day amidst e ruins, in this country, of the whole econo- c structure. They were standing amidst the ins of the working classes of this country, d it had been brought about by the Treaty Versailles. He thought that they, as cialist and Labour agitators, should up d down the country, day after day and eek after week, tell the working classes that e acceleration of their poverty had been used mainly by this Treaty. He did not ll for the revision of this Treaty but for annulment altogether. If they allowed is resolution to pass as it stood they were ing to create a wrong impression in the untry.

REPUDIATION OF TREATIES IN ADVANCE.

Councillor E. D. Rowlinson (Sheffield ederated Trades and Labour Council) moved e following addition to the resolution as roposed :—

That the Labour Party repudiate in advance all responsibility for such Treaties and understandings.

He said he thought this amendment would ave been incorporated in the resolution. is Council felt very strongly that the Labour arty should repudiate, in advance, its sponsibility for any pact or undertaking ith any other government which involved ie use of force. He thought it was all the ore significant when it came from a city hich had practically as the basis of its velihood the production of armaments. hey thought that the Labour Party in the ear future was likely to become a great olitical force, and they very much feared iat it might be in the same position that some eople were in on the declaration of war, hen they said : " We are involved in this, id we must see it through, because our bligations are of such a character as to make necessary, but we will see in future that ich a thing shall not obtain." On August h, 1914, 800 citizens of Sheffield were called gether, including representatives of the urches, officials of Trade Unions and hers, and they all agreed that war was a rrible thing and that they should set up immediate campaign against it. War as declared that night, and at the adjourned eeting, which was to have taken place two ys afterwards, only nine turned up. The rsons were in the recruiting stations urging men to do what they dared not do themselves, and they were in the position that led them to say : " We are involved in this business and we must see it through." The Labour Party must therefore, in advance, repudiate any pact that was being arranged, and which would throw upon the Labour Movement in the future the responsibility of saying " We are a part of this country and we are bound to carry out this Treaty." They should say, as a Labour Party, " If you insist on making these pacts which involve the use of force by the people of this country, we want to give notice, not only to this country, but to the governments of the world, that we are not in honour bound by them." He was astonished that this should now be ruled as an amendment. If this was to be a declaration of faith, as Mr. MacDonald said, they ought not to go back on last year's declaration of faith which said : " The British Labour Movement dissociates itself in advance from any obligation towards Foreign States which the British Government may have contracted or may contract in Treaties, Conventions, arrangements or understandings of whatever nature or for whatever purpose which have not been submitted to and approved by Parliament." Now they were going to withdraw that section which would make them liable to fall into the trap of being told that they were in honour bound to carry out the obligations.

Col. Josiah C. Wedgwood (Newcastle-under-Lyme Labour Party), in seconding the amendment, said it was very rarely that the Labour Party could have a real effect on the Government, but this was just one of those cases where they could make themselves definitely felt. If this amendment was carried, and if Labour dissociated itself in advance from any military pact with the French Government, then that Pact would never be brought into effect by Mr. Lloyd George and M. Poincaré. If this amendment was carried the Pact would have no effect when Labour came into power, but if the resolution were passed without amendment, it would be taken that the Labour Party, while disapproving of the Pact, was not prepared to say that it would not carry out the engagements into which a previous government had entered. They would, in fact, be entering upon government with their hands tied. He wanted them to go into power with their hands free. It seemed to him that the Labour Party's policy had been right all through the last three years. They had all along advocated the revision of the Versailles Treaty, and particularly of the financial portions of it. They had not taken the credit for being right during those three years, but now Mr. Lloyd George and the governing powers were coming round to recognise that they were right. They should lay down their thesis beforehand, that they would not have this Pact and would not recognise it. By so doing they would be laying a firm foundation for their foreign policy. In future he thought they should direct their foreign policy more and more

in conformity with the foreign policy of America. It seemed to him that this country and America had a similar interest not only in peace but also in reconstruction. Looked at from a purely materialistic point of view these two countries had nothing more to gain by war. Britain's interest was a peace interest, and exactly the same could be said of America. There they had two countries which, the more they got together, the more they would be able to enforce the peace of the world. He trusted that whatever relations they might have with their French friends, they would see that it would not get them away from taking up the same position as America took up.

Mr. Tom Shaw, M.P., referring to the remark made by Mr. Roden Buxton as to what was going on between the British and French Labour Parties, said that just as they had a French speaker at their meeting the previous night, there were to be British speakers at a whole series of meetings from the extreme North-West to the extreme South-East of France. He was himself going over to speak at these meetings. That would show what was being done in trying to get an arrangement and understanding with their French friends. With regard to the remarks of the last speaker he sincerely hoped that of all the foreign policies of the world the last they would imitate would be that of America—America which had adopted a strictly individualistic attitude, which refused to join in a concord of nations, which stood on one side, strong financially and strong economically, but suffering like us after all, and refusing to come to a common agreement with anybody. So far as this amendment was concerned, it did not strictly represent the decision taken last year. It was the understanding of the Executive that some agreement should be arrived at on this point, but now that the amendment had been moved, although it differed slightly in wording from the position taken up last year, the Executive was prepared to accept it.

DISARMAMENT.

Mr. J. H. Hudson (Independent Labour Party) then moved a second amendment in regard to the second part of paragraph 6 to delete

> "to press for the limitation . . . arms traffic"

and substitute

> *"to take the initiative in making a definite proposal with the other nations for immediate universal disarmament by mutual agreement."*

This proposal was a positive part of the policy regarding war which the Independent Labour Party had adopted and which he hoped the whole Labour Movement was going to adopt. They would observe in the general omnibus resolution which had been moved there was a reference to their belief in what they called the "limitation of arma ments." He asked for the exclusion of tha and for the inclusion of something better i its place. The limitation of armament forsooth—what did that mean? He sup posed Mr. Tom Shaw would agree with hi that they had got limitation of armament in Germany, yet he had been able to te them this morning that the limitation c armaments meant for the Germans constan oppression and grinding down.

Mr. Tom Shaw: I never said any suc thing.

Mr. Hudson, continuing, said the cost c military expenditure incurred in keepin the Germans down was in ratio to the arm they limited Germany to, and it was a grea curse for a people to have this constant mil tary burden upon their shoulders. But th thing they were confronted with to-day wa that the progress of military science ha made it impossible for us ever again to defen ourselves by any process of armament Mr. MacDonald was quite right when h referred to the fact that for 500 years we ha failed to win for ourselves security by d pending upon arms. He would be a thou sandfold more right now. The developmer of poison gas and new explosives and of ever kind of lethal weapon made it impossibl and all we could do now was to take part a policy of reprisals and make destructio worse. They were here to say "Awa with all this business of arms." They we asking the Labour Party to take the initi tive in all the International Socialist Co gresses, and he hoped that Mr. Tom Sha would take the initiative when he went speak to the French in the coming campaig He knew that to-day men and women every part of the land were waiting, not f nibbling proposals about the limitation armaments but for something much mo drastic—for proposals to be put forwa that they would have no more war, and wi the end of obtaining that he asked them begin now by putting before the world t policy that they would press for defini proposals from other nations for immedia universal disarmament by mutual agre ment.

Mr. E. H. Parker (Bristol Labour Part in seconding the amendment, said that leave out "the limitation" and put "the abolition" of armaments was the or real practical action that could make a wor wide international spirit amongst workin class people possible.

The Chairman said that it had be suggested, if the mover and seconder of te amendment would agree, and with the p mission of the Conference, this amendm moved by Mr. Hudson could be inser so that it would be really an addition with an excision. If that were done then te amendment could be accepted.

This was agreed to, and the resolution s amended was carried unanimously.

The amended resolution was as follows :—

"This Conference holds that the disastrous economic, political, and social conditions which prevail throughout Europe are very largely the result of the mischievous policy pursued by the Supreme Council and the Allied Governments since the Armistice.

The Conference also holds strongly that in the following three main points Government policy is chiefly responsible for the existing international situation :—

(1) *The Peace Treaties have crushed and impoverished the peoples of Central Europe, and, by hindering the revival of economic intercourse, have caused unemployment and depressed the standard of life in Great Britain and other countries. Delay and indecision in regard to* Reparations, *and the ever-changing but always fantastic claims made upon Germany, have been among the chief obstacles to a return to normal economic relations. The repeatedly renewed threats to enforce payment by military measures maintain an unrest in Europe calculated to bring about another great war.*

(2) *The blockade of Russia, the assistance given to the attacks upon her Government and the refusal to accord political recognition to it, have been and are disastrous, not merely to the Russians, but to the peoples of all countries.*

(3) *The actual and projected military alliances between small groups of states as a security against aggression, indicate the existence of revenge and fear created by the injustices of the so-called Peace settlements, and are destructive of any idea of a real League of Nations. Some of the provisions of the Peace Treaties themselves have made impossible the constitution of a real League of Nations, and the actual League is misused or disregarded whenever it suits the political or economic interest of the dominant parties.*

The Conference therefore demands :—

(1) *That the Treaty of Versailles should be revised in accordance with the needs of European political and economic reconstruction ; that the obligation of the German Government to make reparation should be limited to the restoration of the devastated regions of France and Belgium ; that all disputes on questions arising out of this obligation should be settled by impartial arbitration ; and that the military occupation of German territory should be immediately brought to an end.*

(2) *That the British Government should accord immediate political recognition to the Russian Government, and take positive action to promote trade with Russia and other countries of Eastern and Central Europe.*

(3) *That the British Government should call upon the Japanese Government to withdraw their troops from the Far Eastern Republic in conformity with their promises to the Washington Conference.*

(4) *That no military alliance or pact should be entered into or encouraged by the British Government, and that the Labour Party repudiate in advance all responsibility for such Treaties or understandings.*

(5) *The Conference reaffirms its conviction that in the League of Nations and its international Labour Organisation, remodelled, strengthened, and democratised by the inclusion of all free peoples, exists the most hopeful official machinery for the preservation of international and social peace, and provide security for all the peoples of the world.*

(6) *This Conference calls upon the Government to use the machinery of the League wherever possible in the sphere of international relations, political and economic ; to declare its policy to be the extension of membership of the League to include all nations ; to take the initiative in making a definite proposal to the other nations for immediate universal disarmament by mutual agreement ; to press for the limitation of armaments ; to urge and support nationalisation of the armaments industry, and international regulation of the arms traffic ; to avow the policy that Draft Labour Conventions adopted by the International Labour Conferences shall be submitted to the House of Commons ; and to consider in selecting Great Britain's Delegation to the Assembly, the claim to representation of Labour and Working Women."*

TREATMENT OF RUSSIAN SOCIAL REVOLUTIONARY PRISONERS.

Mr. C. T. Cramp (National Union of Railwaymen) proposed the following emergency resolution :—

That this Conference of the British Labour Party condemns the harsh and unjust treatment of the Russian Social Revolutionary prisoners by the Government of Russia ; it regards the manner in which their trials have been conducted as nothing short of scandalous ; and is of opinion that the execution of any of these comrades would be an outrage to the working-class sense of justice, and a tragedy which Socialist and Labour supporters could only remember with shame and horror.

He said he was quite aware that in many quarters it was regarded as blasphemy to utter any word which reflected upon the present Government of Russia, and yet he was going to assert that any action which violated the best instincts of men and women, any action which violated all our conceptions of fair play, was an action calculated to set back the progress of Socialism and Democracy

throughout the whole of the civilised world. There were many points, so far as the economics of the situation were concerned, in which one could agree with a Soviet form of organisation, but Russia was not being judged by the organisation of its economic system rightly or wrongly; Russia was being judged, by the average man and woman, by the manner in which it conducted its propaganda and by the method by which it established itself. The men whose lives were at stake at the present time were between 40 and 50 Social Revolutionaries—the minority Socialist Party in Russia—who were placed on trial for something which was alleged to have occurred in the years 1917 and 1918. In short they resisted, at that stage, the inception of the present Russian Government. Now this matter had been considered by representatives of three International Socialist Parties at Berlin, the Second International, the Vienna Union and the Third International representing the Russian Communist Party itself. They met at Berlin and considered this among other subjects, and certain undertakings were given by the representatives of the Communist Party there. Amongst others were the following:—

> The Conference notes the declaration of the representatives of the Communist International that the 47 Social Revolutionaries who are to be tried will be allowed any defenders they wish; that, as already announced in the Soviet press before the Conference, no death sentences will be inflicted in this trial; that as the trial will be public, representatives of all three Executives will be allowed to attend to listen to the proceedings and will be allowed to take stenographic reports for the information of their affiliated Parties.

Proceeding upon that assurance the Second International, together with the Vienna Section appointed Vandervelde, Rosenfeld and Liebknecht as their counsel to defend the accused. He understood that when they got to Russia they were shadowed all the time; they were not even allowed to separate for the purpose of shopping or anything of that kind. Newspapers, which were controlled in accordance with the well-known policy of the present Russian Government, were demanding a death sentence, and were also demanding that these counsel should not be allowed to defend the prisoners, with the result that counsel had been practically compelled to throw up the defence of the prisoners and to leave Russia because, obviously, their efforts were going to be rendered futile by the Russian Government. If men, who were being tried for their lives, were being tried by those who were not merely their judges but also their accusers, their fate was settled. He hoped they would protest most energetically against the infringement of the most fundamental human right any man or woman possessed—the right to a free, fair, and unbiassed trial, when charged, at any rate with such a terrible crime as this, with the possibility of such terrible results as might follow from the popular clamour in the papers and the well-known tendenc of the judges who were going to try the ca He hoped the Conference would pass t resolution unanimously, that it would gi to the minority Socialists in Russia t knowledge that they in England were wi them in demanding that there should be fair trial and that there should be no houndi of men to death because of their politic views. In conclusion, he said they wou take precisely the same view if the prese Russian Government were in the minori and were being dealt with in the sa manner as the present minority.

Mr. Sidney Webb (Fabian Society), seconding the motion, said that in aski the Conference to pass this resolution would not rest it upon the conduct of t Russian Government or upon such repo as they had received which might not accurate. But he would rest the case f passing this resolution on the nature of governments. They had rightly a gre suspicion of trials for high treason, or t equivalent of high treason at the hands any government; and whatever governme was in power in whatever country, they need to be very carefully watched and, if necessa criticised on their conduct of trials for hi treason on the part of their political opp nents. But there was a practical reason passing this resolution. Governments, qu rightly, were considerably affected by e pressions of opinion, especially working-cl opinion, in other countries. That was a go sign—one of the signs of the growing int nationalisation of feeling which was stead going on. This susceptibility to the e pressions of opinion of the wage-earners other countries, he thought, could be turn to account on the present occasion, and th would be doing some practical thing passing this resolution which might, ve probably, affect the Russian Governme He did not trouble to enquire whether the particular prisoners had been guilty of hi treason or not; but they of the Labo Party would do well always to prote against punishment, for political reasons, political offenders. It might have to done sometimes for the protection of t whole community, but their bias oug always to be against political punishme for political offences. He hoped the Cc ference would pass the resolution wi unanimity.

Mr. H. Pollitt (United Society of Boil makers, Iron and Steel Shipbuilders, &c.), opposing the resolution, said the Executi had introduced this question without havi stated to the delegates why the 47 Soc Revolutionaries were being tried at The left Socialist Party of Russia was as apart from the right as it was possible imagine. These men were all members the Central Committee of the Social Rev lutionary Party which were responsib for the attacks upon the lives of members the Bolshevik Party. They had got t fact staring them in the face, and they we asked to protest against the dealing out

ustice to these people. Not only so, but hey were being asked to protest against his trial, while it should be remembered that he Secretary of the British Labour Party vas in the Cabinet during the war and was ilent when Connolly was shot. If these people iad been assassinated they would have got vhat they deserved. He appealed to the Conference to refuse to participate in any protest against the treatment of the Social Revolutionaries in Russia. Vandervelde was oo astute a politician to have left Russia if he iad not been convinced that the Social Revolutionaries were not in the wrong. Besides it had been definitely stated "the Social Revolutionaries shall not die."

Mr. Jack Jones, M.P. (National Union of General Workers) said that the speech of Comrade Pollitt had demonstrated the fact hat even the youngest of them did not know verything. Was it peculiar, he asked, that hey in a British Labour Conference should put orward a resolution asking for a fair trial or men who might or might not be guilty? As a Party they demanded fair treatment or everybody, even for Horatio Bottomley, nd they were now asked by those who laimed to be the keepers of the working-lass conscience, not to pass a resolution sking for a fair trial. The thing was too ontemptible for words. The men who were eing charged were the old leaders of the Socialist Party in Russia, and some of them iad served 20 years in Siberia. If Mr. Pollitt iad his way most of the leaders of the Labour Party in this country would be on their trial, nd he would be the Lord High Executioner. They of the Labour Party believed in democracy, and if they had to submit to many hings they did not like they grinned and bore it, but they objected to dictatorship, whether the dictator wore a tall hat or corduroy trousers. To say that Vandervelde ran away from his job was ridiculous. Vandervelde took his life in his hands when he went to Moscow, and the insult which had been given to him and those with him was an insult to the whole of the International Labour Movement. They could at least protest against this travesty of justice. If these men went to their death, then sooner or later the people who sent them to their death would have to go to their death unwept, unhonoured and unsung, because the system they stood for could not last.

Mr. J. Foster (West Ham Labour Party) said he was sent to the Conference to support at all costs a policy of amity with the Russians. They had been told to-day that they should not interfere in the affairs of Russia, and he quite agreed. Russia would stand or fall, so far as public opinion was concerned, by what it did.

A motion "That the question be now put" was submitted but was not carried, and the discussion continued.

Mr. Tom Griffen (Dyers) wished to point out to the Conference the danger of passing this resolution. They had been talking that morning about the limitation of armaments, but if they passed this resolution it would mean trouble. Two years ago the working class of this country set up what was called a Council of Action, and that Council of Action was set up in order to prevent a war with Soviet Russia, and it succeeded. If they passed this resolution, condemning the Russian Government—a working-class government—they were going to have Mr. Lloyd George and the Coalition declaring war on Russia, in conjunction with France, in order to get the money which the Russian Government owed to this country. If the Conference passed this resolution they were going to have war with the Workers' Republic.

Mr. J. T. Brownlie (Amalgamated Engineering Union), in supporting the resolution, said they were expressing in the name of British Labour their detestation and abhorrence of any government, Socialist or otherwise, that refused to give a fair and impartial trial to prisoners.

Mr. E. Bevin (National Amalgamated Transport Workers' Union) said he happened to be in Berlin, purely as a visitor, when the three Executives met, and had listened to the debate when the question was before that Conference. He did not think anyone would accuse him of being unsympathetic to the Soviet Government. Some of them had taken risks in connection with the holding up of goods that were to be sent to Russia, and did not limit their activities to talk. Therefore he wanted to say that he was simply astounded when he listened to Radek justifying the conduct of the Communist Government by the standards of the worst form of capitalist government. It was all very well for some of their friends to show what capitalist control had done in India, or Ireland, or even Great Britain, but must they assume that when Labour got into power it would perpetuate the very evils that their Movement was brought into existence to remove? That seemed to him to be the test that this resolution applied. The Soviet Government either rested upon the acceptance of their principles and policy, and with the consent of the Russians, or it did not; and neither judicial murder on the one side, or political assassination on the other could alter the will of the people in accepting its form of government. He had never heard in the whole of his experience greater efforts made to justify the policy of repression than were made by the Russian delegate. He said with sadness of heart and all possible regret that the people to whom they looked to usher in a new state of civilisation seemed to be outdoing the very people who previously held the power of government. He had a hand in the formation of the Council of Action, and that is why he regretted all the more that there should be this policy in Russia at the present time. He believed that this resolution was going to disillusionize the Soviet Government. They had been misled by the people whom they believed had been speaking for the British Labour Movement. No people in the world had been so misled by those who visited Russia and

who made promises which they knew well they could not fulfil when they came back. If the Labour Movement stood for the principle that it had stood for in the Mooney Case and in other cases of persecution of this character, he believed that it would lead those who were at the head of the Third International to appreciate more than they did at the present moment the real character of the British Labour Movement.

At this point it was again moved,

"That the resolution be now put."

On being submitted to the Conference the motion was carried.

MR. C. T. CRAMP, in replying to the discussion, said that in all ages and on all occasions of gross injustice and oppression there had been found apologists for the oppressors and the inflictors of the injustice, and although those claiming to speak in the name of the working class were apologising this morning rather ostensibly it would not alter the fact when history came to be written. They asked that these men should have a fair trial. Delegates should remember that they were not being prosecuted for an alleged crime committed recently, but for alleged crimes committed during the period of the civil war in 1917 and 1918,—not because of attacks on the life of Lenin or any other person during recent months. When the Vienna Union, which was an international combination of Socialist Parties, the Second International to which this Conference was affiliated, and the Third International representing the Communist Party, met, it was proposed by the Vienna section that it was the duty of all the proletarian Parties to work energetically for the immediate release of all political prisoners, and particularly those who were tried or condemned during a time of civil war. That was withdrawn owing to the fact that the delegates of the Communist International said they could not agree to that passage. The fact that the Communist International itself objected made it a matter of impossibility to get general agreement. Although it had been said that the Social Revolutionary Party were at the opposite poles from the Communist Party, they had to remember, in addition to the fact that many of them had suffered from Czardom in the past, they were at the same time a definite Socialist Party and were affiliated to the Vienna Union, which claimed to go even further than the Labour Party here.

The resolution was then put to the meeting and carried with only six dissentients.

MR. W. THORNE, M.P., in presenting a further report of the Conference Arrangements Committee, protested against the resolution which had been passed that morning not having been first submitted to his Committee. He was not sure whether it was not a gross violation of the Standing Orders. A further resolution had been handed up, which had been submitted to the Standing Orders Committee, in connection with the recent decision given in the Scottish Law Courts in regard to rents and property. Some delegates were under the impression that the Government was going to bring forward an emergency bill, and a resolution would be submitted to the Conference on the subject.

Replying to Mr. Thorne's complaint, Mr. Henderson said it had been the custom for the Executive resolutions to be submitted without always being put through the Conference Arrangements Committee. What was usually done was to appoint two representatives of the Executive to confer with the Conference Arrangements Committee, and he understood that had been done and they had taken note of the resolution which had to be moved on this question. Unfortunately it had been overlooked.

The report of the Conference Arrangements Committee was then accepted.

COMMUNIST PARTY AFFILIATION.

The Conference then proceeded to consider that part of the Report of the Executive Committee dealing with the proposed affiliation of the Communist Party (pages 74 to 83).

MR. H. POLLITT (Boilermakers) moved to refer this matter back to the Executive with an instruction to open up conversations with the Communist Party immediately after the Conference was finished. This question of affiliation of the Communist Party with the Labour Party, he said, had got to be considered, not from the point of view of any political antagonism or what would be the position of the one Party or the other at any particular time, but with the Communist Party as a part of the working-class movement. The Labour Party claimed to be the Party of the working class. They had got to consider this question of affiliation from the point of view of the position in which the working class of this country found itself at the present time. They were not on the wave of a revolution but were right down at the bottom, and were trying to find a way out. It would be futile for the Communist Party to put forward to the Labour Party the position which they put forward to the I.L.P. or the Fabian Party. The Labour Party was a combination of all the working-class parties with the big backing of the Trade Unions. The Report showed the very great differences as between the Communist Party and the Labour Party. He maintained it was the business of this Conference to see that the straight question was put to the Communist Party as to whether they would or would not abide by the constitution of the Labour Party. This correspondence did not put them in that position. He submitted to the Conference that the Communist Party was an integral part of the English working-class movement. It was true it had candidates in the field who were opposing official Labour Party candidates—he happened to be one of them—but those were matters which could be made the subject of negotiation. They had not to judge these matters

the atmosphere of mere personality. This as a question which was bound to come up future years. It had got to be settled, nd therefore he suggested that the Labour arty should put to the Communist Party straight and honest proposition: "Will ou, or will you not abide by the Constitution the Labour Party," and let the Communist arty answer it in exactly the same spirit. that were done the whole thing would ttle itself. The real objection was that ey were afraid if they took the Communist arty in they would lose votes at the next ection, but when the Labour Party was power, they would not depend upon the abian Society for the power; they would epend upon the men in the mine, the mill nd the shipyard, and that was where the bulk the Communist Party happened to be. he success of the Labour Party, if it saw s demand translated into action, could only me about as the result of a well-organised, ell-knit English Labour Party. If the ommunist Party came into the Labour arty it would be all the better for the English abour Movement, which certainly wanted heave-up. If the Communist Party could ve it that heave-up, and he claimed it could, ien it would be very good for the Labour arty. He appealed to the delegates to sup- ort the reference back because of the tility of thinking they could shut out a arty which must, in future, make itself creasingly felt, and that force ought to expressed inside the Labour Movement.

Mr. H. Hinshelwood (Amalgamated ngineering Union), in seconding the refer- ice back, said he realised the amount of rejudice which had been shown, consciously nd unconsciously, by many of the delegates. e challenged any delegate to dispute the ct that, man for man, the Communist arty members of the Trades Unions had one vastly more for the Labour Movement an the average member. In his own rticular area of Greenock, if it had not een for the members of the Communist arty there would have been very few ttempts to stifle the demands of the em- oyers. He was prepared to support every- ing that would bring about a united front the working-class movement. So far as e Communists were concerned, they were r a unification of the forces of Labour and ould fight relentlessly anything which ould tend to the disintegration of those rces. He wished to say that there would e no more loyal members in the ranks of e Labour Party than the Communist arty, even although they might reject e affiliation. They would do all they could secure victory for the Labour forces at e next general election, whether the Con- rence rejected them as an organisation or ot.

Mr. W. J. Brown (Civil Service Clerical ssociation) very much feared that the cision upon this question would be taken, ot having regard to the merits of the case it having regard to the waves of prejudice at appeared to exist on both sides. They had already heard of the virtues of the Communists and of the defects of the ordinary working man, but he suggested that that sort of discussion was entirely beside the mark in regard to the question they had to decide. They had to decide whether there was a case for admitting the Communist Party to affiliation. Last year, at Brighton, they had a long and full discussion upon this subject, and they decided by a very large majority that they would not admit the Communist Party. He wished to know if anything had happened since they took that decision last year which would justify them in reversing the decision this year. So far from that being the case, what had happened in the interval had confirmed them in the wisdom of the decision they then took. If his own experience was the experience of other people he would say that their most bitter, unfair and vitriolic opponents had been, not the members of the Tory or Liberal Parties, but the representatives of their friends the Communists. He could only repeat what he said last year, that the tactics of the opposition parties—Tories and Liberals—disgraceful as they often were, had been comparatively gentlemanly as compared with the men of the Communist Party who wanted to represent Labour at the next election. In France they had had the same thing. The Communists there had split the Labour Movement from top to bottom. In Germany they hampered the efforts of the Social Democrats to maintain the stability and solidity of the Republic there. In Norway the same thing was happening and they did not disguise it. Now, when it suited them they turned round and began to preach the doctrine of a united front for the working classes. If anyone was responsible for the want of a united front, it was the Communists. With regard to the test as to whether the Communists were prepared to abide by the Labour Party Constitution, he thought they should remember that there was something better than paper regulations, and when the Communists were prepared to come into the Party with a spirit of loyalty to the whole Movement, which went far beyond written obligations, it would then be time to consider the application; but all the evidence at present went to show that they desired to come into the Movement merely for the purpose of widening the split and causing further destruction. He hoped they would confirm the decision taken last year and exclude the Communist Party from their ranks.

Mr. H. F. Heaviside (Doncaster Labour Party) supported the affiliation. Personally he was not going to credit the Communist Party with power to split the Labour Movement. He thought that if they looked at the present industrial situation they would find that any extreme propaganda brought to bear upon these conditions was bound to fructify, and it was the economic position at the present moment which would split the Labour Movement and not the Communist Party. Insurrection would come, if it did

come, from those who were politically and economically ignorant and those who had been affected by the scourge of economic depression. The Communist Party, at the present moment, was making a direct appeal to this vast, illiterate, disorganised mass, and thought it was as well this should be brought under the discipline of organised control rather than left to itself. He felt that by sympathetic regard the Communist Party could be made a useful section of the Labour Party. This was not the time for any dissension in Labour ranks, nor the time for academic discussion, but rather the time when they should get down to some working facts.

Mr. Frank Hodges (Miners' Federation) said that a year ago the Miners' Federation were disposed to test the *bona fides* of the delegation of the Communist Party, and at the Brighton Conference one of the miners' delegates stuck to that fact. The Miners' Federation had since had the matter under consideration, and they now doubted the *bona fides* of the Communist Party. He did not want the Conference to come to a decision upon the actions of this or that Communist. He thought that would be wrong. But he would like it to come to a decision upon the difference of principles that existed between the Theses of Communism and the Constitution of the British Labour Party. That must be the thing that would decide their judgment. He wanted to say, therefore, that a perusal of the constitution and statutes of the Communist Party was alone necessary to show that there could be no reconciliation between the Communist Party and the Labour Party so long as those statutes existed. The Labour Party was a Parliamentary political democracy. Its Constitution was based upon the democratic theory that our national institutions must be so modelled as to give always the best expression of the will of every member of the nation. That was the fundamental principle upon which the Labour Party rested, implying thereby that it was against all forms of dictatorship. The Communist Party did not profess—it was candid enough in its Theses not to profess—a belief in political democracy. It had no use for political democracy. It had no use for democratic institutions. It was a believer in the dictatorship of a nucleus of people who were taken to represent the will of millions of others. The British Communist Party—and he was sorry to confess it of his countrymen—were the intellectual slaves of Moscow, unthinking, unheeding, accepting decrees and decisions without criticism or comment, taking orders from the Asiatic mind, taking the judgment of middle-class Russia—the residue of the old régime—not even the judgment of the plain Russian people, but the dictates and decrees of the same type of intellectuals whom they despised in this country. These were the considerations which animated the Executive in coming to the conclusion they had. That theory of government must be fought. The Labour Party must itself attempt, by propaganda, by writing, by le tures, by public meetings, to give an effecti counterblast to that theory of governmer The Labour Party had been too inactiv They of the Trade Union Movement, who h been absorbed in their work of trying battle with the immediate conditions rou about them, had had too little time to devel the real arguments against the Commun theory of government, but they would ha to do it. It was instinctive in the people this country that they hated and despis dictatorship. It was not in the British ra to accept, without a challenge, the judgme of another man, and the apparent silence the Party must not be taken to mean th they thought there were elements in t Communist Theses which might be acceptal to the British working class. It was l profound conviction that as long as th were believers in democracy at all, they mu be opposed to this doctrine of governmer In conclusion, he made an appeal to t delegates that if they were lovers of t working class, if they were believers in t aspirations of the people, they should see the condition of the people in itself did n warrant common action and common sy pathy and common effort outside these tellectual and theoretical consideratio They must get their point of view. Th were opposed theoretically to this syste but in saying that he wanted to say to t Communists that if they loved the worki class they should not try to destroy any go influence they might have amongst th members.

Mr. Tom Griffen remarked that M Henderson had said the day before th if the Communist Party, or any Communi accepted the discipline of the Labour Pa and the Constitution of the Labour Par there was nothing to hinder them becomi members of the Labour Party.

Mr. Henderson : I did not say it.

Mr. Tom Griffen (continuing) said he d not want in any way to cast any reflect on individuals, but if the discipline th the Labour Party was asking from the Co munist Party were inside the Labour Pa itself at the present time, it was not exercis He had in mind several cases. They h in Glasgow a member of the Fabian Soci (Sir D. M. Stevenson) opposing Mr. McK of the Boilermakers, in the Partick Divisi

A Delegate : There is no Labour ca didate for the Partick Division.

Mr. Tom Griffen said he wanted to po out that they had an affiliated Society the Labour Party putting up a Libe He thought it was better to be on the e treme left than on the extreme right.

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald hoped that bef voting for or against this resolution t Conference would get back to the real fa The suggestion had been made that it w prejudice which was animating some of th in opposing it. It was nothing of the kil They were faced by a certain body of fa

nd those facts, they believed, made it im-erative that the Labour Party should say o the Communist Party, "Whatever your ctivities may be, whatever your justification ay be, according to your constitution and olicy you cannot belong to us." They ad heard Mr. Pollitt, they had heard eir friend from Greenock, and they had eard others who had told them—what erhaps they were not entitled to tell—hat the Communist Party were going to o to-morrow. The Communist Party in is country was not entitled to come to this onference with any pledge, because they ould not make it good. They were in this osition—signed, sealed and delivered, mind, ody and soul, to accept whatever instruc-ons they got from Moscow, and if Mr. ollitt's speech, as delivered, found its way o Moscow that afternoon, and the Soviet nt a telegram repudiating it, Pollitt would ther have to leave the Communist Party r accept his instructions. They could not ve any pledges. Moreover, what did they nd? The fact was that the Communist arty was created to oppose the Labour arty. They were created to smash it. hey were created because he (Mr. MacDonald) as assuming they honestly believed that the abour Party was so far wrong that by being sociated with it, and working from the side, they could not do what they wanted o do. If they accepted the Labour Party osition, then what was the purpose of eir being a separate organisation from the her Societies affiliated to the Party calling emselves Socialists. Fortunately they ad placed that beyond question. In 1920 ey began to move, upon instructions from oscow, to get inside the Labour Party, and hen Mr. Jackson moved the resolution at e Convention that they should apply for filiation he said, in making his motion: You should give them (the Labour Party) ch support as the rope gives to the executed rson." That was the man who moved e resolution that the Communists should k the Executive of the Labour Party to t them in. The same speaker had said at the me Conference that the antagonism to e Labour Party was general, but they held e opinion that such antagonism would st be waged within the Labour Party camp. hey were wanting to come in, not to help, t to express legitimate and proper differ-nces of opinion—he hoped they would never ppress those—but they were coming into e Labour Party to wage war because they lieved it would be more effectively waged om inside than from outside. The Labour arty were not going to have that. Mr. odges had referred to the Constitution. they read the Theses of the Third Inter-ational—it was not the British Communist arty they had to deal with, but the Third nternational—what did they find? They und that the Communist Party wanted to me in whilst they at the same time them-lves declared for the exclusion of the Labour arty from everything with which they were sociated. How could they do that? n page 81 of the Executive Report, the last sentence in the third paragraph from the bottom, they had the final declaration of the Communist Party, which every member of the Party had to accept. It was their Bible. They could write as many theological commentaries as had been written by previous denizens of that hall on their Bible, but the Bible was the inspired word, and they could never destroy that inspiration. And this was what they said: "To exclude from such group all those who show a tendency towards the Second International," and so forth. They could come in with the Labour Party to the Second International, but they had to exclude from themselves everyone who had a tendency towards the Second International. He had only spoken because he thought the Conference ought to be armed with the real mind of those who, in the most friendly way, opposed the admission. They wanted to be generous but they did not want to be simple-minded; they wanted to be fair but they did not want to open the door to men who said quite openly "We are coming in, holding out our right hand, but in the left, behind us, we have a dagger and we are coming up so close to you in order that we may stick it into your back."

MR. POLLITT, in reply, said that all who had spoken in opposition to the affiliation of the Communist Party had, with the exception of Mr. Hodges, endeavoured to use "soft stuff" in order to prejudice the real feeling of this Conference. Mr. Hodges was the only one who had opposed the affiliation in what might be described as an argumentative form. If they turned to the Executive Report, they would find there put forward a series of questions which had provoked a series of replies. If the Labour Party were a separate political entity, then the Communist Party, with its constitution, would not be justified in asking for affiliation; but the Labour Party was a conglomerate of other Parties which had constitutions with fundamental differences as, for instance, the differences between the I.L.P. and the Labour Party. The Communist Party had every right to claim affiliation on exactly the same terms as the I.L.P. or the S.D.F. The Communist Party would abide by the Constitution of the Labour Party, and if even this Conference turned the affiliation down, he could assure them, so far as he was personally concerned and so far as the Party was concerned, that Party would honestly, loyally and sincerely do its level best to assist the Labour Movement in this country in this particular hour of Labour strife. He believed, however, the future would demonstrate how little it was possible to do anything by the application of ordinary political principles.

A card vote was then taken on the motion, the result being declared as follows:—

For the reference back ..	261,000
Against the reference back ..	3,086,000
Majority against ..	2,825,000

The Executive Committee's Report as a whole was then adopted, and the Conference adjourned for lunch.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 28th.

Afternoon Session.

"NO MORE WAR" RESOLUTION.

MR. R. C. WALLHEAD (I.L.P.) moved the following resolution :—

> *That this Conference is of opinion that the Socialist and Labour Parties of all nations should agree to oppose any War entered into by any Government, whatever the ostensible object of the war, and asks the Labour Party delegates to bring forward this policy at the next International Socialist Congress.*

He said that this resolution had originally incorporated in it the positive side of the amendment which had already been accepted in the composite resolution on "Foreign Policy" at the morning session. That accounted apparently for the curious form of the resolution, and he suggested that the two should be taken in conjunction. A few days ago, he said, Mr. Lloyd George was making a speech to a conference of the Wesleyan organisation in which he spoke of the influence of John Wesley in public life, and he said that the reason why Continental people could not understand the British point of view was because of the influence of John Wesley. He then went on to say that the attitude of the British people in the war was that of a people fighting to obtain great ideals ; that he had attended many recruiting meetings during the war, and in the course of all those meetings he had never heard one sordid appeal made to the men to join the army. He (Mr. Wallhead) entirely agreed with Mr. Lloyd George. Mr. Lloyd George had said that the people fought for a great ideal and they were inspired by a great ideal, and so far as it referred to the millions of the working class, it was absolutely correct. He did not assume, however, as Mr. Lloyd George wished his hearers to assume, that the people who were responsible for the policy that led to the war, were fighting for the ideals that they persuaded the working people to fight for. The Chairman of the Conference, in his opening address, had put the real point of view, and there was this to be said : whatever point of view had been held by our people in August, 1914, it was fair to say that a large number of them had changed that point of view now, and a large number who had not completely changed, had begun to modify their views and were beginning to realise that they were invited to fight for something that was perfectly illusory. This resolution asked the Socialist and the organised working classes of the country to declare that they would not support war in any way whatever. There had never been a war in which the real objects of the war had been revealed to the people. The people always had explanations given to them which were wide of the mark. He was quite convinced, as the Chairman himself had indicated, that if the struggle for supremacy in various parts of the world, the struggle for an article of commerce like oil, which was becoming vital in the life of the people—if that struggle for supremacy came to a head and the dread arbitrament of war was once again adopted, the people would not be told that the object of the struggle was the control of oil, but was self-defence. This resolution, therefore, invited the Labour Party and the Socialist forces of the country to say that never again would they engage in a war no matter what the pretence might be. They reserved to themselves the right, and would carry out their right, to speak against, to vote against, and if necessary to fight against war of any description whatever. It was a splendid declaration and he hoped the British Labour Party was going to place itself at the head of the "No more war" movement. If either France, Great Britain or the United States declared emphatically for "no more war" and for universal disarmament and peace, the men at the head of the Government issuing that national programme would go down to history as having served, as no other had served before, the interests of world-wide humanity. He invited the delegates, no matter what might be the points upon which they differed eight years ago, to show that they were all agreed now that war was a terrible disaster—and in the future it would be a greater disaster than in the past—and to place themselves in the forefront of this great moral movement.

MR. E. H. PARKER (Bristol Labour Party) in seconding the motion, said that if there was one thing more than another that the Labour Conference could be proud of, it was that they could, with clean hands, pass a resolution of this nature. They were representatives of people who only knew one war, and that was the war, day by day for the bread and butter and the shelter of their wives and children. That was sufficient war for them, and they ought not to want war of any other sort. He hoped that the amendment set down by the Social Democratic Federation would be either withdrawn or turned down by the Conference so as to make this declaration as complete concise and short as possible. He left it in the hands of the Conference feeling sure that once again they would be able to appeal to peace-loving people, by issuing this resolution in the name of what was going to be one of the greatest working-class movements the world had ever seen.

MR. T. KENNEDY, M.P. (Social Democratic Federation) moved the following amendment :

> Line 5 : After "object of the war" to add "but should be free to support any nation forced by armed aggression to defend its independence or its democratic institutions."

He regarded the motion as wholly unnecessary, purely Utopian and purely a pacifist resolution, and pacifist not quite in the sense

which that word would be understood
y the mover. Only a few days ago they
ecided that the only true basis upon which
eace and war could be discussed was the
ternational basis, and a few hours ago they
ecided that the Labour Party should take
ie lead in the International Conference
urging the adoption of the general principle
universal disarmament by mutual agree-
ent. That was a totally different matter
om what was embodied in this resolution.
e called this resolution a pacifist resolution
ecause it ignored the fact that they should
lopt policies suited to the situation. What
as the situation? World peace was an
npossibility until the industrial and social
nditions that made peace possible were
tablished. A delegate from Sheffield had
id in regard to events which happened in
ugust, 1914, that certain eminent citizens
Sheffield met a few days before the out-
eak of war and decided on a certain policy,
ut when war broke out these people were
lopting another policy. In his opinion
ey could not have done otherwise. If the
abour Party adopted this national policy
regard to what was an international
sue, through their policy of neutrality, they
ould be playing into the hands of one side
the other. What would have happened
1914 if they had succeeded in applying
at policy in Great Britain? It would have
en accepted favourably by the German
nperialists. It would have been a policy
active sympathy and co-operation with
erman Imperialism. He wanted to ask
hat would be their attitude in regard to an
sue that might arise on the other side of the
ish Channel? Would Southern Ireland
ave a right to withstand aggression from
e North? What would be the situation
Europe if the German Junkers overthrew
e Democratic Party and then waged war
France. Would not France have the
ght to oppose that aggression? He was
anti-imperialist and detested war. War
as murder. Force was a remedy for
thing, he cared not whether it was force
ed on trained workmen or whether it was
dividual—the assassin's weapon. In this
atter they had to look at the actualities
life, and on occasions they had to choose
tween evils. They had to deal with
isting circumstances and act as those cir-
mstances dictated. He was convinced
at in the field of the world's affairs to-day
sarmament was desirable, but disarmament
ust involve all the nations concerned.
e looked forward to the time when the
ague of Nations would not be a League
Governments, but a League of Peoples
ganised to maintain the world's peace.
it the League of Nations, however organised,
uld be futile if it had not at its disposal
e means of enforcing the decisions it came
On that ground they should avoid this
us expression of opinion which, without
e amendment, would be futile.

Councillor W. Pitt (Social Democratic
deration) formally seconded the amend-
nt.

Mr. R. J. Davies, M.P., in supporting the I.L.P. resolution, not as a member of the Party Executive but as an individual, said he hoped it would be carried by an overwhelming majority. The amendment said that any nation should be free to support any other nation forced by armed aggression to defend its independence, but he pointed out that that was exactly what Germany said in 1914, and it was exactly what Great Britain—the most powerful country in the world—said when it entered the late war. That was what they all said. It was what Ulster had said and it was what they would all continue to say. It was therefore necessary to go back to the old dictum of Keir Hardie that "When capitalist Governments declare war we will have a general strike against it." That was what the resolution amounted to, and he was willing to stand by it. What was the use of war? Let them answer that after realising the millions of boys who went to their doom in the last war. He was old-fashioned enough to say that those who made wars should themselves fight them out. Two thousand years ago a Carpenter was born who came to preach to the world the Gospel of this resolution. His followers had had Germany, and France and England against them, but His principles held the field against them all, and for that reason he hoped they would reject the amendment and pass the resolution.

Mr. Jack Jones, M.P. (National Union of General Workers), speaking in favour of the amendment, said they had got to decide upon a policy, and the policy adumbrated in the amendment was that, under certain circumstances, they might be prepared to take part in war. The people who were supporting this resolution to-day believed in war. They had got a Red Army and they had invaded countries and told the people who did not believe in their policy that they had got to accept it at the point of the bayonet. They, of the Labour Party, stood for the saving of life and the prevention of war as far as they were able, but what did the resolution mean? If it meant anything it meant that a country, even if invaded, was not to have the right to retaliate. He thought they should have the right. He was against war in 1914, and had stood with Keir Hardie in Trafalgar Square to advocate peace. The question was were they in favour of resisting attack from outside? Suppose another country decided to attack Russia, would they not say "Hands off Russia?" Suppose at the next election the Labour Party in England secured power, would they be willing to tolerate interference from an imperialist government in France? He wanted to say that pacificism by itself was not good enough. The pacifists were the biggest fighters they had got in their Movement. This was not a question of interference with individual opinion, but it was that each country should have the right to decide for itself. Consequently he hoped the amendment would be carried.

Mr. J. Bromley (Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen) supported the resolution and opposed the amendment. Mr. Tom Kennedy and his supporter, Mr. Jack Jones, had absolutely misunderstood the whole point of the resolution. If the proposal was that Great Britain alone should take this action, there would be some reason in the arguments which had been put forward, but the resolution did not suggest that this country alone should take up a pacific attitude under all and every circumstance. It asked the Conference to state that in its opinion the Socialist and Labour Parties of all nations should agree to oppose war, and it asked their representatives at the International to preach that doctrine, which was quite different from what had been suggested by the mover of the amendment and the last speaker. The organised workers of the world looked to the British Labour Party for a lead in matters of Labour politics, and he thought it would be a splendid lead if they asked the International Conference to take the action they were proposing in the resolution. If that were done, and it were carried out, they could stop the next capitalist war. The amendment asked them to say that they should be free to support any nation forced by armed aggression to defend its independence or its democratic institutions. Mr. Davies had told them that that was the excuse which all people put forward to enter upon a war. Capitalism took its quota from the earnings of the workers all over the known world and squandered it in useless things for itself. The wealth created by the workers of this and other so-called civilised countries was used abroad to exploit the slave nations. Here was coal, here was copper, here was iron. It was all mapped out and the capitalist came along and secured them. Then some other capitalist came along and out came the revolver. Then there was a secret pact, which operated until a third party came in, when one went behind the back of the other and made a secret agreement. Then they fell out, and then they said "Our freedom is at stake," and the people were told that someone had insulted the British flag, and the thick-headed working man said "Where is he? I'm going to fight him!" The amendment asked them to keep up militarism in order to defend someone who was subject to aggression. If the working people of the world said "No," it would be no, and the Labour Party should give the lead.

Mr. W. H. Martin (Independent Labour Party) said he had listened with great attention to the speeches of Mr. Kennedy and Mr. Jack Jones, but he could not follow them in their arguments when they spoke about the danger that this country would be running. If they would read their histories they would find that this country had been the greatest sinner of all in respect of invasions. In this resolution they were asking the peoples of the world to join them in refusing to invade one another. That was the way to stop wars. The Independen Labour Party called upon this Conferenc to give the lead on this question whic was so sorely needed at the present momen

Mr. B. Russell (National Union o General Workers), in supporting the amend ment, said that while they were all agree in their general abhorrence of war, they ha to realise the position as they found it to-da He remembered attending a Socialist Con gress at Stuttgart when this question wa argued at great length, and at that time th Germans would not take up the position th Labour Party took up in regard to joinin hands in a general strike. They said it wa impracticable, and many British delegate also said it was impracticable. The German were right when they said "When this come to the point you will be discredited as Movement, and you have no right to sa that the Socialist Movement is strong enoug to bear the burden which will be throw upon it at such a critical time." He though they should not thrust upon the Labou Party a responsibility which it was not abl to bear. All that they asked for as Socia Democrats was that they should have th right to stand to arms for defence of the liberty.

Mr. T. Brown (Stalybridge and Hyd Labour Party) said that politicians had t make up their minds whether it was righ or wrong to go into war when it suited the interests, and whether war was murder o not murder. The thing that they had t decide was whether the morality of th Carpenter of Nazareth or that of the practic politicians of the twentieth century wa right. Every war that had taken place i the past had been for the sake of capitali aggrandisement. He supported the reso lution.

Mr. Robert Smillie (Miners' Federatio appealed to Mr. Kennedy and Mr. Jones an the Party they represented to withdraw th amendment. It would be misunderstoo They had expressed their views and th views of their Party quite distinctly—tha they were absolutely against war, tha they hated war. All that the resolutio asked was that the British Labour Mov ment, which was looked to as the leadin Labour Movement of the world, should giv a lead in endeavouring to prevail upon th Labour Movements of other nations to s their faces and organise against war. Th resolution only proposed that propagand should be carried on, not merely in th country but in all the other countries tha were likely to be concerned in war in th future. Mr. Kennedy had said that eve supposing they passed the resolution the would still have to have the means at the disposal whereby they could assist an nation that was wrongly invaded; but they succeeded in the theory that was la down in the resolution it would really co vert humanity to their way of thinking an there would be no nation that would be in position to be aggressive to another natio

pointed out that the peace of Europe was eatened again and again prior to 1914, ause Germany felt that France was getting strong in her armaments and in mili- ism, and there was suspicion between tain and Germany because the one felt t the other was building too many war- ps, and in each case they generally pro- ed that they were building their ships and ping up their armies in order to defend mselves. That had always been the posi- n, and if the resolution were carried and Labour Party carried on its peace propa- da, he was of opinion that there was so ch hope in France and Germany and ssia, and in America, of convincing people the wrongness of war, that they would able to carry the resolution in the other ntries as well. But if, side by side with the amendment was carried, then each ntry would begin to prepare itself, and in pitalist countries he was always afraid en militarism prepared itself that it was her for aggression or for keeping down the rking classes. He invited this Conference send forth a message of peace to their mrades on the Continent. But he was t so much afraid that this resolution would t be carried here—he felt sure it would be rried almost unanimously—what he feared s how it would be carried out when the ne came. Could they stop war without litarism? Men in that meeting had d they took part in the Conference of the uncil of Action held in London some time o, when France and this country, and the pitalists generally had made up their minds crush out the Soviet Government in Russia the most unanimous, enthusiastic and rnest Conference of Labour that had ever en held. They passed unanimously a solution that there was to be no further vasion of Russia or they, the workers of is country, would know the reason why. ad not they claimed credit for stopping e invasion of Russia? The members of e Labour Movement in this country at at time were prepared to stump from one d of the country to the other in order to op the invasion of Russia. He wanted e nations of Europe to be in that position. all the men and women in the Movement this and other countries were in earnest ey could stop wars in future. He believed ey could do it without being armed. He ncerely hoped the resolution would be rried, as nearly as possible, unanimously, d that they would give a message of hope t only to their own people but also to their mrades on the Continent. When they oke of being armed to defend any country, asked: Was there any country that had en attacked by military aggression worse an this country was being attacked at the esent moment? They had hunger and rvation in many of the industrial centres this country. Not only so, but the same ing was prevailing in Germany, in Austria, d in nearly all the Continental countries. is was what they had as the result of war, d surely the lesson ought by now to have en brought home to them, not only that they should give lip praise here to universal peace, but that each one should raise his hand to God and say: "'So far as we are concerned, in spite of any Government, never again will we be led into war."

A resolution

That the question be now put

was then carried, and the Chairman called upon Mr. Kennedy to reply on the amendment.

Mr. Tom Kennedy, M.P., said there had been some obvious misunderstanding of the effect of the amendment in the minds of those who had opposed it. The resolution was simply the doctrine of non-resistance to evil; it was the doctrine of those who believed that if they were smitten it was their business to turn the other cheek to the smiter. If the doctrine of non-resistance to evil was good Christian ethics, from the point of view of those who desired to secure world peace, it was bad business. They had to seek peace and ensue it, but they did not ensure peace by preaching outworn ethical platitudes. He was perfectly willing that this vote should now be taken, but as sure as he was standing there, if events similar to those that happened in 1914 happened again, the working-class movement, if it pinned its faith to pious resolutions, would find itself in exactly the same position—just as impotent as it was in 1914.

Mr. Wallhead then replied on the resolution. He said he had moved this resolution with no bitterness, and had taunted no man with his previous opinions, but he had said what was an obvious fact, that many men now realised that the opinions they held eight years ago were wrong. They had been told in the discussion that this was purely a pacifist resolution. It was nothing of the sort. If the Independent Labour Party were an ethical organisation it might be correct, but the I.L.P. believed and knew that they were ultimately going to solve this problem economically by the establishment of a Socialist Congress of free peoples. The resolution asked the British Labour Party to place itself at the head of a great world movement, and to go from this Conference to the International Conference and ask the peoples of that Conference to join in this world-wide propaganda, to let the Governments of the world know that they could not rely upon the common people any longer to fire one shot in the interests of organised capital. They were asking in the resolution that the Party should take this great lead, and he hoped they would have an overwhelming majority in its favour.

A card vote was then taken on the amendment, the result being declared as follows:—

Against the Amendment	..	3,231,000
For the Amendment	..	194,000
Majority against	..	3,037,000

The resolution was then put and carried on a show of hands.

MR. WILL THORNE, M.P., in submitting a further report from the Conference Arrangements Committee, said that the resolutions and amendments on "Electoral Reform" had all been merged in a composite resolution, with the exception of a resolution dealing with a separate issue, which had been put forward by the Halifax Labour Party.

THE LIQUOR TRADE.

With regard to the resolutions and amendments on the Liquor Trade, a consultation had taken place with all the delegates interested in the resolutions and amendments, and also with the Executive of the Party, and he had been authorised to read the following resolution which had been practically unanimously agreed to, and he hoped the Conference would accept it without discussion :—

The Conference, recognising the importance and complexity of the question of the Liquor Trade, and the necessity of formulating, as soon as possible, a considered and comprehensive Labour Party policy thereon, refers to the Executive Committee the resolutions and amendments now before it, and all resolutions on Liquor Policy passed by previous Labour Party Conferences, and instructs the Executive Committee to conduct an enquiry into the question and submit a report on it in time for consideration by the Conference in 1923.

MR. THORNE thought they would all agree it was quite impossible to get anything like a unanimous resolution upon this very important question, and they had therefore agreed that it was very much better to avoid any discussion upon it and to refer the whole matter to the Executive Committee and let them bring up a well-considered report to the Conference in 1923; it would then be considered as the national policy of the Party. There would be a composite resolution dealing with the Workmen's Compensation Act, and with regard to the Police Strike of 1919 there would also be one resolution, which would be moved by Mr. Hayes, of the Police and Prison Officers' Union, and seconded by Councillor Rose, of the Liverpool Trades Council and Labour Party.

COUNCILLOR H. ROSE moved that the particular item with regard to the composite resolution on Electoral Reform be referred back to the Committee for further consideration, but that the remainder of the Report be accepted, and that special consideration be given to the resolution from the Liverpool Trades and Labour Party dealing with the Police Strike of 1919, which contained an entirely different principle to the other resolutions on the same question. He regretted that he did not hear the announcement made that those who were interested in this question should meet together, and was therefore not present.

MR. B. BROOKE (Life Assurance Workers) seconded the reference back, which, on being put to the Conference, was lost. The report of the Conference Arrangements Committee was then adopted.

INDIA AND THE NEAR EAST.

MR. TOM SHAW, M.P., moved the following resolution :—

That this Conference approves of t support given by the Parliamentary Labo Party to the Government of India Act, a urges them to support any further legislati in the direction of securing for the peop of India the same measure of self-governme which is in operation in Canada, Australi and South Africa.

The Conference also urges the Parli mentary Labour Party to press the Gover ment to help forward a settlement wi Turkey with the object of giving that count control of her own territories, with a gua antee that Turkey will deal fairly and just with people of other nationalities who a resident within the sphere of her authori and Government.

He said that this resolution began by e pressing approval of the Parliamenta Party's action in voting for the Governme of India Act, and in view of the fact th there was an amendment to leave out tho words, he wished to say that nobody suggest that the Government of India Act was sat factory. What they did suggest was that the Labour Party had voted against extension of any measure of self-governme to India, however small, it would have be lacking in its duty. The resolution th asked that this work should be continu until India had exactly the same rights self-government as were enjoyed by Canad Australia and South Africa, namely, the f right of self-government in every way pc sible. He was not going to argue much that part of the resolution, but he wished call attention to the fact that India was no and had been for a considerable time, seethi with revolt from end to end. There we two principal reasons for this feeling of volt. First, it might be stated that the Hind were disaffected because they believed th had been wrongly treated in the matter permission to govern their own counti On the other hand there was the Mosle feeling which might be to some extent poli cal, but which was very largely religio The second part of the resolution had a dire connection with that feeling of unrest whi existed not only in the Moslem world b also in the rest of the world. They ask that the principle of the Labour Par namely, the right of a people to determine th own destiny, should be applied whether su people were Indian, Turkish, Egyptia Russian or British, and for that reason th said that a peace should be made with Turk which would give to Turkey the right manage its own territory, but would at t same time give guarantees for the secur of the nationalities which were not Turk but were still living within the borders of t Turkish Empire. Referring to the Mosle grievance, he said that during the war t Prime Minister of this country stated th the war was not being fought to take aw from Turkey either Thrace or the renowr lands of Asia Minor. On that promise t

Moslems relied, but when the war was over they found that parts of Thrace and of the renowned lands of Asia Minor were handed over to a Christian Power. The Moslem people, in his opinion, were perfectly justified in resenting the handing over of any part of their co-religionists to another country. Constantinople, with its palace of the Sultan, was under the guns of the Allied forces. They asked that the Powers should play the same game with the Turk that they played with every other country in the world, including Russia, and allow him to determine for himself what his government should be. The only argument that had ever been used against this concession was that if the principle were accepted there would be no safety for the Christians in Turkey, and that the Armenian race would be wiped out. But what guarantee was there that the Armenian race would not be wiped out if we did not make peace with Turkey? The only guarantee of the Armenians was a peace made with the people who really represented the Turkish population, a peace in which the rights of religious minorities would be properly safeguarded. That was the only guarantee the Christians could have, and, failing that, he was afraid this trouble between Greek and Turk would end in atrocities on both sides. If they took a clear, positive line, and if they could induce the Government to follow that line and make a peace which would give Turkey control of her own country, with conditions that would guarantee the safety of religious minorities, then there would be a guarantee of peace in the world. Failing that, what would be the consequence? The Moslems all over the world were seething with indignation, disgust and despair. There could be no greater danger in the world than a huge war caused by religious feeling. A capitalist war was bad enough, but a religious war was the worst of all possible wars. That was the danger humanity was running so long as this Turkish question was left an open sore. He appealed to the delegates not to think that this would imperil the life of a single Christian in Turkey who would be safe if peace were not made with Turkey. He asked the Conference to recognise the principle of the right of a nation to determine its own destiny inside its own borders, and that the Labour Movement should, therefore, demand steps to be taken that, in his opinion, would lead to an end of the atrocities committed both by Greeks and by Turks. The Government should drop its pro-Greek policy and apply the doctrine of self-determination, in the belief that it would lead to peace and give humanity the chance of healing its wounds.

Mr. E. Strong (United Textile Factory Workers) formally seconded the motion.

Mr. S. Saklatvala appealed to the Conference not hastily to pass this resolution simply because they did not want to take the trouble to understand the position. He was concerned not with the right of the Indian but with the right and welfare of the working class all over the world. The Government of India Act gave the franchise to 5 per cent. of the population. Out of these 85 per cent. had had the honesty, sincerity and self-respect to say they would not touch the Act. It was not an Act to give them freedom but to deprive them of the freedom which they already had without it. That meant that there was 1 per cent. of the Indian population whom they were asked to back up by supporting the Government of India Act. It was this 1 per cent. of the population of India that had ruined the iron and steel workers of this country, and it was this 1 per cent. that was going to ruin the oil industry. It was a long subject and he could not explain it at length, but he appealed to them, as Labour men and Trade Unionists, not to side with the Government of India Act. The Trade Union Congress of India had condemned this Act unanimously. At the Indian National Congress only 25 out of 12,000 delegates voted in support of the Act. In face of that were they going to push their opinions upon the workers of India and support the Act?

Mr. H. H. Elvin (National Union of Clerks) spoke against the resolution. They had got to consider the situation in which they were likely to place the Labour Party by passing this resolution which had been moved by Mr. Tom Shaw. So far as that part of the resolution which referred to self-determination was concerned, of course they would all agree with it, but they had to realise that coupled with that principle was the support of the Government of India Act, and after what Mr. Saklatvala, who was an Indian and who knew the position very thoroughly, had said—and he was supported by others who were continually in correspondence with friends in Bombay and elsewhere—they should take into account very seriously to where the resolution was likely to lead them. There was no doubt that the reason for the policy of non-co-operation, which had sprung up and had spread all over India, and had captured the minds and ideals of far-seeing Indians, was strong opposition to the principle embodied in the Government of India Act.

Mr. McQuater (Leith Labour Party) then moved the following amendment:—

> Delete first paragraph and insert:
>
> "That this Conference urges the Parliamentary Labour Party to press for legislation in the direction of securing for the people of India the same measure of self-government which is in operation in Canada, Australia and South Africa."

He said the Edinburgh Trades and Labour Council, which had put forward this amendment, was claiming that India should have the same right of self-determination as was given to other countries such as Canada, Australia and South Africa. As the position had already been put clearly by Mr. Saklatvala, he would content himself by formally moving the amendment.

Councillor R. C. Kiloh, J.P. (Battersea Labour Party) formally seconded the amendment.

Mr. Tom Shaw, M.P., said he was afraid the Edinburgh Labour Party did not quite realise what it was doing, for if the statement of the mover were accurate, what he desired to do was simply to make a statement in favour of India. Referring to the remarks of Mr. Saklatvala, he wondered whether that gentleman had really read the resolution. The resolution said that the work should be continued until India had as full a measure of self-government as was enjoyed by other parts of the British Empire. Surely no one was going to vote against that. Mr. Elvin, who had apparently never seen the resolution, took the same line, and spoke of the policy of non-co-operation as if this resolution had anything to do with condemning non-co-operation. Why, the resolution itself was a declaration that the Indians should manage their own affairs, and if it were passed in this Conference, how could people interpret the decision except as a decision of the Party in favour of Indians managing their own affairs? The Government of India Act was a mere detail in comparison with the real principles underlying the resolution.

The amendment was then put to the meeting and lost, the original resolution being afterwards put and carried.

THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT AND THE PARTY.

Mr. Harold Croft (Croydon Labour Party) moved the following resolution :—

> That this Conference is of opinion that the time has fully come for the affiliation of the Co-operative Movement with the Labour Party, and it therefore instructs the Executive to make a determined effort to secure this affiliation at the earliest possible date, as it is essential that one political party only shall continue to be representative of the workers.

He said that the Croydon Labour Party considered that the emergence of a new organised working-class party into the political domain of the Labour Movement was actually a challenge to its very constitution and development. The Labour Party, as they knew it, was an organisation designed to organise the whole of the working class politically, and they believed that that basis ought to be continued in the development of every working-class organisation in the country. In the city of Birmingham they had a treaty of alliance between the Co-operative Party and the Labour Party, but despite that treaty of alliance there existed in Birmingham two working-class political Parties competing for the one united working class in the city. He had discussed this matter with prominent members of the Labour Party in Birmingham, and they had declared that, despite the alliance, the organisation was duplicated, and it could not be of that excellence which it would be under the Labour Party alone. Then take the case of Kettering. Kettering had the honour of having sent the first Co-operative Party representative to the House of Commons, and there again they had the two Parties working together. But while they were both loyal to the arrangement, they had steadily declared that the spirit of Labour in that constituency was caged. If they went to Bromley in the South, they would be told that because of the overlapping of the Co-operative Party and the Labour Party they could not organise that constituency to the fullest extent. In Croydon, at the last local elections, the Co-operative Party fought the Labour Party. From these illustrations it would be seen that they had a serious problem to face in this emergence of a new political party. If any Trade Union severed itself from the Labour Party and took its own political line, it would be condemned from one end of the country to the other. In Nottingham they had a case at the present time. If Nottingham was won by the Co-operative Party candidate they would have to pay the price. What was that price ? On the front page of the *Co-operative News* last week there was an article on the Nottingham election, but it contained not a single reference to the Labour Party ; yet it was the Labour Party that had made the Co-operative Movement in Nottingham. Under these circumstances he thought that steps should be taken by the Labour Party Executive to secure that the Co-operative Party should come into affiliation with the Labour Party.

Mr. Harold Child (Bradford Labour Party) seconded the motion. He said that the Co-operators would only come into the Labour Movement when they were ready, and the work required at the present time was not simply the passing of resolutions, but for people interested in the Labour Movement to get into the Co-operative Movement and educate it.

Mr. G. Rowley (Cotton Spinners) said they had had difficulties in Manchester, and the tragedy was that some of them who were life-long Co-operators had been told that there was no room for a Co-operative political party, either in the working-class movement or in the political field. While he did not want to be antagonistic to the Co-operative Movement as a movement, he realised that there were many dangers in it as a political party.

Rt. Hon. Arthur Henderson said that unless they were careful they might defeat the very object that the mover of the resolution had in view. "No truer word had been said in this short discussion than that spoken by the seconder when he remarked that the Co-operators would only come in when they were ready. He happened to know something of the kind of leader found in the Co-operative political party, and he felt that if they had their way they would not have formed an independent Co-operative political party. If they went back into the history of the position, they would find that men were striving year after year in the

operative Movement to get a resolution ried in favour of affiliation to the Labour ty. It was defeated time and time again. it was a clear indication that as a move- nt, the Co-operators were not ready to liate with the Labour Party, and there- he thought they (the Labour Party) did next best thing when they associated mselves with the effort to form a political ty in that movement. They had worked friendly arrangement up to now, and he ed that that friendly arrangement would tinue at any rate for the next General ction. At the same time they might retarding the progress and development the movement if they forced this matter the present moment. He did not know at the movers meant when they asked in resolution for the Executive to take ng steps in the direction of affiliation. vas very difficult for them, as an Executive, oppose the resolution, because it might ate an impression outside which they not wish to create. He believed the t thing that could happen would be that s resolution should be withdrawn on the lerstanding that the Executive would ss no opportunity in bringing about what resolution desired. The Executive were ely no less anxious than the mover or seconder to get the Co-operators in, but get them in without splitting the other vement, which would be a disaster. hoped the motion would not be pressed. The " previous question " was then moved l on being put to the Conference was ried.

PARTY PROGRAMME.

Mr. H. J. Bullivant (East Lewisham) ved the following resolution :—

That immediate steps be taken to draft nd issue a new Labour Party Programme o supersede " Labour and the New Social Order," to issue the same at cost or below, nd to prepare and issue free of charge to Local Labour Parties an abbreviated form f the same.

delegate moved that the matter be ad- rned and that it be taken first thing in morning, as the delegates were leaving the l.

Mr. Henderson urged the Conference to l with the matter and said the Executive uld be prepared to accept the motion, cause naturally they would require to have ne programme for the next General Elec- n.

This was agreed to and the Conference then ourned for the day.

THURSDAY, JUNE 29th.

Morning Session.

At the opening of the morning session on ursday, Mr. Will Thorne, M.P., on behalf the Conference Arrangements Committee, d that in consequence of the many resolu- ns that were to come before the Conference, Committee suggested that the movers of olutions be limited to five minutes, the seconders to three minutes, and that after any question had been debated for thirty minutes the Chairman should put the question to the vote.

This was agreed to.

UNEMPLOYMENT.

Mr. Tom Kennedy, M.P. (Social Democratic Federation) then moved the following resolution :—

This Conference is of opinion that the Labour Party's declared policy on Unemployment is the only constructive scheme for meeting the present Unemployment crisis, and urges that the Party press it upon the public insistently. This Conference, believing that Unemployment is fundamentally due to the inequitable distribution of wealth, and recognising that attempts to revive foreign trade as a method of providing employment are doomed to failure, inasmuch as Great Britain can never again be the " workshop of the world," hereby declares that the only policy which will materially help to solve the Unemployed problem to-day is that of the national organisation of industry, particularly in the field of agricultural production, so that we may not continue to be dependent upon foreign sources for our food supplies, which the restriction of our foreign trade now seriously endangers.

The Conference further strongly condemns the neglect of the Government to take effectual measures to remedy the deplorable hardships and suffering to which Unemployment is now giving rise.

He felt that in a Conference of delegates representing the Labour Party, it was unnecessary for him to enter into any sort of argument in defence of the economic principle which the resolution embodied. The Labour Party's constructive policy in regard to the problem of unemployment was known to every delegate, and it was unnecessary for him to say that that policy of social and industrial reconstruction had not been applied in any legislation, ameliorative or otherwise, on the unemployment problem as it now confronted them. It was a generally accepted principle amongst those who knew the causes of the unemployment problem, that a solution of it was impossible so long as production of wealth for profit continued. Unemployment was the inevitable consequence of the gulf that now existed throughout the world between production and purchasing power. As a matter of fact, a spokesman of the present system—the present Prime Minister—admitted in the House of Commons that whereas Great Britain's productive forces were more than ever in the world's history, they were unable to sell their products in Europe because the peoples of Europe had not the purchasing power. That admission was an admission of the bankruptcy of the present system and its total inability to meet the needs of the time. In so far as the Labour policy replaced production for profit by production

for use, their policy was an expression of the only possible principle that would save the people from an increasing burden as the result of unemployment. The most important feature of this resolution, so far as it affected British industry—this was a matter which would emerge in a subsequent resolution when they came to debate Free Trade versus Protection—was that they must make up their minds that the people who were pinning their faith to a revival of British trade and an extension of British enterprise throughout the world, as a means of relieving the people from their present misery, were building on a very unsound foundation. It used to be thought that this country was to be, for all time, the "workshop of the world," that we were to get from the other countries the raw materials and foodstuffs necessary, but he suggested that Britain must face the new situation that in the future their share of the world's markets was bound, through the development of industry in other nations, to be relatively less than it had been in the past. On that ground he wished the delegates to realise that instead of seeking fresh fields and industrial conquest abroad as their masters desired, they must centre their attention on the home rather than the foreign market if they were to deal with unemployment effectively.

Mr. E. H. Parker (Bristol Labour Party), in seconding the resolution, said that in the city he represented there were 25,000 unemployed at the present time. Some of them had been unemployed for a period of nearly two years, and it did not seem that there was any chance of this epidemic passing away in the immediate future; in fact it looked like becoming permanent. Guardians' funds, in a large number of cases, were becoming exhausted. That sort of thing could not go on for ever, and they had to find a means of dealing with places where there was a redundant population. During the war an agricultural policy was introduced because we needed foodstuffs, and the food supplies of the country were accelerated. At the conclusion of hostilities, however, they went back to a worse condition than prevailed before the war. They had to look at this epidemic from the point of view of realising that there was no hope unless something were done to change the unsound industrial system of the country. If they accelerated the home supplies they would do something to relieve the pressure.

Mr. James Marley (Hampstead Labour Party) opposed the resolution. The chief point in the resolution with which he disagreed was the apparent ease with which the Social Democrats thought they could relieve the situation. They said the epidemic would be cured if they could revive agricultural production in this country so as to absorb a large portion of the industrial population, but could they be sure that a large portion of the industrial population wished to be absorbed in that way? They were all agreed as to the causes of unemployment, and they were agreed with regard to the inequitable distribution of wealth, but they should face this issue quite fairly and frankly. The agricultural production of this country had steadily declined since the introduction of industrial steam methods in the workshops of the country, and they would find that many people employing capital in this country for agricultural production had found that it did not pay. He did not believe that any capitalist would employ his capital except where it would yield the biggest return. If agriculture made a good return why should he put it into an American cotton plantations rather than into a British enterprise? They had to face the issue of the transport development of the world, and the opening up of those areas which would give a large production of food supplies must inevitably react on the production of food in this country. He thought the time had passed when they could think of going back to the dark ages when every nation was sufficient for itself.

Miss Minnie Pallister (Independent Labour Party) said that in her view this was really a woman's question, because unemployment affected the married woman probably more than anyone else, although she herself had never had the misfortune either to be unemployed or married. There had been a tendency during the last few months to try to divide the workers into the unemployed class and the employed class, but she claimed that there was no such thing as an "unemployed class." The men who were most wanted during the war were the men who were unemployed to-day, and the fact of the matter was that the present system gave no security to any of the workers. Every unemployed person would have to remember that he was a member of the working class before his ills could be remedied. They could not wangle the laws of nature. If they broke the laws of nature they would inevitably suffer. They had broken the laws of nature by allowing men to live in their midst who had not contributed anything to the general good by their labour. Sooner or later they would have to come back to the I.L.P. doctrine that no adult should be allowed to live in any community without giving faithful service to that community.

A Delegate challenged the statement of Mr. Marley that agriculture did not pay. In some cases that might be true, but it was also true of every other industry. The real difficulty was that under the present system they had owners of land who were able to mortgage the land of the country and to turn the money obtained from the mortgage into industrial investments because they were able thereby to turn their capital over a number of times during the year, whereas by investing it in agriculture they had to wait longer for the result. The effect of that was that instead of being able to use the land the owner could get a much bigger return on his capital by holding the land out of use. The only way in which they

could make the land more productive was by putting some machinery into operation whereby they compelled the land to be used.

The resolution was then put to the Conference and carried unanimously.

Miss Susan Lawrence (Fabian Society) moved the following resolution :—

That this Conference expresses its regret at the manner in which the Prime Minister received the deputation, representing about one hundred Boards of Guardians in specially distressed districts, and at the refusal of the Government to accord to those Boards of Guardians any financial assistance to enable them to meet the special needs of those Unions, in which there are many hundreds of thousands of Unemployed, who are subjected to the new regulation of five weeks' suspension of Unemployment Benefit.

The Conference calls on the Government to take such measures, including the use of National Funds, as will relieve the Poor Law Authorities of the exceptional burden now thrown on the local ratepayers.

She said the resolution was, in form, a resolution relating to the finance of Local Authorities, but in substance it was a question of human life, a question to satisfy the elementary needs of the unemployed. As everybody in the hall knew, the unemployment benefit was not sufficient to maintain life. The first result of that was the unemployed were thrown upon their own resources, and family after family exhausted their savings, got rid of their household goods, and were, one by one, reduced to a state of destitution where it was incumbent upon the Guardians to relieve them. A few months ago the burden of relief was unparalleled. In West Bromwich 8 per cent. of the population were receiving relief, in Birmingham the same, in Liverpool 13 per cent., in Middlesbrough nearly 11 per cent., in Poplar 15 per cent., and the total amount spent by Boards of Guardians on the relief of the destitute unemployed amounted to £45,000,000. That gigantic sum was a cost, not upon the rates generally, but upon the rates of the poorer districts. The unemployed did not live in the wealthy districts, and that £45,000,000 had to be raised from people only a little better off than the unemployed themselves. It was a horrible business, to have to raise the rents of those whom they knew had only two or three days' work a week. It was horrible to have to put up the rates of little shopkeepers, who were nearly bankrupt because their customers had no money. The Guardians went to the Prime Minister and the Prime Minister said : "If you cannot pay your bills, borrow the money." The Guardians did borrow, and the total amount borrowed to meet current expenses on the security of the rates, as given by the Minister of Health on May 27th, was £2,250,000, while on June 21st he put it at £5,500,000. The Boards of Guardians went to the Prime Minister again, and he said that this sum of £45,000,000 was equivalent to 9d. in the £ on the Income Tax, and that he could not put a proposal for placing this sum on the Income Tax before the House of Commons. That was the situation. The Government had taken 1s. off the Income Tax, and they had put the equivalent of 9d. on the Income Tax on to the inhabitants of the districts which were most hardly hit. The burden had automatically graded itself in proportion to the distress in those districts, with the result that the Guardians broke down under it. Every Board of Guardians that was driven into this position was the slave of the Minister of Health, and he was using the position in order to reduce the scales of relief. When they had exhausted their resources, when they had to borrow, he refused to lend unless they reduced the scales of relief. In Poplar their great quarrel with the Minister of Health was that he gave a scale of relief graded for a man, woman, and one, two, three, four or five children, and then it ended. If a man had eight or nine children, he had to live on the allowance for five. This finance, crazy as it was, she believed was intentional so as to bring down the scales of relief for the unemployed.

Mr. Will Thorne, M.P. (National Union of General Workers), in seconding the motion, said he had the pleasure of introducing the deputation to the Prime Minister that Miss Lawrence had mentioned, and he could assure the delegates that at that particular Conference they were very much disappointed at the reply they had received. What the Prime Minister said, in a word, was that the Government represented the taxpayers, and that the delegation represented the ratepayers, and that if he granted the application it would mean putting the burden on the taxpayers. He was not quite sure whether the delegates at that Conference recognised the very serious situation in which the Boards of Guardians—about 200 in number—that were paying out unemployment relief, were in. The rating of about 200 Local Authorities ranged from 4s. 6d. in the £ per half-year to about 7s. 9d., and as conditions were, the wealthy were escaping their share of maintenance for the unemployed.

Mr. George Lansbury (National Union of General Workers), in supporting the resolution, said it was of course true in one sense that the unemployed did not live in the rich districts, but other unemployed did, and they thus got out of their responsibility for helping to deal with the problem that their very condition of life had produced. At the end of the war the Government treated the unemployed moderately, but by degrees they had pulled down the national scale of unemployment benefit, and then they put the burden on the Guardians. Sir Alfred Mond had been put into his position, not merely to cast the burden of relief on to the Local Authorities, but also to drive the unemployed to the condition they were in in 1884, when no relief was given outside the workhouse. The Poplar Board of Guardians was not going to submit to that sort of dictation from the Minister of Health,

and he wanted to appeal to every man and woman who was on a local Board of Guardians, or a Parish Council, to vote against the reduction in the standard of relief. The employed took very little care of the unemployed, and the unemployed, when they got employed, took very little care of the then unemployed, and unless they were going to take care of the unemployed they were going to have such an economic breakdown in municipal government that everything they wanted to do would be impossible. Sir Alfred Mond had been deliberately put into his present position in order to force the unemployed right down, and it was up to them to fight this damnable doctrine for all they were worth.

The resolution was then put to the Conference and carried unanimously.

POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE.

Mr. Robert Williams (Amalgamated Union of Marine Workers) moved the following resolution :—

> *That this Conference, believing that the success of the Labour Party and the realisation of its programme will be more assured by the Party maintaining its complete independence as a political force, declares against any alliance or electoral arrangement with any section of the Liberal or Conservative Parties.*
>
> It further declares that organisations which use their political funds to support candidates other than Labour Candidates shall be ineligible for affiliation.

He said he was sure the first part of the resolution embraced the overwhelming wish of all those who were genuinely interested in the Labour Party. It was a well-known fact that kites had been flown assiduously in the *Daily News* and the *Nation* urging that the Party should make a pact or arrangement with the Asquithian Liberals. If such a pact were made he was confident that some members of the Labour Party considered themselves influential enough to get inside the Government, but he would rather remain outside the House of Commons for all time than go inside with the Asquithian Liberal Party. They all knew that well-known members of the intelligentsia of the Executive of the Labour Party were flying kites of this character. It would also be as lamentable an error, he asserted, if at any time they associated with Mr. Lloyd George. It would mean the ultimate ruin of the Labour Party. A friend of his had said that Mr. Lloyd George was "as slippery as an eel, greased with soft soap, writhing on a block of ice," and he thought it was perfectly true. Mr. Lloyd George would dish them even if they secured a formidable increase in their Parliamentary representation at the next Election. The second part of the resolution was the logical development of the first. According to the amendment of the Standing Orders which the Executive had formulated and which had been adopted by the Conference, it would not be possible for Mr. Harry Pollitt to attend the Conference if he maintained his allegiance to the Communist Party. Now if that were desirable with regard to individuals, how much more desirable was it with regard to organisations. The Labour Movement had been retarded in the past by those political hybrids who called themselves "Liberal-Labour men." Then there was that political monstrosity called the "National Democratic Party," the composition of which they all knew very well. Were they going to allow the Musicians, if they wanted affiliation, to back Mr. Jesson, or another organisation to back Mr. Seddon ? Were they going to allow any of their affiliated associations to back those who were acting with the blackest of black traitors ? The resolution referred to organisations, and that would affect the Co-operative Party. If and when the Co-operators were coming in with them, wanting their support and expecting the advantages of generations of effort, then they would have to accept the title of plain "Labour Candidates." He knew of an organisation which ran four candidates at the last Election, and two of them fought candidates who had been endorsed by the Executive of the Labour Party. In the industrial field they had every element of solidarity, and he wanted to see the solidarity which was manifested in the factory and the workshop, the mine and the railway, translated into universal solidarity at the ballot-box. He looked to the time when they would regard an individual who supported a capitalist candidate against a Labour Candidate as much a blackleg as one who "scabbed" in a Trade Union dispute. He urged them not to allow their political solidarity to be marred and retarded by individuals who supported those who were opposing Labour Party nominees.

Mr. G. Eddie (Blackburn Labour Party) observed that a good deal had been said, more perhaps by their Liberal opponents than by those in their own ranks, as to the desirability of co-operation in order to smash the Coalition, and the iniquities of the Coalition had been emphasised to such an extent as to make it appear that anything was desirable if they could only succeed in smashing it. But, he maintained, there was something worse than the present Coalition, and that would be a Coalition between Labour and Capital for any particular end. He hoped the delegates would realise the danger, not only immediate but future, if they allied themselves with either the Free Liberal or any other Capitalist Party. He thought the Labour Movement was strong enough to stand alone, and while it stood alone it would attract to its membership the working class, who realised that the working class alone could work out its own salvation. It would involve the Party in the greatest disaster if, at the moment when they were becoming strong, they gave away their strength by joining parties that opposed all the vital principles for which they stood.

Mr. Sidney Webb (Fabian Society) said he did not think this resolution would meet with any opposition from any delegate; nevertheless, it was a very good thing to have had it put forward and to have it definitely adopted once more as the governing principle and policy of the Party. They were always having the suggestion put forward by the enemy in the Press that there was, or might be, or should be some sort of pact or alliance for electoral purposes. That suggestion and that insinuation would do the Labour Party no harm if it were not unfortunately taken up and repeated in their own ranks. He ventured to think that it was a mistake to pay attention to these suggestions that came from the enemy camp, and to give them strength and virility by repeating them in their own Press, and with regard to this, that or the other individual against whom suspicion might choose to arise. So far as he knew, there never had been any question—he would not say in the Executive Committee, because he had no right to say what happened at the Executive Committee—but, so far as he knew, there had never been any suggestion at headquarters, during the seven years he had been connected with the Executive, of any sort of alliance or pact of any kind with any Party whatever. But the suggestion was constantly being put up and was constantly being used to create suspicion and disunion in their ranks. It was perfectly clear, from the electoral point of view, they would commit suicide by entering into any arrangement. It was sheer cant to think that the opposition, not merely of a Conservative but also of an Independent Liberal was going to split the Labour vote. There was a time when that could have been said, but he believed the time had now come when the presence of a Liberal candidate would split the property vote. In his opinion a Labour candidate would do very much better if he were actually opposed by an Independent Liberal as well as by a Conservative. But the testing time was not now; the testing time would be after the election, when, he hoped, the Labour Party would be in the House of Commons in considerably augmented numbers. He wanted to say very emphatically that it would then be a terrible mistake for the Labour Party to attempt to enter into any other Government than its own.

A motion

That the question be now put

was submitted to the Conference, but on a show of hands was lost.

Mr. E. Shinwell (Independent Labour Party), continuing the discussion, said it was very satisfactory to have Mr. Webb's assurance that no intention existed, in the meantime, with regard to any possibility of an alliance with any orthodox political party, but he suggested that these intentions should be translated into the journalistic activities of Mr. Webb and some of his colleagues.

Mr. Webb: They always have been.

Mr. Shinwell, continuing, said they might be excused for interpreting the observations contained in the articles written by Mr. Webb and some of his colleagues as a reason perhaps for believing that there existed, if not an actual desire for political association, at least for discussion as to the possibility, some day or other, of such an association. Mr. Webb gave the whole case away when he said it was not a matter for immediate discussion, but that after the election would come the testing time. Mr. Shinwell asked the Conference to make a frank declaration of its independence by passing the resolution. If they were going to turn out the ranting Communists, they would have to turn out and have no association with the canting reactionaries. If they were to have no association with extremists on the left, they certainly should have no association with extremists on the right. If the Conference was not going to be bold and frank on the question of political independence at the present time, the triumph of the Labour Party was not likely to be assured in the present generation. Their people in the workshops, in the Independent Labour Party, and in the branches of the local Labour Parties, were beset at every turn by articles written by the people to whom he referred, leading them to believe that there existed an attempt at coquetting with the other side. It was not only on the political side that this was so, but they had heard of an industrial pact. There could be no good of any kind resulting from either a political or an industrial pact with any of the orthodox parties.

Mr. W. A. Robinson (Distributive Workers) said he also viewed with misgiving the very tame utterance of Mr. Webb in regard to this matter, and for this very special reason, that in the *Manchester Guardian* of Monday there appeared a most significant statement which, although he could not quote it exactly, was to the effect that in conversation with important members of the Labour Party in Edinburgh, the writer was told that whilst admitting the Conference might pass a resolution of this description, the time would arise when a different view would have to be taken. It was therefore extremely necessary that a definite statement should be made by this Conference, that they would retain their independence and refuse all overtures for working with the other Parties.

Mr. A. Seaton (Union of Post Office Workers) was not alarmed at the statements appearing from the Liberal side in the public Press, or statements made at that Conference with regard to possible amalgamation with a certain political Party in the future, because the Labour Party had this advantage over other political Parties: that to a very great extent its policy was dictated, not by the people at the top, but by the rank and file. So far as he understood the resolution, they were endeavouring to lay down the immediate action with regard to the policy of the Party. He had been amused at the statements in the Liberal Press as to the advan-

tages of co-operation. Anyone who knew anything at all about the political history of the time would understand that the Liberal anxiety to associate itself with Labour arose, not so much from a desire to save democracy as from a desire to save their own political souls. The trouble at the present time arose, not from the fact that they had a Coalition Government but from the fact that they had a Capitalist Government. They wanted to get rid of Capitalism more than Coalition. What they wanted to-day was honesty and truth in politics, and he saw no means of establishing that except by standing all the time by the principles of the Labour Party.

COUNCILLOR W. SHAW (Glasgow Trades Council) said that at the present time in one of the divisions of the City of Glasgow an ex-Lord Provost had been adopted by the Liberal Party. He was a member of the Fabian Society, who flirted with the Socialist Movement and endeavoured to mislead the working class in the Partick Division. This man's Executive and workers were at the present time endeavouring to show that he stood for a programme equal to that of the Labour Party. He (Mr. Shaw) was anxious that the local Labour Party should have definite instructions on this matter, so that they could get up in the Partick Division and denounce the individual to whom he referred. He keenly resented the statements made by Mr. Sidney Webb, and was inclined to think that he led the cult to which this particular member of the Fabian Society subscribed. Unless they were going to have instructions of this kind, it would be useless, in a division like Partick, to put up a fight for Labour. In some elections it had been stated that there had been recommendations sent from the Labour Party that the Liberal Party should be supported. The Press had also to be kept in its place, and that could only be done by passing a resolution such as the one before the Conference.

RT. HON. ARTHUR HENDERSON called attention to the difference between the points raised in the two paragraphs of the resolution. The first dealt strictly with the question which had been chiefly debated—the question of independence—and he thought there would be general agreement on the attitude taken up in that declaration. But there was an entirely new matter introduced in the second paragraph, and he wished to point out that it was inconsistent with the rule that was adopted on the first day of the Conference. Mr. Williams had said that this applied to affiliated Societies. The words "affiliated Societies" did not appear in the whole of the resolution, and if they would read the second paragraph they would find: "It further declares that organisations which use their political funds to support candidates other than Labour Candidates shall be ineligible for affiliation." The previous day they had discussed a certain resolution, and there was a general desire that they should hasten the affiliation of the Co-operative Movement. On Tuesday they carried a resolution that they would admit as delegates those who represented an organisation whose candidates were running in association with the Labour Party. Now they were proposing to proceed to make all this impossible. They were saying in the second part of this resolution, that if the Co-operative Movement, or a single Co-operative Society, wanted to affiliate and run candidates, they could not affiliate them. That was the position. He admitted it was not the intention, but it was his business, as Secretary, to see that they did not do something one day which was inconsistent with what they had done on another day. There was trouble in connection with one organisation and it was going to be considered. The new Executive was definitely committed to the early consideration of the question involved in the dispute with regard to the Seamen's Union and the candidate at South Shields. They were prepared to do so, but they hoped the Conference would not carry the second part of this resolution as it was worded, though the intention of Mr. Williams and those associated with him might be strictly correct. The Executive would deal with the matter, and if a new rule were necessary, they would bring it up to be dealt with at the next Conference. He suggested they should take the first part of the resolution and allow the second part to stand over.

MR. ROBERT WILLIAMS said he thought the Secretary had made a very frank statement, and he was going to ask his friends to accept Mr. Henderson's promise, and to consent to the proposal to delete the last four lines, feeling sure that the other part of the resolution would receive the unanimous approval of the Conference.

The first paragraph of the resolution was then put to the Conference and was carried, only one hand being held up against it.

LABOUR PRIVY COUNCILLORS.

MR. E. H. PARKER (Bristol Labour Party) moved the following resolution:—

> That in the opinion of this Conference no useful purpose can be served by any member of the Labour Party becoming a Privy Councillor.

He said that this resolution had been purposely framed in such a way as to avoid, if possible, any sort of personal matter entering into the discussion. What they wanted from the Conference was its point of view with regard to the position of Privy Councillors. During this Conference the word "democracy" had been played with, and the words "democratic government" had been upon the lips of every other speaker. This resolution would prove whether they really meant what they said. If they did, he thought they would all agree that institutions like the Privy Council were the very antithesis of democracy. It was in that spirit, and in that spirit alone that the resolution was placed on the paper. He could not conceive the Conference passing a reso-

lution which would admit that any Labour representative should be given a peerage, for the reason that the House of Lords was an unrepresentative body with only heredity to keep it going. The essence of the whole principle of the Labour Movement was republican, and a body like the Privy Council, which sat around the King, was quite opposed to the principles they professed in their Conferences and in all their literature. They were not asking for the resignation from that body of the present members of the Party who were Privy Councillors, or that they should be expelled. He contended that they had no right to allow people to take positions of that kind and then, at their leisure, throw them out. But they did ask the Conference to express an opinion on this matter so that they would know exactly where they stood when they were speaking from the public platform.

Mr. Tom Stubbs (Blaydon Labour Party) said that his Party was not in any sense actuated by prejudice against individuals who were now members of the Privy Council, but they believed it was not in the best interests of the Party to have any of their leading members associated with such a body. The Party ought to stand for the complete overthrow of the present capitalist system and the ushering in of a Socialistic Republic, and they, in the Blaydon division, were more than convinced that this would be absolutely impossible so long as there were leaders of the Party who were members of the Privy Council. They also believed, rightly or wrongly, that the failure of the Triple Alliance on that memorable Friday was due, more or less, to the influence that had been brought to bear upon the Privy Councillors by the Government. The Government, realising the seriousness of a national strike, brought all the influence they could to bear on the Labour leaders through the Privy Council. The principle for which the Labour Party stood was far greater than individualism, and he thought their leaders should throw their personal ambitions on one side in the interests of the Party as a whole.

Mr. John Jagger (Distributive Trades) said he was not a member of the Privy Council, and he did not think that even a Labour Government would make him one. Therefore it could not be said that he was one of those ambitious persons with an axe to grind. But he opposed this resolution for the same reason that he opposed the heresy-hunting resolution on Tuesday, and for the same reason that he hoped to oppose the resolution with regard to the Freemasons. If the Labour Party was going to get the position in the country which some of the Executive appeared to think they were likely to do in the near future, it was high time they should drop this kind of talk. The seconder of the resolution had done a good deal to give point to his objection. The mover of the resolution said it was an attack on no one, but the seconder of the resolution, using the speech which he had evidently prepared for the second resolution which had now been withdrawn, made it perfectly clear that it was an attack upon certain Privy Councillors for their alleged conduct, or misconduct on "Black Friday." He was prepared to say what he thought about what happened on "Black Friday" when that was a question before the Conference, but he was not going to hang, draw and quarter any man for what he did on "Black Friday" because he was a member of the Privy Council or a Freemason.

Rt. Hon. Arthur Henderson remarked that the previous speaker had said he was not a Privy Councillor and he thought he was never likely to become one. It was no use telling them that he (Mr. Henderson) *was* a Privy Councillor, the oldest Privy Councillor possibly in the Labour Movement. But the resolution did not touch him. If they would read the resolution they would see it was only making provision for the future. That was why he objected to it. What the mover and the seconder of the resolution ought really to aim at, was not to put on this restriction, but to aim at a constitutional change by which the Privy Council as a whole would be abolished. They had heard several times during this Conference—as they heard at all Conferences—that they ought to put forward their best effort to secure the return of a Labour Government. Suppose that eventuated at the next Election, were all their Cabinet Ministers to intimate that whilst they would take office they refused to be Privy Councillors? (A voice: "Yes.") He happened to be a Privy Councillor long before he took office, but if he had not been, by taking Cabinet Office he would have automatically become a Privy Councillor. And so, in the Golden Age which was to come, when Mr. MacDonald was Prime Minister or Foreign Minister, he would have to become a Privy Councillor. But (Mr. Henderson asked) was this a side wind for raising the question of Republicanism? (A voice: "Why not?") He was not saying "Why not?" but he did say: Let it be done in the straightforward way. Let them know where they were. They had got hundreds of thousands of people—millions of people—into the Movement, but not as a Republican Movement, and if they were going to change their position, let it be done in a straightforward way. They were assuming that the King would be there when a Labour Ministry was required; or at any rate he was sufficiently hopeful that it would come so soon that the King would be there, and that the Cabinet Ministers, whether MacDonald, or Clynes, or Thomas, or Henderson, would automatically, as Cabinet Ministers, become Privy Councillors. This resolution said "No useful purpose can be served by any member of the Labour Party becoming a Privy Councillor." Therefore, he supposed, they had got to choose, if this resolution was carried, and he knew it would not be—there was too much commonsense in this Conference—but if it did by accident get carried—well, he would leave the point because his three minutes were up.

Mr. Ernest Bevin asked that some member of the Privy Council should, for the enlightenment of the Movement, tell them exactly what the functions of the Privy Council were.

Mr. Henderson, in reply, said that he had had no functions to discharge as a Privy Councillor except when he was a Cabinet Minister. It was an honour, and might he say, he hoped it was the only honour that any Labour man would ever accept. In his opinion it was the only honour that was pure in the whole of the honours given in the country. He hoped it would always remain pure, and that they would not be anxious to put an embargo upon their people, especially for the reasons he had given.

Rt. Hon. J. H. Thomas, M.P. (National Union of Railwaymen) said he wished to enter a protest against a resolution being placed on the Agenda under the guise of an attempt to deal with the constitution of the country, while, as a matter of fact, the seconder had clearly indicated that it was a personal matter. The only two Privy Councillors connected with "Black Friday" were Tom Richards and himself. The South Wales Miners would answer as to whether Tom Richards was a traitor, and the Railwaymen would answer for him (Mr. Thomas). In the second place, if they were going to make a clear issue that the Labour Party stood for a Republic in this country, let them do it by a motion, and take their chance at the ballot box, and he was perfectly certain they would get the verdict. But when they, in the Labour Movement, were compelled, in the interests of their Society and in the interests of their Movement to take a definite stand on an industrial matter, they ought not to be subject to the miserable personal attacks that were made. The people mainly responsible for those attacks were responsible for bringing the Movement to the unfortunate position it was in to-day. Their contribution had been to engender suspicion in the whole rank and file of the Movement, and he said, as a Trade Union leader and a Privy Councillor, that he would be responsible, as leader, to his own Union—the Railwaymen. Let them judge and give the answer. On the Privy Council he had never been called upon to do anything foreign to the interests of democracy or against the interests of his own class. For that reason he refused to give an answer to the mean, miserable, personal attacks with regard to the happenings on "Black Friday," and he was going to remain a Privy Councillor in spite of it.

Mr. E. H. Parker (Bristol Labour Party), in replying to the discussion, said he was exceedingly sorry this matter had been taken in the way it had, and he wished to repudiate in the name of the Bristol Party any foul design in submitting the resolution. They had had this thing on the platform and in their literature, and it was time an opinion was given by Conference so that they might know where they were. With regard to the Republican side of the discussion, he submitted that that was merely a personal opinion. When he said that the essence of democracy was republicanism, he was expressing his own opinion and there was no foul design in that. He was rather a "wee chap" to be sat on by Mr. Henderson, but he knew he would get it. As a result of this resolution, however, they had elicited information which would clear the air, and they now knew where they stood. He was going to stand by the resolution, and he hoped it would be put to the Conference and that some of those people who were so fond of saying things about this matter would stand by their convictions when it came to the vote.

A card vote was then taken on the resolution, and the result was declared as follows :

For the resolution	386,000
Against the resolution ..	3,694,000
Majority against ..	3,308,000

FREEMASONS.

Mrs. A. Jarrett (North Kensington Trades Council and Labour Party) moved :

> That no Freemason be eligible for office for either the National or London Labour Parties.

She said she was moving this not because Freemasonry was undemocratic, but because their local opponents used it very effectively against them. One had only to be on a Local Governing body for a short time to see its influence. She asked, what chance had an applicant for any appointment or promotion if he had not been initiated into the craft ? The Labour Party stood for clean politics, and if they saw this sort of thing going on on Local Governing bodies, they might reasonably ask what happened in the House of Commons. If Freemasonry was good, it should come out into the light of day so that they could all share in its service and benefit. They looked upon it as an organisation which was not honest, and she moved this resolution because, in the Royal Borough of Kensington, they were suffering at the present time from an overdose of Freemasonry.

A Delegate formally seconded the motion, whereupon another delegate moved "the previous question."

The Chairman said that as this was a matter dealing with individuals he was prepared to take "the previous question."

On the motion being put to the Conference

The previous question

was carried unanimously.

TRADE UNION OFFICIALS.

Mr. H. F. Heaviside (Doncaster Divisional Labour Party) moved the following resolution :—

> That all Trade Union officials on being elected to Parliament be required to resign their positions in their respective Trade Unions.

He said that the principle involved in this resolution had already been accepted by many organisations affiliated to the Labour Party, but the Doncaster Labour Party desired an expression of opinion as to whether it would not be desirable for all Trade Union officials, upon election, to resign their various offices in their organisations. He thought they would all agree, especially after the emergency resolution on the Trade Union Bill which had already been passed, that the opportunity for constitutional action in the Labour Party was being diminished and circumscribed by restrictions which, in his opinion, would make constitutional action in the near future as difficult as it would be for a camel to go through the eye of a needle.

There was no seconder to this resolution, and it therefore fell to the ground.

SPECIAL PARTY CONFERENCES.

Mr. H. J. Bullivant (East Lewisham Divisional Labour Party) formally moved the following resolution:—

> That the Agenda for all Special Conferences be circulated to the constituent bodies beforehand, and that the findings of Special Conferences be circulated to the constituent bodies for ratification or otherwise before publication.

Mr. J. Foster (West Ham Labour Party) formally seconded the motion.

Mr. Henderson hoped they were not going to rush a resolution of this character through the Conference. The complaint arose out of a Special Conference. The Executive had to choose between having a Special Conference on some emergency question, which was a matter of 10 days, or delay the matter by giving several weeks' notice and an opportunity to send in amendments. They would most decidedly send a notice if it were a Conference they would be able to foresee for weeks and weeks before; they would do that for their own peace of mind. The second part of the resolution said that the decisions of the Special Party Conferences, before being acted upon, should be sent out to the whole of the organisations, representing four million members, for ratification. That meant, if they wanted to send a resolution to the Government or any other authority, they would have to wait weeks and possibly months before they could get a reply from the whole of the organisations saying that they ratified it, and if they failed to ratify it they would not know what to do. He thought it would be much better not to carry the resolution, and allow the Executive to go on and do the best they could.

The previous question

was moved, and, on being put to the vote, was carried.

REGIONAL CONFERENCES.

Mr. H. G. Hall (Broxtowe Divisional Labour Party) moved the following resolution:

> That this Conference approves the action of the National Executive in holding Regional Conferences, and agrees that these should be held annually, thus letting the rank and file know the magnitude of the Party.

He congratulated the Executive on the manner in which the Regional Conferences had been carried out, and said that the resolution was asking that they should become annual events. The reason was because they found in these Conferences the local workers in the Labour Party were enabled to realise the magnitude of the Movement. He and others who had had to do with divisional work were being badgered right and left in their county constituencies to get national speakers down. They quite realised that this was impossible, as the national speakers were so much occupied. They therefore asked this Conference to endorse the action of the National Executive in holding Regional Conferences and to agree that they be held annually so as to enable those workers in the local Labour Parties, who were doing noble work, to realise and to have opportunities of knowing and hearing the methods by which the Party was conducted. They were particularly pleased that in those Conferences the morning sessions were arranged for local Labour Party secretaries, who were thereby enabled to give their opinion as to the possibility of effecting reforms from their point of view.

Councillor Herbert Rose, J.P. (Liverpool Trades Council and Labour Party), in seconding the motion, said that in Liverpool they realised that the only way in which they could get national speakers down was through these Regional Conferences. The Regional Conference in Liverpool last year, he said, did an immense amount of good.

Mr. Henderson stated that the Regional Conferences were possibly one of the greatest successes that they had ever conducted, but the resolution went a little too far in saying they must be held annually. If, for instance, there was an Election next year, surely they would not want them to go round with a series of Regional Conferences immediately after the Election; but as the time for a General Election was approaching it might be necessary to have Regional Conferences twice annually. He thought if they would leave it to the Executive they would take no harm.

The resolution was then withdrawn.

APPOINTMENT OF SPECIAL CANVASSERS.

Mr. F. H. Edwards (Bury Labour Party) proposed the following resolution :—

> That the Executive Committee arrange to furnish Local Labour Parties with the names and addresses of reliable persons who could be engaged by them to do special canvassing work in order to increase the Individual Membership of the Party ; particulars of remuneration required and information as to special qualifications also to be supplied.

In a Conference of that character, he said, it was not only desirable that large national issues should be dealt with, but also technical matters connected with organisation. The resolution was one of considerable importance. If they would turn to page 49 of the Executive Committee's Report they would find that there had been a decrease in affiliations of Societies to the Labour Party, and what was worse, a decline in affiliated membership. He submitted that in all probability—he hoped he was wrong—there would be a further decline in next year's Report, unless special efforts were taken between now and then to cultivate an increase in membership. The question was important from more than one aspect. Local Labour Parties, in many cases, had a serious struggle in order to carry on their work. Some of them were generously assisted by the Unions which had adopted candidates, and in a number of cases such Unions had been so generously disposed as to assist in the matter of the appointment of special canvassers. He thought the Executive Committee could do much good work by collecting information as to the names, addresses and qualifications of those who were most likely to serve in this special effort. There were cases in Lancashire where individual membership had been considerably increased by such means, and when they recognised that the Unionist Party in particular was employing special agents to counteract the efforts of the Labour Party, it was surely very desirable they should engage in intensive work of this character. The individual membership of the Party was, in his opinion, of proportionately greater value than the affiliated Society membership. They relied mainly on the individual membership for electoral work. By supporting this resolution they would be strengthening the Labour Party both locally and nationally.

Mr. A. Durward (Pollok Divisional Labour Party) seconded the resolution. He said it was unfortunate they had not the necessary machinery to do this special work in the Party. By adopting this system and by other methods they could gradually accumulate an amount of information which, as years went on, would make success absolutely assured. He, personally, did not want to enter any fight without first knowing on paper whether he was going to win or lose. They wanted information to enable them to decide whether they should run a Labour candidate or not, or how many Labour candidates they should run in a particular division. If they were to have anything in the shape of a permanent Labour Party they would need permanent data based upon absolute information, and that information could only be obtained by work of this kind.

Mr. Tom Shaw, M.P., hoped the Conference would turn down this resolution, which, if carried, would mean that the National Office would have to raise and develop men who could go from door to door in any town canvassing for members, which would be nothing more nor less than spoon-feeding. The National Office could supply literature and could help with speakers, but if local Labour Parties were to be spoon-fed from headquarters, rather than learn to stand on their own feet, it would do more harm than good. The sooner they understood that their own local work must be done by themselves and that it could not be done by a national body, the better it would be for the Local Parties and the National Party too. The resolution contained a bad principle and he hoped the Conference would turn it down.

The resolution, on being put to the vote, was lost.

PARTY FINANCE.

Mr. H. G. Hall (Broxtowe Divisional Labour Party) moved the following resolution :—

> That this Conference thinks the time has arrived when all political Labour Funds should be pooled, and requests the National Executive Committee to arrange a Conference of all affiliated Societies to discuss this and report to next Conference.

He said he wanted the Conference to realise that this was a matter of principle, which, sooner or later, would have to be put into operation by the Labour Party. From the reactionary press recently they had learned that the Prime Minister was continually sending out S.O.S.'s to the orthodox Parties to combine to defeat the challengers of the Government. They were not, in this resolution, criticising the position up to date, and they were not criticising the Trade Unions for being allowed to have sole control of their own political assets ; but they did ask the Conference to take note that the time was rapidly approaching when there had got to be a co-ordination policy in regard to the finances of the Movement, and they believed that this was the time when a forward step should be taken. At that Conference they had passed a resolution disapproving of the Trade Union Amendment Bill—the Bill by which the Government was trying to destroy the political influence of the Trade Union organisation. The delegates had expressed their disapproval of that in no faltering manner. He asked them to consider the advisability of referring this matter to a conference of Trade Unions to consider and report to the next Conference.

They were asking for a pool. He submitted if it was good for the miners from an industrial standpoint to have a pool, it was good for them from a political standpoint.

Mr. Jack Mills, M.P. (Dartford Divisional Labour Party) seconded the motion. If they could secure the adhesion of the "Big Five," which was extremely unlikely, there would be created a pool which would be sufficient for their purpose. The experience of recent by-elections, where unofficial candidates had been run and where vast expenditure had been incurred, was that a burden had been placed on the Local Parties under which they would suffer for years. It should be laid down that the Movement was no longer prepared to accept a candidate simply because he had the backing of a Trade Union. This resolution put upon every constituency the responsibility of providing a certain amount of money before a grant could be made from headquarters. He believed that was better than the present method of flinging a candidate at a constituency, or a constituency jumping at a candidate, whose sole qualification was that he or she could provide the funds to carry on the candidature.

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald said that they had had the principle of this resolution discussed three times, and those who had pressed for it with the idea of getting out of their difficulties had not advanced one single point. He would like the Labour Party to be a Movement where the candidates were selected because they were capable of doing the work in the best possible way. He claimed that this resolution did not get them out of their difficulty. The men who were financed by the Central Office of the Liberal and Tory Parties, were generally the most abject men in the House of Commons, following their Whip whenever the Whip told them to do so. They wanted a Party of free men, accepting a discipline which was not servitude, but a discipline which was an obligation of a man to his colleagues inside the House of Commons and outside the House of Commons. They were not going to get that by putting an enormous sum of money under the control of four or five men who happened, for the moment, to be on the Executive. Moreover, the resolution proposed that they should have a Conference of all affiliated Societies to discuss this question and report to another Conference. What was the use of that? They were going to bring delegates up to discuss the question, and when they had resolved what they wanted they were to report to themselves sitting six months or so after they had come to their conclusions. Any help delegates could give the Executive in solving this financial difficulty would be welcome, but he hoped they would put brains into their proposal, and say how it could be worked satisfactorily and what relations ought to be established between the central body and the constituency, and relate that to the general question of finance. The problem would remain unsolved until the Local Parties gave a better lead than was given in this resolution.

The previous question

was then moved and carried.

Mr. Will Thorne, M.P., on behalf of the Conference Arrangements Committee, said a request had been made that "Agriculture" should be taken in preference to any other resolution. The Committee had considered the matter and had come to the conclusion that they could not report in its favour. Another request was that they should recommend the suspension of the Standing Orders while the "War Loan Interest" resolution was discussed, but the Committee considered that half-an-hour for the discussion of that resolution was quite sufficient and they therefore could not recommend the suspension of the Standing Orders.

Mr. J. Beard (Workers' Union) moved that the Conference should not accept that part of the Committee's report which refused to allow the Agricultural resolution to be debated immediately.

The Chairman declined to accept the motion.

A Delegate asked whether the ruling of the Chair was that if a delegate moved the deletion of part of the Committee's report the Chairman could refuse to accept it.

The Chairman replied that he wanted to take the questions first, and he would consider the point raised after the questions had been dealt with. Of course, if the delegate insisted on moving the amendment he must take it, but he appealed to them from the Chair to allow it to drop.

Mr. R. B. Walker (Agricultural Workers' Union) suggested that as many delegates were anxious to speak on the matter, it might be possible to take that subject immediately after lunch.

The Chairman replied that the matter had been reported on by the Committee. If the motion was put if would be for the delegates to decide. There had been two Special Conferences on agricultural policy, and now to come and ask for everything to be put aside in order to discuss it again was rather a tall order.

Mr. Walker asked for an assurance that the subject would be brought up. What they were anxious about was that the Conference would not close without some declaration.

The Chairman replied that he could not give an assurance which the delegates would have to honour.

The matter then dropped.

Mr. Jack Mills, M.P., raised the question of a delegate from South Africa not being permitted to take part in the Conference.

Mr. Thorne replied that some delegate from South Africa came to the Standing Orders Committee and wanted permission

to put the position of the South African Labour Party and other matters before the Congress. The Committee told him that the South African Labour Party should have sent a letter to the Executive so that the matter could have been considered. They did not know whether the person in question was a *bona fide* delegate and therefore they had to tell him politely that his request could not be acceded to.

The Conference then unanimously resolved to send a message to Mr. A. H. Jones, the Labour and Co-operative Candidate at the Nottingham By-Election, wishing him success and urging the electors of Nottingham to secure his return to Parliament.

Mr. Robert Smillie suggested that a message should be sent from the Conference to the Irish Labour Party congratulating the workers of Ireland on the magnificent success achieved at the recent election.

This was agreed to, and a further resolution was carried calling for the release of John Maclean, in prison for sedition.

Mr. Jack Jones, M.P., suggested sending a message of congratulation to their Hungarian comrades on their success in the recent elections, but Mr. Henderson said that that had already been done through the International.

FRATERNAL DELEGATE.

The fraternal greetings of the Trades Union Congress were conveyed to the Conference by Mr. R. B. Walker, the Chairman of the General Council, who said he thought it would be impossible to escape an atmosphere of somewhat unnecessary formality, if it were not for the fact that these few moments provided an opportunity for them to note in passing the steps by which a complete unity of the two Movements was being gradually brought about. He supposed he was the first fraternal delegate from the General Council of the industrial side, but he could not help being hopeful at any rate that the list of his successors would be a short one. The two aspects of their Movement, the political and the industrial, were still distinct, but the boundaries between them were becoming every year less clearly marked. To-day everybody recognised that behind the political struggles of Europe's statesmen were the fights, the competitions and the trickeries of the industrial world. Perhaps, however, one of the most hopeful signs of the times was the increasing recognition which this fact was gaining amongst the workers in the various trades. They had heard a good deal during the year of the Liberal and Tory workmen who, after being secured by purely disinterested people, had discovered what an outrage it was that they, through their Trade Unions, should be mixed up in the politics of the Labour Party. He thought that they would be the last people to assert that every single member of every single Trade Union was a keen and enthusiastic supporter of his or her political party. They had still the apathetic ones amongst them. But education and the stern pressure of economic facts were doing their work, and the recognition for a new principle on which to organise human society—a new principle such as was the basis of the philosophy of the Labour Movement—was making its sure and certain way amongst their members. In that fact lay their strength. During the year there had been set up a body from which those who were watching events with close attention were expecting much really valuable work. He referred to the National Joint Council. Some critics of the two sides of the Movement in the past had wondered what had become of their many resolutions, and why it was that what was said in Conference or Congress had no greater effect than it did have on their subsequent activities. He did not propose to discuss the question as to whether the complaint was justified or not, but he was certain that, with this new Council at work, no such complaint would be reasonable in the future. As one who had had some little experience in its working, he could say that it meant business, and that its setting up had been a great gain for the Movement. Was it not a significant fact, he asked, that that very principle of the interdependence of their political and industrial work (their belief in which accounted for his presence at the Conference) should be the subject of such bitter attack from their opponents? They could safely say that there had never been a development among the activities of the organised workers which had been watched with more alarm by these people. They had flung their accusations of Bolshevism and extremism on every hand, thereby showing that their fear was not so much of any scatterbrained extremists there might be, but of the solid body of soberly-thinking men and women whose attitude towards the present system was the result of earnest thought and study, and whom they hoped to discredit with these wild epithets. Indeed he thought they might regard these outbursts as a recognition of the fact that new power, derived from the thoughtful and intelligent support of the workers, was being added to their Movement daily. In conclusion he said he regarded it as a great gain that the Labour Party had published its agricultural programme. At first that might seem to be a matter concerned with but one industry only, and therefore not one to be introduced into these few remarks; but it was a much bigger thing than that. If that agricultural policy became an integral part of the campaign of every worker for the Labour cause, he could predict a magnificent addition to the strength of Labour throughout the country. There was a fine type of worker on the land, by no means deficient in penetration, whose support would be an invaluable—he would venture to add, an indispensable—addition to their strength. He hoped that everyone was going to work hard to win the countryside for Labour. He was sure it could be done. Moreover, such an effort would put an end for ever to the divorce between the life and interests of the

workers on the farms and those of the workers in the towns. Every effort was being made by agents of other parties to exploit that want of understanding to the full. These efforts must be defeated. The workers in the country must be shown that they and their fellows in urban areas must stand together. It had been stated by the New Agricultural Party, which was another enemy to the solidarity of the workers, that there were 50 constituencies which were wholly agricultural and about 100 more in which agriculture was the dominating interest. This was a big field waiting for their work. He was looking for the time when Labour's propaganda, its literature, its daily paper, and its other publications would go into every household throughout the country, whether in busy towns or in the remotest hamlet. They must broadcast their message, perhaps in a literal as well as in a metaphorical sense. They wanted every worker not only to hear it, but to know it, and to appreciate it; and if that was done and that Conference contributed to that end, then they could rest satisfied that the time given up to it could not have been devoted to any better purpose. He would be saying less than what was true if he did not emphasise that he and his colleagues on the industrial side fully recognised the immense importance of those proceedings, and if he did not pass on to them the wish that their 1922 Conference might be numbered amongst the most successful they had ever held.

THE CHAIRMAN remarked he need hardly say on behalf of the Conference that they received these greetings with very great pleasure, and extended their thanks to Mr. Walker for conveying them. He also wished to return the greeting of the Conference to the Trades Union Congress in exchange.

ALLOTMENTS TO BRANCH FUNDS.

MR. T. M. LARRAD (Manchester Labour Party) moved the following resolution :—

That the National Executive communicate with the National Executives of Trade Unions urging upon them to make more generous allotment to the Political Funds of their Branches, in order to enable such Branches to contribute increased fees to the Local Labour Parties in their area, and also to bring pressure upon their Branches to affiliate to the Local Labour Parties.

He said that last year the Manchester Labour Party agreed to increase their fee, and most of the Unions, in spite of their financial difficulty, willingly agreed to pay that increased fee, which amounted to 6d. per member per annum, and they hoped they would be able thereby to do a great deal of increased political organisation. But they found a number of Trade Union branches in Manchester were committed by their national rules and regulations, and could not pay the increased affiliation fee even when they were willing to do so. The resolution asked the National Executive to take this matter into consideration, and to recommend to the Executives of the big Trade Unions, either to revise their rules or make some other arrangements whereby local Trade Union branches could take part in local Labour Party work and contribute as some other branches had. The Trade Unions generally were willing to pay and were, in fact, paying to the best of their ability, but many of them were hindered by their national regulations over which the local branches had no control.

MR. ADAM STEWART (Ipswich Trades Council and Labour Party) seconded the resolution and said it was very necessary there should be a more generous allotment to the political funds of the branches. There were some Unions that paid 1s. and there were others, like the National Union of General Workers, which paid only 2d. per year. He wished to know how it was possible to create a political organisation on 2d. per year. In Ipswich they had approximately 9,000 affiliations, and not one-half of their income came from affiliation fees. They spent last year about £150 in Municipal Elections, all of which had to be raised by voluntary contributions, whist drives, dances and schemes of that sort. It was a much as the Local Parties could do to find the money to keep their heads above water, far less to put anything aside for running General Elections. At the present time, with a General Election close upon them, many Local Parties had no money with which to contest the seats, and they would be unable to run candidates without help.

MR. RAMSAY MACDONALD said that the Executive were willing to accept this resolution in spirit. They had done this before, but they knew that the matter had not been completely settled. But if Local Parties who really had a grievance in this matter would send to the Head Office and state exactly their financial position, everything possible would be done to help them. This was especially so in regard to the latter part of the resolution where they were asked to bring pressure upon the branches to affiliate to the Local Labour Parties. They would do that with pleasure.

MR. W. SHERWOOD (National Union of General Workers), referring to the statement made by Mr. Stewart as to the contribution from his Union, said that the Labourers' organisations did more to create the Labour Party and did more to finance the Party, nationally as well as locally, than any other Trade Union in the country. In Poplar alone the General Workers' Union had an absolute majority on the Town Council, and the bulk of these men went to jail for their principles. Ever since the Union had been in existence they had had a contribution from their members for financing local bodies, and had run their own men from their own Union on the Guardians, City and Town Councils, and other bodies, in addition to what they paid as affiliation to the National Party. They also paid £4,000 per annum for the maintenance of local machinery in the constituencies where their members were selected to fight.

A DELEGATE moved

That the question be now put,

which was carried, and the motion, on being submitted to the Conference, was adopted.

WOMEN'S SECTIONS' NATIONAL COUNCIL.

MR. T. M. LARRAD (Manchester Labour Party) moved the following resolution :—

That this Conference, whilst thanking the Standing Joint Committee of Women's Industrial Organisations for acting as Advisory Committee on Women's Questions to the Labour Party, during the formation and organisation of the Women's Sections, considers that the time has now arrived for the women politically-organised within the Labour Party to have their own National Council representative of the Women's Sections, with direct representation on the National Executive of the Party.

This resolution, he remarked, meant a certain amount of reorganisation of the Labour Party, and he had been asked by the Manchester Borough Labour Party to move it because they thought it was time they treated the Women's Sections as a very important part of the organisation of the Labour Movement. He did not wish to criticise the Standing Joint Committee or what had happened in the past. In fact this resolution thanked the Committee for the work that had been done. Nor was he there to advocate special privileges or conditions for women. He believed that in the Labour Movement women should have equal rights and equal responsibilities with men. But they had found that women had special interests and had a special point of view. They were not, generally speaking, very enthusiastic in coming into the Labour Movement and taking their part shoulder to shoulder with the men in the general work. Women's Sections were needful and had been found very useful, and he thought they should be encouraged. He wanted them organised so that the Women's Local Sections should have their own National Council composed of representatives of Women's Sections, and that that Women's National Council should have direct representation on the National Executive. The women who did the work in the constituencies, the wives of working members in the constituencies who did the leaflet distribution, the canvassing and the street-corner work, should be represented on this National Council and also on the Executive Committee.

COUNCILLOR C. W. GARDNER (Warwick and Leamington Divisional Labour Party), in seconding the motion, said it was only fair that the women should be directly represented both at the Annual Conference and also on the Executive, seeing the amount of work they had done up and down the country for the benefit of the Labour Party. They also ought to recognise the amount of money which these various organisations of women had brought into the Movement. As a Trade Unionist and also as a leader of the Labour Movement locally he realised that under no consideration could they do without the assistance of the women. They had done even more work, in a good many instances, than the men

MISS E. H. HOWSE (Union of Post Office Workers) opposed the resolution. She was getting heartily sick of this talk of helping the women forward. The women of Manchester or of any other place could secure their position on the Executive of the Labour Party under the present system, but unfortunately the women did not see they were sent forward as representatives. If the women were doing more work than the men, why were they not at this Conference ? They did not in the Trade Union Movement gather them together in a Section by themselves, but they said : "Come into the Movement ; let us aim at the same goal." She wanted to see the women coming in on equal terms with the men, and she maintained they were competent to do it, but if the women had not the sense to use their votes to send their representatives to Conference, they deserved to remain in the background. She was quite sure that what was proposed in this resolution was the wrong line to take. It was merely the spoon-feeding again, and she hoped the men present, if they desired the women to move with them towards the goal to which the Labour Party was moving, would turn down this resolution by an overwhelming vote.

The resolution was then put to the Conference and defeated by a very large majority.

The Conference then adjourned.

THURSDAY, JUNE 29th.

Afternoon Session.

THE CARD VOTE.

MR. H. J. BULLIVANT (East Lewisham Divisional Labour Party) moved the following resolution :—

Seeing that Trade Unionists have adequate and ample representation and opportunities for expressing their ideas and voicing their opinions in the Local Trades and Labour Councils and Local Labour Parties, this Conference decides that "block" Trade Union voting at Labour Party Conferences be suspended *sine die.*

He said that the present position was that while individual Trade Unionists were finding the money, when they got to Conference to determine the policy of the Party their votes were swamped. They were sent to Conference with a mandate and yet by means of the card vote the wishes of their constituents were nullified. He submitted that the Trade Union delegates should come to Conference as units and they should adopt the democratic principle of "one man one vote."

The motion was formally seconded.

Mr. Henderson said that the unfortunate ide of this resolution was that they were nvited to suspend the present system of oting, and there was nothing in the Con- titution providing for any other system. t was all very well to say that the repre- entatives of the Trade Union—who were roviding 90 or 95 per cent. of the funds pon which the Party was carried on—should ome here with one vote, but it had to be emembered that the Unions had been nvited to come in and pay money into the unds of the Party on certain conditions, and hey should not create an entirely different ystem such as this. He hoped the Confer- nce would turn down the proposal.

The motion was lost.

SUPPORT OF UNOFFICIAL CANDIDATES.

Mr. J. Walsh (S.E. Leeds Divisional abour Party) moved :—

> That this Conference protests against the inaction of the National Executive Committee in not taking steps to prevent National members of the Party from supporting Candidates running in opposition to Official Candidates at Local Elections.

He said he wanted, as far as possible, to void personalities in introducing this matter, ut he was obliged to refer to someone. ast October, in the East Ward, which was art of the S.E. Division of Leeds, they dopted a woman candidate for the County ouncil Election. A section of the General Workers' Union then brought along one f their most prominent men, Mr. Walt Wood, who claimed to be the real candidate. As here was considerable difficulty in dealing vith the matter locally they appealed to Mr. Clynes and Mr. Henderson to see if hey could not do something but they ailed to get what they considered satisfac- ion. Mr. Will Thorne and Mr. Jack Jones vere advertised to speak for Mr. Walt Wood. Mr. Thorne did not appear but Mr. Jones lid. The contest went on and created a ery bad impression locally, and they thought hat that sort of thing ought to be stopped.

Mr. C Maher (Workers' Union) seconded he resolution, and hoped that the Executive f the Party would see that in future mem- ers of the Executive were not allowed to peak on behalf of candidates who were pposing the official Labour Candidates.

A Delegate, representing the Transport Workers, said that this was a matter that pplied to more than the local differences hat had occurred in Leeds, and he thought hey should have an assurance from the Executive that they would use their best ndeavours to see that it did not happen gain, that one member of the Parliamentary abour Party was speaking in support of ne candidate and another Member speaking n support of the other.

Mr. James J. Braily (Leeds Trades and Labour Council) said there was nothing in the resolution against Mr. Walt Wood, who had had a promise given him by certain Labour officials. He had invited Mr. Clynes, Mr. Thorne and Mr. Jack Jones to come down. Mr. Clynes and Mr. Thorne got to know the position, but Mr. Jack Jones did not, and when he was told of it at the time he said he would have to remain until he was called back by his Union.

Mr. Henderson, in reply, said that when his attention was called to what was going on in Leeds he informed Mr. Jack Jones of it, but was told the arrangement had been made for some time and that it was only an ordinary trade meeting for which he was fixed. The matter came before the Executive, but what could the Executive do? They could not take action against a man who was speaking for one of his Trade Union colleagues. If any censure was to be passed at all, it should be a censure upon the Executive of the Union in whose service Mr. Jack Jones was at the time. The Executive felt that under the present Constitution it had no power to take further action.

Coun. J. Arnott (Leeds Borough Labour Party) said there ought to be some means by which the Executive could bring pressure to bear on a Union in circumstances such as had happened here.

Mr. Walt Wood (National Union of General Workers) said he was quite prepared to meet the local people and go into the matter. As a matter of fact the understanding which he had with them from the previous year was such that they could not oppose his representation, as a citizen of Leeds for 13 years, on the Council. Why they should come there to discuss the matter he did not know. They had never asked him to explain why he took up the attitude he did, and he could only come to the conclusion that it was because he supported the people who were supporting the war, like Shaw, Clynes, Thorne, Jones and others. He wanted to fight the thing out at home, and not in that Conference. He had spent the whole of his life in the Labour Movement and had been fighting for it in America, in Canada, in Germany and in every part of the Continent. He moved that the matter be referred back so that the parties could consult together.

The Chairman made an appeal that the resolution should be withdrawn, as it was a small matter and should not engage the time of the Conference, but Mr. Walsh said he was merely the mouthpiece of others and was not, therefore, in the position to withdraw it.

The previous question

was then moved and, on being put to the vote, was carried.

NATIONALISATION.

MR. JOS. SULLIVAN (Miners' Federation) moved the following resolution :—

I.

That the Labour Party bring pressure to bear on the Government to take over all Hospitals, Infirmaries, and Convalescent Homes, and maintain them out of public funds.

He said that they took the view that hospitals should not depend on private charity. The working classes were more and more being asked to contribute to their upkeep, and it was time that the Government took them over.

The motion was formally seconded and was carried without discussion.

MR. FRANK HODGES (Miners' Federation) moved the following resolution :—

II.

That this Conference reiterates its demand for the Nationalisation of all essential means of wealth production, distribution, and exchange, and instructs the Executive Committee of the Labour Party to insert in any programme for a General Election the immediate necessity of the Nationalisation of the Land, Mines, and other essential Public Services.

This Conference further declares, however, that when Nationalisation enables industry to be conducted for the public welfare instead of private gain, the spirit of social service and the efficient production of the Nation's needs will only be possible if the organisation of industry is founded upon the principle of democratic control, including those engaged in the work of production and distribution.

He said they considered the time had come when there should be no doubt about the programme of the Party at the General Election in connection with the Nationalisation of Mines, Land, Railways and essential public services. It was this question of Nationalisation which distinguished the Labour Party's practical programme from the practical programme of any of the other Parties. There had been a danger, within the last year or so, of the language of the other Parties approximating to that used by the Labour Party, until it had required, oftimes, a very careful analysis to distinguish in the written statements the difference of fundamentals in an election programme. For example, the Liberals had approximated the language of the Labour Party in respect of foreign policy. Some Liberals used the same language as the Labour Party in respect of finance and the capital levy. A particular Liberal used the actual language of the Labour Party in respect of the Nationalisation of Railways. He supposed, however, as parties, there would be a line of demarcation between the other Parties and the Labour Party in setting forth the programme for a General Election, when they came to considerations of a change from private ownership of a National Service to National Ownership. Something arresting, something big and something practical would have to be placed before the mind of the British public before the Labour Party could hope substantially to increase its political power. They had had a tragic experience in the mining industry of seeing plans that had been regarded as practicable and had been recommended as practicable, set aside by political machinations. He did not think there was anybody who could now doubt that the Nationalisation of Mines was a practicable proposition. In point of fact there was nobody who doubted that the national unification of the industry was a practicable proposition. The mining industry could be unified under private enterprise, and a great many of the benefits that were supposed to accrue from Nationalisation could accrue if the mine owners in this country had the will to eliminate their petty competition one with another, unify it, make it efficient and get considerably more out of it in the aggregate than they were getting now. From a Trade Union point of view, pure and simple, the idea was attractive, but they had a dual role to perform. In his judgment Trade Unionism was not enough, and the reconstruction of an industry for purely Trade Union purposes was not enough ; something bigger must be taken into consideration, and that was the relation of a given industry to other industries. That depended, of course, upon the progress of political thought. Political thought should be in advance of Trade Union thought, but oftimes it was not. They had to decide whether they could go on indefinitely as Trade Unionists under this present method of production and distribution, and wait for political changes to take place which would make a fundamental change possible, or whether they were to enter into arrangements with employers of labour to effect monopolies in their industries for their mutual benefit. That was the choice that lay before Trade Unionists. As a Trade Unionist he had to think of his members, but as a believer in the Social Commonwealth he had to plan so that he would not injure the interests of his fellowmen in other industries. In view of all that had taken place hitherto they were in a position to say that the Nationalisation of the Mining Industry in particular was practicable and could be made beneficial to other workers in other industries. That was the test of it. If it were practicable only for the miners, it would be no better than a voluntary scheme of monopoly entered into between the miners and mine owners. In view of the activities of the politicians in respect of this proposal during the last year or two, they looked forward to the Labour Party putting this forward as something in which everyone in the Party believed. If they could go forward with the policy of the Nationalisation of Mines at the next election and they could not make out a case for its practicability and its real worth, and they could no

induce the British electors to support them in the policy, obviously in the interests of the existing membership in the mining industry they would have to enter into some other arrangement with the owners in the interval. As to its relation to the question of the land he said that in this country they had been highly over-specialised in industry. The world was getting cleverer in the production of industrial goods, and the population of this country was going to suffer unless the Labour Party itself—and he believed it was the only Party that had the courage to do it, and it would require courage to do it—unless the Labour Party could itself outline a scheme for the internal readjustment of the national economic life so as to prepare against the day when over-industrial specialisation would leave our countrymen high and dry without the means of livelihood. They must therefore prepare a scheme which would make it possible to transfer the surplus industrial population gradually back to agricultural pursuits. For that the Labour Party must urge the Nationalisation of the Land. It would be all very well to Nationalise the Mines and make the industry efficient, but by making it efficient they would increase the number of men without jobs. They must, therefore, have a land policy to provide for the surplus industrial population. He hoped the Labour Party would distinguish itself from any previous party by putting forward this bold proposition, because the Party must take a long view of national requirements.

Councillor E. Shinwell (Independent Labour Party) seconded the motion and said that the Independent Labour Party, at its last Annual Conference, emphasised in its programme the principal of Industrial Democracy which was now incorporated in this resolution. He was there to say on behalf of the Independent Labour Party that no scheme of Nationalisation or Municipalisation would be satisfactory to them unless it provided for the efficient control of the workers engaged in the industry The I.L.P. did not regard the principles of Industrial Democracy in Nationalisation or Municipalisation as Utopian. They urged immediately upon the Parliamentary Labour Party and those who were associated with local Corporate bodies, to impress on their respective assemblies the imperative necessity, in the interests of the workers, of introducing some form of participation by the workers in the administration of these services. They did not believe that Trade Unionism was capable of providing those essential reforms which the workers thought were to be desired. It was not so much a question of Trade Union organisation; it was rather a question of Trade Union spirit and conception. Trade Unions would be quite sufficient if their functions were broadened. Trade Unions must, if they were to be of any value, proceed much further than to demand mere concessions from capitalist employers which capitalist employers were not prepared to give unless Trade Unionism was backed up by the spirit and vigour of the working class. They had sometimes been asked what Trade Unionism had accomplished for the workers, and their reply was a negative one—"What has capitalist industry provided for the workers?"—poverty and destitution all round. Therefore the Independent Labour Party would say to this Conference, "Demand not only Nationalisation of essential services—the Mines, Railways and the Land—but demand further the necessary organisation of producer and consumer without which Nationalisation is a thing of straw."

The resolution was then agreed to.

Councillor E. G. Rowlinson (Sheffield Federated Trades and Labour Council) moved:—

III.

That we urge upon the Labour Party to press upon the Government the consideration of putting into operation the proposals of the Coal Conservation Committee as to Electric Super-Power Stations in the Coalfields, and also the Severn Barrage Scheme of the Ministry of Transport, with a view of securing the ownership and control of Electric Power by the Nation, and providing useful work for the Unemployed, and by so doing reducing the general cost of production more effectively than by lowering wages.

This resolution, he said, referred to another of the pledges given by the Coalition Party which it was possible to put into execution but, for reasons best known to themselves, they were allowing to go by default. In Sheffield they felt that the future was bound up with a full and cheap supply of electricity to the Nation. They felt also that at a time when men were being kept below the starvation level they should be given facilities for instituting in this country a national system for the production of electricity, and this Severn Barrage scheme, which was one of the promises given in the report of the Committee on Coal Conservation, would have a tremendous effect on the future of the country, not only in industry but also in the households of the people. In addition to that arrangements could be made in the large coalfields, instead of having hideous machinery in the towns, by which they could get a production of electricity and save a tremendous amount of unnecessary expense and get electric power much cheaper than at present. The opposition had come, not only from vested interests in the large firms, but also from municipal officers. Many of them were opposed to this scheme, and he believed it was because those who were behind these large Councils, where Labour had very little representation, were saying that if there were a system of electricity of this kind it would be detrimental to private enterprise. The City from which he came was actually supplying the great engineering firms with electric power at less than the cost of production, while the small

consumer was charged seven and a half times as much for the current which the Corporation produced as was charged to the consumer in the large works. He thought that was a matter which should be taken up by the Labour Party.

Mr. J. Marley (Hampstead L.P.), in seconding the resolution, said there was very little hope for any success in undertakings of this nature unless they had absolutely control of the coal supply. The moment they had built their super-power stations, if they left themselves in the hands of the coal monopoly, the coal owners would see that they received no benefit from the building of the plant. Mr. Hodges had said that the reconstruction of industry was not enough, that they had to offer something more to catch the imagination of the public. That could be done, but not by passing a single resolution asking for the Nationalisation of this, that or the other industry; they should go for a constructive policy for the reorganisation of all industry.

The resolution was then put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

RESULT OF THE BALLOTS.

Alderman S. E. Walters (Chairman of the Scrutineers) then reported the result of the Elections, as follows:—

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

National Societies' Section.

The following thirteen members were elected:—

J. R. Clynes, M.P. (N.U. of General Workers)	3,516,000
Frank Hodges (Miners' Federation)	3,177,000
F. W. Jowett (I.L.P.)	3,116,000
Sidney Webb (Fabian Society)	3,107,000
A. G. Cameron (A.S. of Woodworkers)	2,772,000
C. T. Cramp (N.U. of Railwaymen)	2,628,000
F. O. Roberts, M.P. (Typographical Association)	2,517,000
F. B. Varley (Miners' Federation)	2,045,000
C. G. Ammon, M.P. (Post Office Workers)	2,037,000
W. H. Hutchinson (Amal. Engineering Union)	1,947,000
J. Sexton, M.P. (Transport and General Workers)	1,760,000
M. B. Farr (United Textile Factory Workers)	1,637,000
Robert Williams (Amal. Marine Workers)	1,316,000

The unsuccessful candidates were:—

W. R. Smith, M.P. (Boot & Shoe Operatives)	1,226,000
W. J. Brown (Civil Service Clerical Association)	1,127,000
C. Duncan (Workers' Union)	957,000
James Walker (Iron, Steel and Kindred Trades)	857,000
J. R. Leslie (N.A. Shop Assistants)	638,000
R. J. Wilson (Distributive and Allied Workers)	429,000
J. W. Ball (Electrical Trades Union)	40,000

Local Constituency Organisations.

The following five were elected:—

George Lansbury (Poplar T.C. and L.P.)	3,012,000
Ben Spoor, M.P. (Bishop Auckland D.L.P.)	2,024,000
Herbert Morrison (London L.P.)	1,926,000
Morgan Jones, M.P. (Caerphilly D.L.P.)	1,779,000
R. J. Davies, M.P. (Manchester (Borough) L.P.)	1,688,000

The following were unsuccessful:—

J. C. Wedgwood, M.P. (Stoke-on-Trent L.P.)	*1,485,000
Tom Shaw, M.P. (Nelson & Colne L.P.)	1,367,000
John Cape (Spennymoor D.L.P.)	911,000
Fred Swift (Frome D.L.P.)	906,000
R. Dennison (St. Albans D.L.P.)	551,000
David Kirkwood (Shettleston L.P.)	339,000
Neil Maclean, M.P. (Govan D.L.P.)	373,000
H. H. Slesser (South Bucks D.L.P.)	359,000
George Dallas (Maldon D.L.P.)	257,000
B. Skene Mackay (Hampstead L.P.)	142,000
Joseph Compton (Rusholme D.L.P.)	138,000
W. J. Jarrett (North Kensington T.C. & L.P.	105,000
G. H. Warne (Morpeth D.L.P.)	*84,000
W. H. Egan (Birkenhead T.C. and L.P.)	82,000
W. R. Raynes (Derby L.P.)	71,000
John E. Swan, M.P. (Barnard Castle D.L.P.)	36,000
C. A. G. Manning (Wandsworth L.P.)	20,000
C. J. Starling (Dudley L.P.)	18,000
T. Brown (Stalybridge & Hyde D.L.P.)	11,000
H. Bainbridge (Houghton-le-Spring D.L.P.)	9,000
John Herriotts (Sedgefield D.L.P.)	4,000
F. R. Jackman (Woolwich and District T.C. and L.P.)	3,000
Frank Brackwell (Consett D.L.P.)	1,000
S. V. Pearson (North Norfolk D.L.P.)	1,000

Women's Section.

There being only four nominees for the four seats for women members of the National Executive, no election was required. The nominees were as follows:—

Mrs. F. H. Harrison Bell (N.A. Union of Labour).
Dr. Ethel Bentham (East Islington L.P.).
Miss A Susan Lawrence, L.C.C. (Fabian Society).
Miss Madeleine J. Symons (N.U. of General Workers).

Treasurer.

The nomination of Mr. L. Barnard (Woolwich Trades Council) having been declared void, he not having been appointed a delegate to the Conference, Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald, the only other nominee, was declared elected.

*See result of recount on next page.

AUDITORS.

The successful candidates were :—

Robert Young, M.P. (Amal. Engineering Union)	2,052,000
W. Small (Miners' Federation) ..	1,396,000

The unsuccessful candidates were :—

E. L. Poulton (Boot and Shoe Operatives)	941,000
Hugh Lynas (N.U. of General Workers)	881,000
Edward Duxbury (United Textile Factory Workers)	580,000
H. H. Elvin (London L.P.) ..	532,000
H. W. Kay (Transport & General Workers)	383,000
J. Lawson, M.P. (Chester-le-Street D.L.P.)	216,000
John E. Swan, M.P. (Sedgefield D.L.P.)	136,000
H. A. Hind (Workers' Union) ..	95,000
C. T. Pendrey (Woolwich T.C.) ..	61,000
F. G. Peel (Woolwich T.C.) ..	3,000
R. Browell (Wansbeck L.P.) ..	2,000
T. Hildersley (North Kensington T.C. and L.P.)	2,000

CONFERENCE ARRANGEMENTS COMMITTEE.

The following were the successful candidates :—

W. Thorne, M.P. (N.U. of General Workers)	3,304,000
John Marchbank (N.U. of Railwaymen)	1,734,000
Jas. Wignall, M.P. (Transport and General Workers)	1,563,000
Thomas Griffiths, M.P. (Iron, Steel & Kindred Trades) ..	1,544,000
Joseph Cross (United Textile Factory Workers)	1,222,000

The unsuccessful candidates were :—

John Hill (Birkenhead T.C. & L.P.)	1,021,000
John Herriotts (Sedgefield D.L.P.)	956,000
H. G. Hall (Broxtowe D.L.P.) ..	952,000
T. F. Richards (Boot & Shoe Operatives)	934,000
A. A. H. Findlay (United Pattern-makers)	882,000
W. Mellor (Manchester (Borough) L.P.)	638,000
T. H. Gill (Railway Clerks) ..	629,000
J. Maher (Workers' Union) ..	476,000
E. H. Parker (Bristol Borough L.P.)	442,000
D. Carmichael (London T.C.) ..	436,000
A. G. Gossling (A.S. of Woodworkers)	307,000
H. Berry (Amal. Engineering Union)	290,000
H. Skinner (Typographical Association)	254,000
R. Allan (Wansbeck L.P.) ..	145,000

MR. FRANK HODGES said there must have been a mistake in regard to the number of votes recorded in favour of Mr. G. H. Warne in the Local Constituency Organisation list. According to the Scrutineers' Report he was credited with only 84,000 votes, and he (Mr. Hodges), from his own knowledge, thought a mistake had occurred.

ALDERMAN WALTERS, at a subsequent stage, announced that the Scrutineers had had a complete recount of the votes for the Local Constituency Organisation section of the Executive Committee, and it had been found that 900,000 votes had been put to the credit of Col. J. C. Wedgwood, M.P., which ought to have been put to the credit of Mr. G. H. Warne. The constitution of the Executive, however, was not changed thereby and it stood as he had previously announced.

PRIVATE SESSION ON THE "DAILY HERALD."

A Special Private Session of the Conference was held on Thursday afternoon to discuss the position of the *Daily Herald* and the general publicity work of the Movement. A lengthy statement was made by Mr. George Lansbury, Editor of the *Daily Herald*, as to the position of the paper, and Mr. Arthur Henderson, M.P., explained the arrangement under which the Labour Movement, as represented by the General Council of the Trades Union Congress and the Party Executive, had accepted responsibility for the continued publication of the paper until the Trades Union Congress at Southport had decided upon a scheme for putting all publicity work, including the *Daily Herald*, upon a permanent basis. Mr. Henderson also outlined a scheme whereby, it was hoped, a larger circulation of the paper could be secured.

MR. J. R. CLYNES, M.P., spoke in support of the proposals, and, after various questions had been asked and answered, MR. FRANK HODGES moved the following resolution, which was formally seconded and unanimously adopted :—

That the Conference approves the action taken by the Executive Committee in conjunction with the General Council of the Trades Union Congress in determining to continue the Daily Herald *as an organ of the Labour Movement, and endorses the guarantee given for its support until the decisions of the Conference and the Congress can be obtained; and the Conference pledges itself to use its best efforts, individual and corporate, to bring the circulation promptly up to half a million.*

FRIDAY, JUNE 30th.

Morning Session.

LABOUR DIPLOMATIC SERVICE.

MR. NOEL BUXTON (North Norfolk Divisional Labour Party) moved the following resolution :—

That this Conference is of opinion that the Party should create its own Diplomatic Service, whose function should be to keep in constant touch with Movements corresponding to the British Labour Party in all countries; that while it is desirable that the Service should consist of Commissions resident abroad, a beginning

should be made by the appointment of a Special Commission travelling from place to place; that the Secretary of the Commission should be a full-time employee of the Party; and that it be an instruction to the new Executive to prepare the necessary organisation and machinery to carry out this purpose.

He said the importance of the question involved in this resolution would be realised by the Conference when it considered how great a part foreign affairs had played in their deliberations. The vital concern of the Party in the subject was realised more than ever before, and the country also realised the importance which the Party attached to it. This was a business proposition designed to support the Executive in the work it was doing. The objection raised to the general proposal last year at Brighton was solely that the expenditure would be too great, but the resolution, he claimed, met that point for the proposal put forward would mean an expenditure of considerably less than £1,000, and possibly not more than £500. The Conference was therefore free to consider the question on its merits alone. He felt that the delegates would agree that the Executive deserved to be supported by the most thorough equipment possible in its International work. The International work of the Executive which had been so extraordinarily successful during the last year, had cost not much more than 4 per cent. of the whole expenditure of the Party. It would not be an exaggeration to say that the importance of that work would be more accurately measured by an expenditure of 40 per cent. It was not to be imagined that this proposal was of a revolutionary nature in regard to the staff of the Party. It only meant the addition of one expert secretary who would be placed abroad, at one time in Paris and at another somewhere else where information was desired. Members of the Executive or others might be sent from time to time on Commissions, just as Mr. Tom Shaw was going to France, and as Col. Wedgwood went to Hungary; but there would be a man fully equipped, who would assist them and pave the way for the work they had to do. He thought it could not be denied that hitherto "the ship had been spoiled for a ha'porth of tar." He thought it was possible that if they had had someone at Paris in constant touch with the French Socialist leaders the breaking away of the French Socialists from the Second International might have been avoided. Three things were needed at the present time: firstly, that they should keep in touch with current feeling on the Continent; secondly, that they should send Commissions abroad to expose particular evils as they did in Hungary, and thirdly, they needed to help foreign parties to organise themselves in their own interests as well as in the interests of the Movement generally.

Mr. B. Skene Mackay (National Union of Vehicle Workers), in seconding the motion, said it would pay the Party very much better to adopt this system than to go on in the way they had been doing. Although the proposal did not meet the whole of the demand which he stood for last year at Brighton, at any rate it was a beginning, and a very necessary beginning if they were to get on a sound basis in regard to International affairs. The essence of the idea was not to have occasional meetings with foreign representatives, but to have more or less permanent contact with similar parties to their own in those other countries. What they wanted was an informed opinion on foreign affairs. They ought to have someone on whom they could rely who would go to other countries, meet similar bodies to their own and keep the Party informed on matters connected with International affairs. He was not satisfied with the League of Nations or the League of Nations' Union. He contended that they wanted something new, and they could only get it by developing their own international machinery, and this, he thought, was the best way of doing it.

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald said that the Executive would always disagree with Mr. Noel Buxton on these matters with the most profound regret, for they knew how much he had done. The resolution which he had moved this morning was not the resolution moved at Brighton. It was a far better resolution, and as a matter of fact, barring a few expressions, which were rather awkwardly put, it expressed the policy they were trying to develop. But they could not call that a Diplomatic Service. They were keeping in touch with Movements in other countries, and they had an organisation equipped with a secretariat. He thought it was desirable that the service should consist of Commissions and not a resident abroad, because at the moment that was quite impracticable. They could not take a man away who was very valuable on those Commissions and say to him: "You must go and live in Paris or Berlin." Their men must go upon Commissions just as Mr. Buxton himself went. They were going to carry that on, and they were willing to spend more money on it, and Mr. Buxton might rest assured that during the next twelve months that work would be developed. They were doing something in that direction by the employment of a full time man in Mr. Gillies. But in addition to that they had a most intimate contact with the Second International which enabled the Executive to develop their work in other directions. He hoped Mr. Buxton would accept his assurance that the principles conveyed in the resolution were going to be carried out, and he hoped he would not press the Conference to pass this resolution which he (Mr. MacDonald) thought was not the first step to which they should commit themselves.

A Delegate asked whether it was proposed as part of the programme, to send the Secretary abroad.

Mr. MacDonald replied that they could not do that. The great thing was to keep

n close touch with other countries and send he Secretary abroad when circumstances eeded it.

A card vote was then taken on the reso- ution, the result being declared as follows :—

For the resolution ..	..	71,000
Against the resolution	..	2,018,000
Majority against ..		1,947,000

CONDOLENCE.

The Chairman here announced, with very reat regret, that one of the delegates to he Conference (Mr. James Sexton, M.P.), n old member of the Party, had had the nisfortune to lose his sister the previous day hrough a motor accident. The sympathy of he delegates was expressed by a standing ote.

FREE TRADE.

Mr. J. Duxbury (United Textile Factory Workers' Association) moved the following esolution :—

That this Labour Party Conference is of the opinion that Free Trade between Nations is essential for the prosperity and peace of the world, and any departure from the principles of Free Trade would be detrimental to the best interests of the working classes. This Conference therefore urges the Parliamentary Labour Party to oppose any system of preferential or protective duties, and to support any Bill repealing the Safeguarding of Industries Act or any other legislation of a protective character.

He said that at previous Labour Party Con- ferences and also at Trades Congresses, reso- utions on this subject had been passed gain and again, but on those occasions it had been in defence of the principles of Free Trade. On this occasion there was a com- plete change, for the resolution asked them, not only to defend Free Trade, but also to upport any Bill repealing the Safeguarding f Industries Act. Although he was bringing his forward on behalf of the United Textile Factory Workers' Association, it must ot be assumed that they were simply efending the cotton industry. They esired to safeguard every trade in the coun- ry. They particularly mentioned the case f cotton, however, because it was so near o their hearts, and they knew that industry est. Germany had been the best customer hat Bolton had had in connection with the abric glove industry. Bolton had made he yarns that were used in Germany, and he Government had recently put a tax of 3½ per cent. on the importation of gloves nto this country. They were afraid this ould set up a spirit of strife between the ermans and ourselves, and it might lead he Germans to feel that they were being njustly treated. It would also give them n incentive to produce their own yarns, and here was nothing to prevent them from eveloping that line of industry. It would rtainly be a great blow to Lancashire, nd, if developed, it would also be a very costly thing for our own people. They therefore asked the Conference, not simply to defend the principle of Free Trade, but also not to rest upon their oars until the Act recently passed had been repealed.

The motion was formally seconded and, on being put to the Conference, was carried.

Mr. Tom Kennedy, M.P. (Social Democratic Federation) moved a further resolution on the same subject in the following terms :—

> That this Labour Party Conference is of opinion that neither Free Trade nor Protection is in any way a solution of the problem of poverty, and asserts that the primary consideration in economic policy should be to ensure the production, as far as possible, by the people of this country of those products which are necessary for their use.

He said that this resolution, although taken separately, was not exactly in conformity with the resolution they had just passed, and he would have preferred to have moved it as an amendment to that resolution. The speech they had just listened to was one which could have been more appropriately delivered at Paisley (where Mr. Asquith had addressed a meeting) the previous night than at a Labour Party Conference. They had just passed a resolution affirming that they opposed any departure from the principle of Free Trade. As a matter of fact Free Trade was not now in operation in this country. What they had now was a system of taxed imports.

The Chairman here called Mr. Kennedy to order, pointing out that he was traversing a resolution which had already been passed.

Mr. Kennedy, continuing, said that the resolution he was moving stated that neither Free Trade nor Protection would be of any real advantage, and what he wanted to point out was the contradiction between the two resolutions. Free Trade internationally, he contended, meant the free exploitation of labour. Under their present system Free Trade meant freedom for the international capitalist to exploit international labour. Lancashire was losing her hold of the world's cotton industry for perfectly natural reasons. India was now appropriating part of it, and in this matter of international competition Mr. Duxbury gave the whole case away when he suggested that the Germans would threaten our supremacy. They had got to face the facts and realise that just as Protection would protect the monopolist, so Free Trade would give the British capitalist freedom to exploit the cheapest supply of labour. They were up against Free Traders as well as Tariff Reformers, because whichever side won the workers would lose. His Party stood for the development of British industry for the British, and they refused to be dragged at the coat tails of the British Liberals.

The motion was formally seconded.

Mr. Tom Shaw, M.P., said that the effect of the last speech was that it was better to have Protection than Free Trade. If they had a state of Socialism in this country would they not encourage, in every possible way, the freest intercourse of goods between nations? The first thing they would do as a Socialist State would be to make themselves a Free Trade State. What he wanted to suggest was that there was no greater cause of disturbance in the world than artificial barriers of any kind erected between nations. They had been told that the Lancashire position was dangerous because India would take part of the trade. What did that matter to them? India had a perfect right to develop her own industry, in her own way, and at her own time; but they said, in addition, there ought to be free intercourse between nations, and if there was one thing more than another that punished the workers it was a protection which gave an opportunity to the capitalist to charge his own price and bleed the people. During the war artificial protection was used against the people, and the people were bled mercilessly. That was not a theory but a fact, and one ounce of fact was worth a ton of theory. He hoped this resolution, moved in the spirit it had been, would be rejected.

The resolution was put to the Conference and, on a show of hands, was declared lost. A card vote was then demanded and taken, the result being declared as follows :—

For the resolution	..	641,000
Against the resolution	..	2,801,000
Majority against	..	2,160,000

The Chairman then called for the resolution on "Unemployment Insurance," of which notice had been given by the Workers' Union, but it was not moved and the resolution accordingly fell.

AGRICULTURE.

Mr. H. J. Jones (National Union of Agricultural Workers) moved the following resolution :—

That this Conference instructs the Executive Committee and the Party in the House to take immediate steps to secure the re-establishment of the Agricultural Wages Boards.

This resolution, he said, was made neccssary by the action of the Government in wiping out the Wages Boards in their Repeal Act of last year, and putting the existing Conciliation Committees in their place. These Committees had, in many cases, failed to function; in the main they had only partially functioned; and where they had functioned they had failed to maintain a reasonable standard of living for the agricultural workers. The employers went on these Committees, not for the purpose of meeting the agricultural workers on equal terms, but simply to deliver an ultimatum and tell them that they had either to accept the terms offered or be locked out. That had been their experience in Lancashire. From time to time they had come to the Conciliation Committee and had been told that unless they accepted the terms offered they would publish those terms in the press and they would be enforced upon the workers whether they liked it or not. His Union desired a return to the Wages Boards because they provided a buffer between the worker and the employer. Whilst the Boards were in existence they had materially raised the standard of living among the agricultural workers, and had secured reasonable hours of labour. He asked the Conference to support the resolution, not only in the interests of the agricultural workers, but in the interests of every class of worker in the country, because, after all, they found that the wages in a large number of other industries were regulated by the wages paid to the agricultural workers.

The resolution was formally seconded.

The Chairman here announced that as there were 26 resolutions to be got through before the Conference separated, he proposed to put all future motions without discussion unless there was opposition. If delegates wished to oppose any resolution they would have the opportunity. Otherwise the resolutions would be put without discussion.

Mr. J. Duncan (Scottish Farm Servants' Union) said he opposed the resolution unless it was restricted to England. He did this because on the previous occasion, in 1917, they attempted to get the Labour Party to exclude Scotland, but instead of giving them what they wanted—self-determination for Scotland—they gave him a lecture upon the foolishness of opposing the Wages Boards. They had had four years' experience of the Wages Boards, and had now got rid of them, and he hoped they would not come back. The condition of Scotland was quite different from that of England. Their experience in Scotland was that in areas where the labourers were not sufficiently organised these Boards had stereotyped low wages. In addition they rendered organisation extremely difficult, and it was impossible to get any fight into the workers. Wherever they opposed the Wages Boards they got higher wages than the Wages Boards fixed, and even now, in these bad times, the wages were as high as those Boards fixed at the time of high prices. Their experience was that an agricultural worker was in as good a position to fight as other workers, and if he was not going to fight he was not going to be safe. Why should they spoon-feed him if he was not willing to fight for himself?

Mr. Arthur Henderson said he did not think they need carry this discussion further. He was quite certain, if a new Bill were brought into the House of Commons and Mr. Duncan made proper representations to the Labour Party in time, they would not force upon the Scottish workers a Bill they did not want.

The resolution was then carried on a show of hands.

Mr. J. Duncan (Scottish Farm Servants' Union) then moved the following resolution :

This Conference is of opinion that in the national interest, as well as in the interest of the agricultural workers, it is essential that the Agricultural Industry should be made more productive, and as immediately practical steps to secure this end, makes the following proposals :—

(i) *That the Departments of Agriculture be organised on a basis representative of the different interests in the industry, and given wide powers of initiative and control.*

(ii) *That Local Agricultural Committees of a similar representative character be formed and given powers to compel owners to equip agricultural land properly ; to enforce a standard of cultivation on all owners and occupiers ; to take over land from owners and occupiers who fail to farm up to the required standard ; and to arrange for such land as may be taken over by the Committees being cultivated by direct labour.*

(iii) *That security of tenure be granted to occupiers of agricultural land who maintain a satisfactory standard of cultivation, and that rents be fixed by Land Courts.*

(iv) *That the Departments and Local Committees should co-operate in establishing demonstration farms and in particular should be given power to experiment with large-scale holdings with a view to finding the most economic unit of production in agriculture.*

(v) *That the Local Agricultural Committees should co-operate with consumers' organisations and local authorities to organise the distribution of agricultural products so as to eliminate the present gross waste.*

He said that the sole excuse of his union for bringing this forward was that although they did their best to get their agricultural policy adopted by the Labour Party when they were invited to the second Conference in London, and the draft was presented, they were told that it applied to England only. They had put in this resolution what appeared to them to be the kernel of an agricultural policy at the present time. They thought the first thing that was required was to see that the land was being properly used. That was why, in this resolution, they put stress upon requiring the landlord to equip the land. A great part of the land in Scotland was not properly equipped, and if they allowed the present state of affairs to develop much further they might have all their schemes of co-operation, but the land would not be in the condition fit for cultivation unless they got some control over it at once. In addition, if they were going to get a decent wage for the workers they would have to see that the industry was productive enough to pay that wage. Unless they could increase the produce from the land in Scotland they would not be able to afford to pay a proper wage to the agricultural worker. Even with their present knowledge of agriculture and with their present organisation of capitalist agriculture, a good deal could be done to improve farming and enable it to pay a decent wage. What they said was that the landowner should either cultivate his land or clear out. The land must be used in the interests of the community.

Mr. Skene Mackay (Vehicle Workers) seconded the resolution.

Mr. Arthur Henderson, M.P., asked Mr. Duncan whether it was intended that this resolution should apply to England and Wales, because he used the words " national interest." He did not know if he was applying it simply to Scotland.

Mr. Duncan replied that it referred to that Conference, and those it represented.

The resolution was then agreed to.

THAMES TUNNEL.

Mr. W. Miles (East Islington Labour Party) submitted the following resolution which was passed without discussion :—

With a view to providing better facilities for workers travelling to and from Gravesend and Tilbury, and for providing suitable work for local unemployed, this Conference recommends the Parliamentary Labour Party to secure the passage of a Bill providing for the construction of a tunnel under the Thames between Gravesend and Tilbury.

EDUCATION.

Miss Mary Carlin (Transport and General Workers) moved the following resolution :—

This Conference demands that the Government institute a Committee of Inquiry to go into the details of legacies and bequests left for the purpose of providing educational facilities for poor children, with a view to the aforesaid legacies and bequests being absorbed by the creation of an increased number of scholarships and bursaries at the Secondary Schools and Universities.

She thought the moment was opportune to demand from the Government an enquiry into the moneys which had been left from time to time for the education of poor children. She would give the delegates particulars of some bequests which had been made and which would probably astonish them. There was, for instance, that aristocratic school known as Eton. Eton, at its foundation, was a collegiate school accommodating 74 scholars, its education to be given free for all time. At the present moment there were 70 scholarships open to all British subjects, but the examinations were such as to make it almost impossible for any child who had not received an education at a most expensive preparatory school to obtain a scholarship. The endowment had enormously increased in value, and one would have expected that the enhanced value would have been used to increase the benefits to the class the founders

intended, but instead of that there were being used for the benefit of the wealthy. Another school where the same thing had occurred was Westminster. Westminster School was founded by Queen Elizabeth in 1560. It was to be for poor boys, but there were no poor boys at Westminster to-day. Another instance was Winchester, which was founded in 1382 to give free education to poor children. The founder's intention at Winchester was evidenced by the fact that every scholar had to take a vow that "he had nothing whereby he knew he could spend more than 5 marks a year." The same thing had occurred all over the country, and if they would take the trouble to go into the records they would find that money had been taken from the poor people and was now being used to educate the aristocracy in order to make them fit to govern the poor.

Mr. Jack Jones, M.P., in seconding the resolution, said that nobody knew more about education than those who had not got any. The only thing that mattered was knowledge, and they could not have a real democracy until they had an educated democracy. The people had been robbed of their rights in this matter and it was desired to bring back to them what they had lost. They were robbed because they were poor, and they were poor because they were robbed. The person who did not require education, was the person who did not require to work for his living. They were only asking for equality of opportunity, and that their children should have the chance to enjoy educational advantages which, up to now, had been denied them.

The resolution was carried.

Mr. J. R. Leslie (National Amalgamated Union of Shop Assistants, Warehousemen and Clerks) moved the following combined resolution :—

This Conference expresses its profound regret at the continued postponement in operating the Education Act (1918) *and is strongly of opinion that Local Education Authorities should be urged by the Board of Education to endeavour to arrange schemes under the Act, whereby the school-leaving age might be raised to* 15, *and Continuation Classes established for those up to* 18 *years of age.*

It views with alarm the further proposals to cut down educational facilities by increasing the number of children per teacher; by making Secondary and Higher Education difficult and dear for the children of other than rich parents; by reducing the number of free places and scholarships; by raising fees and withholding grants from Secondary Schools now receiving them; which are, in fact, proposals to make the children of the workers contribute towards the cost of the war by enfeebled vitality and arrested development; involving serious injury to many thousands of children and constituting a menace to the prosperity of the nation.

The Conference further protests against any curtailment of educational opportunities upon grounds of national economy, and demands for the mass of the workers the provision of the best possible educational facilities as an essential condition to the future well-being of the people.

There was no denying, he said, that the institution of continuation classes was a step in the right direction, and would certainly be of immense good to the nation. Never in the hisory of the country were continuation classes more necessary than at the present time, but unfortunately the Geddes Report had played into the hands of reactionary authorities who were for handicapping the children throughout life. On this question he preferred the lead of John Knox to that of Dean Inge. John Knox appropriated the canonical and church revenues for the education of the poor, whereas Dean Inge opposed the education of the workers' children for fear they would oust the youths of the middle class from their rank and privilege. By putting up a poverty bar they were now making secondary schools the preserve of the children of the middle class. In his own district there were five applicants for every vacant place in the secondary school, and the galling thing was that the workers had to pay for the upkeep of these schools. To tinker with education would be fatal to the welfare of the nation. An illiterate democracy was the greatest danger any nation could face, and therefore he held it was the duty of the Labour Movement to fight strenuously for the greatest possible educational facilities for the children of the workers.

Mr. J. G. Morgan (National Union of General Workers), in seconding the resolution, said that the attempts to reduce educational opportunities was part of the general attack on the organisations of the worker. He asked the delegates to keep the question of education prominently before the people during the next 12 months and endeavour to get them to take a larger view on this important matter. Unfortunately they still had amongst the workers a large number of men who were looking to their children to supplement their incomes, and one of the most important matters for the future propaganda of the Movement was the dispelling of that view.

Mr. James Maxton (Independent Labour Party) said he rose to oppose the resolution. What they were up against just now was a serious and definite attempt to put education back to the position it was in before the Education Act of 1898. Already there were moves afoot to put aside the feeding of children; medical inspection was being cut down and for medical treatment the children were being told to go to the infirmary. At every turn finance was being saved at the expense of the children. It was cowardly for the Government to economise at the expense of the children's health and well-being, and Labour should do all in its power

to make education the heritage of all. But instead of tackling this they were tackling the question of secondary education. His experience was that the children of the workers who went to the secondary schools were the children who were going to leave the ranks of the workers. He did not, however, oppose the resolution.

A DELEGATE asked whether it was in order for anyone to make a speech on the assumption that he was opposing the resolution and to end by supporting it.

THE CHAIRMAN said he did not think he should allow the incident to pass without an official protest. Mr. Maxton had created what might be a very awkward precedent, and he was sorry he had done it.

To this Mr. Maxton replied by saying that he had been converted by his own speech, and the incident closed amidst laughter.

The resolution was then put to the meeting and carried.

NATIONAL FINANCE.

MR. JAMES MARLEY (Hampstead Labour Party) moved the following resolution :—

> *The Conference calls upon the Government to institute a full and public inquiry, by Royal Commission or otherwise, into the relation between the present Financial System and the prolonged deadlock in Trade and Industry, in order to determine :—*
>
> (1) *How far the monopoly of the issue of financial credit by the Joint Stock Banks is responsible for the stoppage ?*
>
> (2) *Whether any basis can be devised for the issue of credits for* (a) *the production of necessaries for home consumption, and* (b) *works of public utility, so as to absorb the labour displaced by the decline of export trade ?*
>
> (3) *Whether some permanently available means other than doles and Poor Relief can be adopted to secure the distribution of purchasing power to those Unemployed who cannot be absorbed.*

He said it was well known that the Labour Movement as a whole was endeavouring to tackle big business in a business-like manner. The thing which was at the very root of big business was the financial system adopted by the country. It had been said on high authority that 80 per cent. of the increase in the cost of living was due to the increase of credit and not to under-production. If that was true they could quite easily see that an increased demand for luxuries increased the cost of production without increasing the wages of the workers. He maintained that it was the inflation of the currency which was responsible for the increase in the cost of living. If they had to borrow capital to meet current expenses and the rate of interest was against them, they had naturally to make more profit than previously.

The resolution was formally seconded and agreed to by a show of hands.

REDUCTION OF WAR LOAN CHARGES.

MR. NEIL MACLEAN, M.P. (I.L.P.) moved the following resolution :—

> That, having regard to the reduction in the cost of living, and the consequent enforced reduction of wages, this Conference demands that the Government reduce the rate of interest payable upon War Loans.

He said he understood that this resolution was arousing a good deal of hostility in the Movement, but he would remind them that many resolutions had been brought up at these Conferences that had awakened hostility among certain sections of the Movement, but before many years had passed the Conference had been glad to accept them. He was confident that whatever opposition there might be to the resolution to-day, before very long the agitation of the workers themselves would compel the Labour Movement, as represented in that Conference, to accept that or a similar resolution. Those who were supporting the resolution contended that the moneys invested in War Loan was invested when money was dear and when interest had to be paid at a very high rate in order to induce the profiteers to invest. But since the war, wages had fallen—as every Trade Union organiser and representative in this Conference knew—by about £7,000,000 per week. The total yearly figures of reduction of wages amounted practically to the sum paid in interest on War Loan. He maintained that if the wages of the workers were reduced on account of the reduction of the cost of living, the same thing ought to hold good in regard to interest on the money invested during the war. He did not believe that interest should be the one fixed thing in the world. They had been told in the Memorandum issued by the Executive that this would be a breach of contract, but could any delegate get up and say that any contract made with the workers during the war had been kept ? Every section had had their contracts broken. Pensions paid to the broken heroes of the war had been reduced by £20,000,000, and yet they were told that this one contract was to be kept holy and sacred by the men who ought to be leading them in this Conference. The thing was absurd. They had also been told that they were discriminating against one section of the community ; but had they not discriminated against a section of the community when they limited the rents by the Rent Restriction Act ? He challenged any delegate to go down into the mining districts where there were starving children, where the women were drooping and the men were standing listless, and say that the interest on War Loan had to be paid because they had made a contract, while all other things, including the miners' contracts, could be broken. Further, this contract was not made by the Labour Movement. It was made by the politicians and the Coalition Government. Let them keep their own contracts while they had the power, but as soon as the workers had the power, with the force of public opinion behind them,

they would reduce the rate of interest on War Bonds to what was equitable in view of the cheapness of money.

COUNCILLOR W. SHAW (Glasgow Trades Council) seconded, and said that when the Committee which drafted the resolution were considering it, they had in their minds that 1½ per cent. on the total War Debts would mean a saving of £130,000,000 a year. They had also in their minds the fact that there were 2,000,000 persons unemployed in this country, and they thought if they could apply the £130,000,000 which would be saved in interest in the direction of unemployment, they would go a long way towards solving that problem. Moreover, in Glasgow they had been agitating all along that the munition and other factories possessed by the Government should not be disposed of, but that they should be used for the purpose of starting new industries. No miners' leader dare go into the villages of Lanarkshire and suggest that 5 per cent. interest should continue, and he would tell them why. In the Corporation of Glasgow a fortnight ago, a particular Committee on which he was serving was discussing the placing of a contract for 120,000 tons of coal. Prices were received from six pits in Lanarkshire. The selling price was 20s. 7d. per ton free on rail. He (Mr. Shaw) then put this question to the Council: What was the price of the same coal for the five years prior to the war? and he was told that the price from the same pits was 10s. per ton f.o.r. Then he asked what the wages of the men in Lanarkshire were now, and found they were from 25s. to 36s. per week. That was to say the wages were not any higher than they were prior to the war, but the cost of the coal had gone up 100 per cent. and the cost of living by almost as much. They were urging that this £130,000,000 saving on interest should be utilised in dealing with unemployment.

MR. JOSEPH COTTER (Amalgamated Society of Marine Workers) said that this question was too important to be discussed at the end of a Conference when the time at their disposal was very limited, and he therefore moved, subject to the Chairman's permission:—

That the whole question involved in the resolution and the amendments thereto be referred to the new Executive for them to bring up a report.

The following are the amendments referred to in Mr. Cotter's resolution:—

That this Conference demands that people living on rents, profits, and interest should bear a considerably increased share of the national burden.

This Conference reaffirms the principle of the imposition of a Levy on Capital, the proceeds of which should be devoted to the reduction of the National War Debt.

THE CHAIRMAN said that at this stage of the Conference he was prepared to have a vote taken on the proposal which Mr. Cotter had brought forward.

This decision brought protests from different parts of the hall, and during considerable disturbance Mr. Joseph Compton (United Vehicle Builders) was understood to second Mr. Cotter's motion.

COUNCILLOR E. SHINWELL protested against this action and said that the Executive were afraid to allow the resolution to go to the vote.

MR. NEIL MACLEAN, M.P., here rose to a point of order. He said that the Executive which had been elected at this Conference was very little different from the Executive of last year, which had already issued a statement upon the question. How could they expect they were going to have any change of opinion under such circumstances?

THE CHAIRMAN, who spoke amidst considerable disorder, said he had given his ruling and had given the reason upon which he had founded the decision he had taken. He might have ruled wrongly, but if so the delegates could put that right by voting against the reference back.

A card vote was demanded, and the result was declared as follows:—

For the reference back	..	2,226,000
Against the reference back	..	1,281,000
Majority for	..	945,000

MR. NEIL MACLEAN then moved that a Committee be appointed from the whole Conference to assist the Executive in this matter. He repeated that with the exception of four new members, the Executive was the same that had issued the Memorandum against the proposal and it was a mere farce to refer it to them.

THE CHAIRMAN ruled Mr. Maclean's motion out of order, and the Conference then proceeded to discuss the next matter on the Agenda.

INCOME TAX.

MR. W. E. ROSE (Post Office Engineering Union) moved:—

That in the opinion of this Conference single men and women should be free of Income Tax up to £250 per annum, and married men and women up to £350 per annum.

It therefore instructs the Executive Committee to take all necessary steps to endeavour to bring about this reform.

He said that in the experience of the members of his Union they had found that those with incomes below the amount mentioned in the resolution had no surplus, after providing necessary commodities, for the payment of income tax. They therefore hoped that the Conference would carry the resolution and that the Executive would do its best to bring about the reform named therein. Their opinion was that the resolution should be allowed to pass unhampered by amendment. He claimed that the amendment proposed by the East Islington Labour Party was *ultra vires*.

Mr. A. C. Jeremy (Post Office Engineering Union), in seconding, said that they had fixed the incomes limit at £250 and £350 because they claimed that no member of the working class earning below that amount could afford the liability imposed upon him by the income tax. He maintained that the amendment was not an amendment, but an alternative proposition.

Mr. L. Silkin (Balham and Tooting Labour Party) moved the following amendment :—

To add : " The Conference further considers that the allowance made for children attending school up to the age of 18 should apply similarly to children up to the same age who are engaged in commerce or industry "

He said that this amendment merely sought to place the children of the working class who were apprentices or who were training for their future work in the same position as children of the wealthier classes who were continuing their scholastic education.

The amendment was formally seconded and agreed to.

Mr. W. Miles (East Islington Labour Party) moved the following :—

Delete all and substitute : " That this Conference favours the system of a graduated Income Tax, levied directly, as a means of meeting all national expenditure.

He said he would like to have the ruling of the Chairman as to whether this was an amendment or a separate resolution. They wanted to raise the question of a graduated income tax levied directly as a means of meeting national expenditure. He was sure that the two million unemployed would appreciate the predicament of the £250 and £350 men, but what they would appreciate much more would be the entire absence of indirect taxation. That was what the amendment aimed at, and they wanted to keep that idea before the Party.

Mr. Jack Jones, M.P., in seconding the amendment, said he believed the time had arrived when the Labour Movement ought to declare itself as to what kind of taxation they favoured.

The Chairman allowed the Islington proposal to be put as an amendment, and it was carried on a show of hands.

It was then put as a substantive motion and agreed to.

MUNICIPAL FINANCE.

Mr. A. W. Lyne (Northampton Labour Party) moved the following resolution :—

This Conference is of the opinion that the present system of meeting our responsibilities in the matter of Education, Maintenance of the Poor, Unemployed Relief, Asylums, Hospitals, &c., by means of Local Rates, is unjust and oppressive, and declares itself in favour of these being National charges with adequate local control.

He thought the Conference would agree that this resolution had been made sufficiently broad, and that it reiterated the principles that had been laid down by the Party from time to time. During the past few years it had been brought home to almost every delegate representing any district throughout the British Isles that the present system of local rating should be altered by some scheme which would give them a certain amount of control on their local governing bodies.

The resolution was formally seconded and carried.

ELECTORAL REFORM.

Mr. Ben Tillett, M.P. (Transport and General Workers) formally moved the following resolution, upon which, in view of the shortness of time, he refrained from making a speech :—

That this Conference urges the Government to grant the Local Government Franchise to all persons entitled to be registered as Parliamentary electors.

It calls attention to the unfair advantage taken by the possessing class in connection with elections, and, in view of the spirit of the Ballot Act that no Candidate shall be unfairly advantaged by the possession of means, the Conference considers it essential that efforts shall be made to revise the Corrupt Practices Act so as to make it illegal for motor cars and other conveyances (except one for the use of each Candidate and Agent) to be used in connection with elections. Further, in view of the law concerning the secrecy of the Ballot and unfair influences which are frequently brought to bear by means of canvassing, the Conference declares its objection to this form of electioneering, and expresses the view that it should be made illegal. The Conference calls upon the Executive Committee to take the necessary steps to secure the introduction of a Bill dealing with the two points expressed in this Resolution.

This Conference also calls upon the Government to introduce and facilitate the passage into law of a Bill amending the Representation of the People Act, 1918, by removing all disqualification on account of acceptance of Poor Law or other relief.

Mr. W. Miles (East Islington Labour Party) seconded the resolution.

Mr. W. A. Robinson (National Union of Distributive Workers) said that the only places where they were winning elections were where they were as well equipped as their opponents. If they were not winning elections it was because the Parliamentary Party would not put into operation the decisions continually arrived at by their Conferences in favour of their introducing a Bill into the House of Commons to deal with the question of Proportional Representation. If they were to do so they would be at the end of all their troubles so far as electoral reform was concerned. On behalf of the Liverpool Labour Party he protested against the inaction of the Party in this

particular matter. Instead of passing pious resolutions like the one before them they should take the question of Proportional Representation seriously in hand.

The resolution was adopted.

The following resolution was placed on the agenda at the instance of the Halifax Labour Party :—

That this Conference, realising that the election of a Member of Parliament to the position of Speaker has the effect of disfranchising the Member's constituency, calls on the Parliamentary Labour Party to introduce into the House of Commons a Bill to provide that the Speaker's constituency shall have the right to elect another representative to sit in the House of Commons during the period of the Speaker's term of office.

MR. HENDERSON said he had explained to the delegate representing the Halifax Labour Party that this matter had been in the hands of the Parliamentary Labour Party and they had also had the matter looked into by the Legal Advisory Committee. The Executive were in sympathy with the resolution but they had not yet found a way to carry out its proposal. Under the circumstances the delegate had agreed that he would not move the resolution but would give the Executive a further opportunity to enquire into the matter.

HOUSING AND HOUSE RENTS.

MR. BEN TILLETT, M.P. (Transport and General Workers) formally moved the following resolution :—

This Annual Conference of the Labour Party calls upon the Executive Committee and the Labour Party in the House of Commons to give immediate and continuous attention to the question of Housing and Rents. It views with alarm the present delay of the Housing Scheme incorporated in the Housing and Town Planning Act, which had the approval of the overwhelming majority of the people of this country in 1919. *Further, in view of the termination of the Rent Restriction Act in* 1923, *it is imperative that Housing shall be pressed forward as much as possible immediately, in order that a shortage of houses will not be a weapon in the hands of the landlords when there is no further restriction upon the raising of rents.*

It considers that the subject is of sufficient importance to warrant a National Campaign being organised on the matter, and accordingly instructs the Executive to give effect to this.

And further, this Conference calls upon the Labour Party to undertake immediately a systematic inquiry into the condition of Rural Housing, particularly with a view to discovering the extent of overcrowding, of sanitation, and the extent to which the want of adequate cottages for the workers is affecting agriculture at the present time, and to take the necessary steps to deal with the evil known as the tied cottage system.

That Rent Courts should be established to inquire into cases of excessive rent and the conduct of tyrannical landlords. That the Government or Municipalities shall in the interests of the health of the people obtain land, provide adequate and direct transit into country districts, and break down the monopolies enjoyed by land and house owners in crowded areas.

This Conference therefore calls upon the Government to extend the Rent Restriction Act for a further period ; and further, having regard to the many attempts that are being made by house owners to evict tenants, or to sell in order that the purchaser may apply to the Courts for possession, the Conference calls upon the Government so to amend the Act that no landlord, or owner, shall have power to evict a tenant so long as the legal rent is paid and the ordinary terms of tenancy are observed.

MR. F. PAUL (Agricultural Labourers' Union) formally seconded the resolution and it was carried.

MR. D. CARMICHAEL (London Trades Council) then moved a second resolution on the same subject in the following terms :—

This Conference emphatically condemns the Government for its attitude on the Housing question, and expresses its indignation especially against Sir Alfred Mond for his contempt of all working-class opinion on this vital problem, and urges the Parliamentary Labour Party to press upon the Government the granting of long-period loans to Local Authorities, so that sufficient houses shall be supplied for the requirements of the community ; all such work to be done either by direct labour or through the agency of the Building Guilds.

Further, that in order that the cost of building shall be reduced, all rings and combines holding up the price of materials shall be suppressed by law, such legislation as is required to be passed without delay.

He said there was only one new point beyond what they had already agreed to, and that was that in addition to the employment of direct labour by Municipalities, they were urging that where possible, contracts be given to the Building Guilds, whose work up to the present time, had fully justified the request.

The resolution was formally seconded and agreed to.

CONGRATULATIONS TO THE SCOTTISH LABOUR HOUSING ASSOCIATION.

MR. ROBERT SMILLIE then proposed the following resolution :—

That this Conference congratulates the Scottish Labour Housing Association on the success of their action against the property owners improperly increasing rents, and requests the Parliamentary Labour Party to oppose any attempt by legislation to upset the finding of the Law Courts.

The resolution was unanimously carried.

MOTHERS' PENSIONS.

Miss Madeleine J. Symons (General Workers) moved the following resolution :—

That, in the opinion of this Conference, the obligations of the State towards mothers and their children should be recognised by the establishment of a pensions scheme providing, among other things, for adequate pensions for :

(i.) *A widow with one or more children dependent upon her.*

(ii.) *A woman, with one or more children dependent upon her, who has been deserted by her husband or who has obtained a judicial separation from her husband.*

(iii.) *A woman, with one or more children dependent upon her, whose husband is unable through illness or incapacity adequately to maintain her and her children.*

That the receipt of such pension shall not deprive the pensioner of any franchise right or privilege or subject her to any disability.

The Conference further calls upon the Government to give facilities for the passage into law of the Bill introduced for this purpose on behalf of the Labour Party.

She said that the resolution asked the Conference to support the Labour Party's Bill on Mothers' Pensions, the object of which was to provide mothers with adequate pensions in cases where the father was dead, or invalided, or had deserted his family. They did not maintain that this Bill disposed of the whole problem, but it was a very urgent measure of justice. With regard to the wider question of Endowment of Motherhood, that was now being investigated by a Special Committee. They asked the Conference to press for facilities for this Bill which had been re-introduced during the past year and facilities for which had been refused Mothers who were responsible entirely for their children and who would like to look after them were being driven to compete in an overstocked labour market because no provision was made for them. Therefore, the Conference was asked to give the resolution their support.

Rev. Godfrey Bell, M.A. (Streatham Labour Party), seconded the resolution, which was agreed to.

WOMEN'S CHARTER.

Mr. A. W. Lyne (Northampton Labour Party) moved the following resolution :—

(i.) *To reduce household drudgery to the minimum the Labour Party demands the National Ownership and Democratic Control of all Electricity Supplies, with the idea of ultimately installing electricity cheaply in every worker's home.*

(ii.) *The Labour Party seeks to encourage such Municipal enterprise as communal restaurants, laundries, bakeries, &c., with a view to replacing the present wasteful and exhausting individualistic kitchen-work by a series of publicly-owned and controlled social services to supply domestic needs.*

(iii.) *To further reduce household drudgery the Labour Party seeks to give every encouragement to democratic Building Guilds and to Municipal direct contract Housing schemes that will include the best labour-saving devices in the construction of new homes for the workers.*

(iv.) *The Labour Party hereby affirms its belief in the economic equality of the sexes, in the throwing open of all professions to women on the same terms as men, and in furthering in every way the economic independence of women.*

He said they desired to show the women of the country that the Labour Party was really concerned for their welfare by the provision of those labour-saving devices which were so essential to the requirements of the home as well as to industry. He felt that sufficient effort had not been made by the Party to induce the women to participate in the various political and municipal questions, and he asked the Conference to give a unanimous vote in favour of the women's charter.

The resolution was formally seconded and agreed to.

OLD AGE PENSIONS.

Mr. James Brown, M.P. (Miners' Federation) moved the following resolution :—

That this Conference urges the Government to amend the Old Age Pensions Act by :—

(i.) *Reducing the pensionable age to 60 years, and*

(ii.) *Increasing the amount of pension to £1 per week.*

The amount of pension not to be reduced by any existing income in cash or kind.

He said it was a pity that a matter of this importance should come on at the last minute on the last day of the Conference, because the matter needed ventilating, although he believed there was not a man or woman present who would be against the demands expressed in the resolution.

Mr. E. T. Palmer (Prudential Staff Association), in seconding the resolution, said they were all familiar with the subject but he wished to lay emphasis on the last clause. If it was a fact that 70,000 people were ruled out of full participation in Old Age Pensions because they had not qualified for the pauper test, then he said that the Old Age Pension Act was rotten. They wanted to see the pauper test removed. They wanted to be assured that whether the age limit was reduced or the amount extended, they were more keen on the removal of the pauper test in regard to Old Age Pensions than anything else. He wanted the Party to get a move on in this matter. Those who were on the Local Committees examining the pensions knew full well what the disabilities were. If a person had been thrifty and had a few shillings a week, when he reached the pension age he was precluded from receiving the full

benefit from the State. Similarly some Trade Union members, who were receiving aid from the benevolent side of their Union, were ruled out from full benefit. That, he thought, was a great mistake, and the whole weight of the Conference should be in favour of the removal of the pauper test.

Mr. Arthur Henderson pointed out that the wording of the resolution was not as good as it might be. He particularly referred to the last line, which might mean that the amount of the pension was not to be reduced by existing income when the pension came to £1 per week. They had been fighting to get the income limit removed. He suggested that the resolution ought to read

The amount of present or future pension not to be reduced.

He hoped the Conference would give them power to insert those words.

Mr. Palmer said that was the intention.

Mr. J. Paton (I.L.P.) moved that the resolution be referred back, because he thought in the existing circumstances the deadweight of the National Debt was so great that any suggestion of this kind was Utopian and entirely impracticable.

The Chairman declined to take Mr. Paton's motion, and on the resolution being put to the Conference it was agreed to almost unanimously.

THE BLIND.

Mr. T. McLellan (Birkenhead Trades Council and Labour Party) moved :—

That this Conference demands the compulsory application of the Blind Persons' Act, 1920-1921.

Mr. Charles Lothian (a blind delegate representing the National League of the Blind), in seconding the resolution, said that very little of this Act had been put into operation. The first clause of the Act, which provided for a pension, had been put into operation, but as soon as it did so the Poor Law Authorities came along and cut off 10s. at the other end. The second clause of the Act gave power to Local Authorities to make certain provisions for the blind, but the Authorities had not done so and the Ministry of Health had assisted them very materially in nullifying the Act by withdrawing the pledge they gave to meet 50 per cent. of the expenditure. Local Authorities were told shortly afterwards that they were to economise and not to enter into any scheme involving further expenditure. This Act instead of being called "The Blind Persons' Act" ought to have been called "The Blinding Persons' Act," because it had been passed to blind public opinion. He understood that the Executive were trying to get the Act amended, but there was not much good in trying to amend an Act that had not been put into operation.

The resolution was agreed to.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION.

Mr. T. Hartle (National Union of General Workers) proposed the following resolution :—

That in view of the anomalies that have been created in the administration of the Workmen's Compensation Acts and of the inadequate amount of compensation payable under the existing law, and in view also of the fact that a Departmental Committee appointed by the Government has thoroughly examined the whole question and submitted a report and recommendations, this Conference calls upon the Government to introduce and pass into law this Session a comprehensive Bill to amend the Workmen's Compensation Acts as follows :—

(i.) *Provision should be made to provide for compensation in cases of disablement due to employment which at the present time are not accidents within the meaning of the Act.*

(ii.) *That failure to give notice of accident should not be a bar to the obtaining of compensation to injured workpeople.*

(iii.) *That an amendment regarding Lump Sum Settlements should be made whereby injured workpeople shall be entitled to the same privileges as the employers ; further, that no settlement should be binding unless registered in the County Court.*

(iv.) *That the law with regard to casual employment should be so amended as to include all people meeting with an accident whilst employed.*

(v.) *That in all cases of total incapacity full wages should be paid to injured workpeople.*

(vi.) *That in any amending Act provision should be made for State Insurance of all risks in connection with compensation.*

(vii.) *That the schedule of industrial diseases be extended to include phthisis rheumatism, yellow jaundice, affections of the eye or nerves, boils, or any other disease which can be proved to have been wholly or partially due to the nature of the employment.*

Coun. T. W. Stamford (Bradford Trades and Labour Council) seconded the resolution. He said that the failure to give notice of accidents had been more productive of litigation than any other part of the Workmen's Compensation Act, and in addition to that it had cheated workpeople out of the compensation rights which were due to them. The Bradford Trades Council therefore wished to see that part of the present Act swept away. They also attached considerable importance to the proposal made in the resolution dealing with compulsory State Insurance in respect of accidents. There were at the present time 65 Joint Stock Companies doing Workmen's Compensation business, and those Companies were receiving a premium income of about £5,000,000 per

nnum. Out of every £100 paid in pre-iums, not more than £48 went back to the orkmen injured in the course of their em-oyment. Objection was sometimes taken the ground that State Insurance would wasteful extravagance, but it was difficult realise any alternative form of insurance at could be quite as extravagant as insur-ice by these Joint Stock Companies. They ere anxious that the Labour Party should ake a determined effort to get the principle State Insurance for Compensation secured Parliament.

MR. A. GORMAN (Amalgamated Engineering nion) pointed out that there was no refer-ice in this resolution to increasing the nount payable.

MR. ARTHUR HENDERSON said that there as a small Committee representing the arty Executive and the General Council of e Trades Union Congress dealing with this atter. They were doing their best to get increase, but their primary object was to revent the decrease which would take place certain legislation were adopted within e next few months. This resolution, how-ver, would not divert them from endeavour-g to get an increase.

MR. GORMAN said that the amount payable fatal cases had not been altered from what was before the war. He was wondering hether this resolution would prevent the ommittee from going into the question of creased compensation.

MR. HENDERSON replied that they were oing to do all they could to get the Holman regory Report and something better.

The resolution was then agreed to.

WORKING HOURS.

MR. W. C. ROBINSON (United Textile actory Workers) moved the following esolution :—

That the Parliamentary Labour Party endeavour by all means at their disposal to press the Government to put into operation the resolutions relating to Working Hours adopted by the Washington Conference, and should press upon the Government for early legislation to secure that the Working Hours in any industry shall not exceed 48 *hours per week.*

He said that the cotton workers used to work much longer hours than they did to-day, and here was a great agitation at the present me to get them back to the old 55½ hours er week. They hoped the Conference ould help them in that matter.

The resolution was formally seconded and greed to.

TRADE BOARDS.

MISS MADELEINE SYMONS (National Union General Workers) submitted the following esolution :—

This Conference expresses its strong disapproval of the inaction of the Minister of Labour in respect to the setting up of Trade Boards for the Distributive Trades. It notes with indignation that nothing has been done to bring the Boards into being, of which notice of intention had been given.

In the case of the Grocery and Provision Trade Board it views with alarm that the Minister has again refused to confirm the rates fixed by the Board, and has once more referred the rates back to the Board for reconsideration after the Cave Committee of Inquiry has presented its Report and same has been published.

In view of the fact that the Trade Boards Act states the Minister of Labour shall confirm or refer the rates back to the Board for reconsideration within four weeks of the Trade Board fixing same, and that in the case of the Grocery and Provision Trade Board rates three months elapsed before the Minister gave any decision, this Conference considers such unwarranted delay and refusal to confirm rates an abuse of the power conferred on the Minister under the Trade Board Act, and a betrayal of tens of thousands of underpaid workers in the Grocery and Provision Trade, to whom even the low minimum rates fixed by the Board would at least bring a bare subsistence.

The Conference further expresses its strong disapproval of the proposals of the Cave Committee's Report (1) *to restrict the scope of the Trade Boards Acts ;* (2) *to deprive the Boards of powers hitherto usefully exercised by them ; and further regrets that the Committee have neglected the suggestions for administrative improvements urged upon them by the Advisory Committee of the Trades Union Congress.*

MISS SYMONS said that they were threatened with a Bill to carry out the recommendations of the Cave Committee's Report. The condemnation expressed in this resolution was a unanimous condemnation by all the Unions interested in Trade Boards, because they believed that a Bill on the lines suggested would undo a great many of the improvements gained under the 1918 Act, and would strike a blow at the lowest-paid workers. She asked that this resolution should be passed for two reasons. First, to give the Parliamentary Party a mandate to fight the Bill if introduced, and secondly, that the members of the Conference might bring pressure to bear in their various constituencies.

The resolution was agreed to.

POLICE STRIKE OF 1919.

MR. T. H. HAYES (National Union of Police and Prison Officers) moved the following resolution :—

This Conference regrets the attitude of the Government in continuing to refuse to reinstate the Police and Prison Officers who took part in the Police Strike of 1919, *and instructs the National Executive and the Parliamentary Labour Party to press for reinstatement of the men, and the application of Police Orphanage and other benefits to the widows and children of the strikers who have since died.*

The Conference declares for the right of Police and Prison Officers to organise free of official interference, and calls for the repeal of the anti-Trade Union clauses of the Police Act, 1919.

Since the last Conference, he said, they had made some progress, even with this Government, in so far as they had been able to reverse the decision of the Home Secretary and the Courts relative to the pensions of a number of men who took part in the strike. That was very good, but still they had to consider and care for the widows and children of the 40 men who had died since 1919. They wanted to work for these dependants, and to continue their work for the repeal of the Police Act itself. This Act represented what was in the minds of the Government against Trade Unionism as a whole. The Trade Union Amendment Bill which was now before the House of Commons was another move in the same direction. As far as they were concerned, they were far from "down and out," and they would eventually win.

COUNCILLOR H. ROSE (Liverpool Labour Party) seconded the resolution. He believed that if pressure was brought to bear upon the Government even more could be done than had to be done, and failing the ultimate reinstatement of all the men, at any rate the very least they could do was to see that those who had had long service should have something like justice done to them. They wanted the Labour representatives in the House of Commons to press that question when it came up in the House of Commons and see that full effect was given to the decisions which the Liverpool City Council had come to. He hoped everything possible would be done to repeal the Act.

The resolution was then put to the Conference and agreed to.

LABOUR LAW COURT.

The following resolution in the name of the Gorton United Trades and Labour Council was not moved, the delegate being absent when it was reached :—

> That in the event of any members of the Labour Movement being in dispute, they must not on any account sue or seek a decision in the bourgeois Law Courts. To facilitate the settlement of any such dispute, the National Labour Party and the General Council of the Trades Union Congress be instructed to set up a Representative Committee of Inquiry, which shall be empowered to give a decision.

LABOUR MAGISTRATES.

MR. R. L. WARBURTON (Stockport Trades Council and Labour Party) moved the following combined resolution :—

> *That one distinct Labour representative be appointed on each Advisory Committee responsible for recommending the appointment of Magistrates, and that the Lord Chancellor be urged to seek such representative by application to the Local Trades Council, Labour Party, or to the combined Trades Council and Labour Party where such exists.*

> *That two men and two women members of the National Executive Committee, together with the Woman Officer of the Party, wait upon the Lord Chancellor immediately to give effect to this resolution.*

The resolution was formally seconded and agreed to.

MR. A. W. LYNE (Northampton Labour Party) moved the following additional resolution :—

> The Labour Party demands that persons nominated for the Magisterial Bench should be enabled to take an alternative affirmation to the present oath of allegiance which at present prevents many democratic and republican workers from accepting magisterial office.

He said that throughout the country there were a large number of men and women belonging to the Labour Party who would make good Magistrates, but who had a very strong objection to take the oath of allegiance as they were asked to do at the present time. He felt that at least it should be optional in a Party which was largely composed of Republicans, and that it should be possible for individuals to take these positions under Government without taking the oath of allegiance. These people were, in the main, some of the most respected in the Movement, and they ought to have the opportunity of serving their countrymen and countrywomen without being compelled to do that which they had a great objection to.

The resolution was duly seconded.

A DELEGATE then moved

The previous question

and, on a show of hands, it was declared carried, whereupon Mr. JOHN BROMLEY demanded a card vote, which was taken forthwith and the result was declared as follows :—

For the previous question ..	2,569,000
Against the previous question	683,000
Majority for ..	1,886,000

A DELEGATE asked whether they were to understand that the resolution on the paper had been carried.

THE CHAIRMAN replied that the previous question having been carried, the resolution was wiped off altogether.

PAYMENT OF MEMBERS.

MR. H. J. JONES (National Union of Agricultural Workers) moved the following resolution :—

> *That this Conference instructs the Executive Committee and the Party in the House to take immediate steps to secure the payment of representatives on County Agricultural Committees.*

It was formally seconded and agreed to.

EMBARGO ON THE IMPORTATION OF CATTLE.

Mr. Duncan Carmichael (London Trades Council) moved the following resolution :—

This Conference condemns the Government for its refusal to carry out the recommendation of the Royal Commission on the Importation of Canadian Cattle, and urges the necessity of removing the embargo against the importation of Store Cattle as far as the Dominions are concerned, thereby improving the fresh meat supplies of the nation and assisting in the agricultural development of the land, as well as providing increased employment to slaughtermen, hide dressers, and other by-product workers.

He said that this question was coming up in the House of Commons very shortly and it was necessary that the Labour Party should vote for the embargo to be removed. The Government gave a pledge in 1917 that it should be removed, and the only people against it were the pedigree breeders in this country who were selling their prize bulls and cows to the American Trust for many thousands of guineas. The result was a combination of the pedigree breeders in this country together with the American Trust and the Vestey Trust against the removal of this embargo. It was placed on Canadian cattle 30 years ago, on a false charge, and the result of the embargo had meant that in London at the present time there was only 10 per cent. of fresh home-killed meat placed on the Smithfield Market. Ninety per cent. of the meat was imported frozen meat belonging to Vestey or the American Trust. So far as the workers were concerned it meant that slaughtermen were unemployed, hide dressers were unemployed, and tanners had to get the material from abroad, while the trade in bone manure and other things that the workers were employed upon was in a very bad state. They believed that the removal of the embargo would give a chance for the development of Canadian as well as home resources. Canada last year had complained that their grazing land, root crops, hay and straw had to be wasted, because there were not sufficient cattle feeding on the land. He believed that this would be a step towards improving employment in the country, and he asked the Conference to instruct the Parliamentary Party to vote in favour of the removal of the embargo when the matter came before the House of Commons.

Mr. Thomas McLellan (Birkenhead Trades Council and Labour Party), in seconding the motion, said that since the Order in Council was made some 30 years ago, practically 3,000,000 head of cattle had entered this country, and in no case had there been any sign of disease. Last year 33,000 head were imported from Canada and not a single sign of disease was manifest. The recent outbreak of foot and mouth disease cost this country over £1,000,000, and in the trade they felt that the time had arrived when new blood ought to be introduced. Mr. Carmichael and himself gave evidence before the Royal Commission that was set up to deal with this very important question, and experts—medical men and others—declared in no uncertain voice that disease did exist amongst the home herds.

Mr. J. Duncan (Scottish Farm Servants' Union) opposed the resolution because he said it was simply a stunt worked on the public and the Labour Party had let themselves into it. It was a game between two sets of farmers in this country, one the breeders and the other the feeders. Would they find a combination of those who were feeding for the market running a campaign for the sake of giving the people cheap beef ? As a matter of fact they had not an embargo on Canadian cattle ; what they had was an embargo on all cattle, and it was simply one of the ordinary precautions taken by a community to keep itself free from disease.

Mr. W. A. Robinson (National Union of Distributive Workers) expressed his astonishment at the remarks of the last speaker, and pointed out that this was not, in the main, a farmers' question. In reply to Mr. Duncan he would ask why were the five big beef trusts of South America utilising all the machinery possible to prevent the importation of clean Canadian stocks into this country ? The Government had appointed a Commission, and the Commission recommended that the embargo should be lifted. They were asking by this resolution that the Parliamentary Party should press the Government to fulfil the pledge that had been given.

The resolution was carried by a very large majority.

PUBLIC ABATTOIRS.

Mr. Adam Stewart (Ipswich Trades Council and Labour Party) moved the following resolution :—

That this Conference urges the Parliamentary Labour Party to secure an Act of Parliament making compulsory the establishment of Public Abattoirs, wherein all animals destined for human consumption shall be slaughtered and inspected.

He said this was a matter of very great importance especially in East Anglia. The present system of slaughtering was disgraceful and private slaughterhouses should be closed.

The resolution was formally seconded and agreed to.

REFORM OF PARLIAMENTARY PROCEDURE.

The Chairman announced that the following resolution, of which notice had been given by the Transport and General Workers' Union, had been accepted by the Executive :

This Annual Conference of the Labour Party is of opinion that an amendment of Parliamentary procedure is long overdue, and instructs the Executive Committee to co-operate with the Labour Party in the House in reviewing the present machinery with a view to putting forward suggestions for revision and bringing same before Parliament in the form of a Bill.

VOTE OF THANKS.

MR. F. O. ROBERTS, M.P., then moved :—

That the best thanks of the Conference be given to the Chairman for his conduct of the proceedings, to the Local Arrangements Committee for their efforts, to the Officials of the United Free Assembly Hall, to the representatives of the Press, and to all those who have helped to make the Conference so successful.

He was certain the motion would receive the hearty approval of every delegate present. His reference to the Chairman, although it would be very brief would be very sincere. He had been genial but he had been firm, and if for no other reason they owed a debt of gratitude to him for the clarion note which he struck in the address he delivered at the opening of the Conference. To the Local Arrangements Committee they also owed a tribute of gratitude for the arrangements they had made to meet the comfort and the requirements of the delegates. They also desired to express their thanks to the Officials of the United Free Assembly Hall. He supposed there would be just one little grumble because smoking had been prohibited inside the building, but he was sure everyone would agree that this was one of the most comfortable halls in which the Conference had ever been held, and when they came to erect their own meeting place, the United Free Assembly Hall would form some sort of a model. To the representatives of the Press, who had had a most difficult task, he would simply say that the service they had rendered the Conference was worthy of commendation for the excellence of the reports they had contributed. The resolution also referred to all those who had made the Conference a success, and in these he wished to include the delegates who had desired to make speeches but had generously refrained.

MR. R. J. DAVIES, M.P., seconded the motion, which was carried by acclamation.

THE CHAIRMAN, in reply, said that he was extremely grateful to Mr. Roberts for the mention of his name in connection with the vote. He desired to say that the delegates had been exceedingly kind to him, and had helped him very much in the conduct of the business of the Conference. Taking it on the whole he did not remember a more peaceful Conference, although that morning they had had rather a rough passage. On behalf of himself and all the others mentioned in the resolution he thanked them very sincerely.

MR. ARTHUR HENDERSON announced that the new Executive had met and had elected Mr. Sidney Webb as Chairman for the ensuing year, and Mr. Ramsay MacDonald as Vice-Chairman.

The proceedings of the Conference then terminated.

APPENDIX I.

THE CONSTITUTION AND STANDING ORDERS OF THE LABOUR PARTY.

(As adopted by the Party Conference held in London, 1918, and amended by the Southport, Scarborough, Brighton and Edinburgh Conferences, 1919, 1920 and 1921.)

1.—NAME.

The Labour Party.

2.—MEMBERSHIP.

The Labour Party shall consist of all its affiliated organisations,* together with those men and women who are individual members of a Local Labour Party and who subscribe to the Constitution and Programme of the Party.

3.—PARTY OBJECTS.

National.

(*a*) To organise and maintain in Parliament and in the country a Political Labour Party, and to ensure the establishment of a Local Labour Party in every County Constituency and every Parliamentary Borough, with suitable divisional organisation in the separate constituencies of Divided Boroughs;

(*b*) To co-operate with the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress, or other Kindred Organisations, in joint political or other action in harmony with the Party Constitution and Standing Orders;

(*c*) To give effect as far as may be practicable to the principles from time to time approved by the Party Conference;

(*d*) To secure for the producers by hand or by brain the full fruits of their industry, and the most equitable distribution thereof that may be possible, upon the basis of the common ownership of the means of production and the best obtainable system of popular administration and control of each industry or service;

(*e*) Generally to promote the Political, Social, and Economic Emancipation of the People, and more particularly of those who depend directly upon their own exertions by hand or by brain for the means of life.

Inter-Dominion.

(*f*) To co-operate with the Labour and Socialist organisations in the Dominions and the Dependencies with a view to promoting the purposes of the Party and to take common action for the promotion of a higher standard of social and economic life for the working population of the respective countries.

International.

(*g*) To co-operate with the Labour and Socialist organisations in other countries and to assist in organising a Federation of Nations for the maintenance of Freedom and Peace, for the establishment of suitable machinery for the adjustment and settlement of International Disputes by Conciliation or Judicial Arbitration, and for such International Legislation as may be practicable.

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* Trade Unions, Socialist Societies, Co-operative Societies, Trades Councils, and Local Labour Parties.

4.—PARTY PROGRAMME.

(*a*) It shall be the duty of the Party Conference to decide, from time to time, what specific proposals of legislative, financial, or administrative reform shall receive the general support of the Party, and be promoted, as occasion may present itself, by the National Executive and the Parliamentary Labour Party : provided that no such proposal shall be made definitely part of the General Programme of the Party unless it has been adopted by the Conference by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the votes recorded on a card vote.

(*b*) It shall be the duty of the National Executive and the Parliamentary Labour Party, prior to every General Election, to define the principal issues for that Election which in their judgment should be made the Special Party Programme for that particular Election Campaign, which shall be issued as a manifesto by the Executive to all constituencies where a Labour Candidate is standing.

(*c*) It shall be the duty of every Parliamentary representative of the Party to be guided by the decision of the meetings of such Parliamentary representatives, with a view to giving effect to the decisions of the Party Conference as to the General Programme of the Party.

5.—THE PARTY CONFERENCE.

1. The work of the Party shall be under the direction and control of the Party Conference, which shall itself be subject to the Constitution and Standing Orders of the Party. The Party Conference shall meet regularly once in each year, and also at such other times as it may be convened by the National Executive.

2. The Party Conference shall be constituted as follows :—

(*a*) Trade Unions and other societies affiliated to the Party may send one delegate for each 1,000 members on which fees are paid.

(*b*) Local Labour Party delegates may be either men or women resident or having a place of business in the constituency they represent, and shall be appointed as follows :—

In Borough and County Constituencies returning one Member to Parliament, the Local Labour Party may appoint one delegate;

In undivided Boroughs returning two Members, two delegates may be appointed.

In divided Boroughs one delegate may be appointed for each separate constituency within the area. The Local Labour Party within the constituency shall nominate and the Central Labour Party of the Divided Borough shall appoint the delegates. In addition to such delegates, the Central Labour Party in each Divided Borough may appoint one delegate.

An additional woman delegate may be appointed for each constituency in which the number of affiliated and individual women members exceeds 500.

(*c*) Trades Councils under Section 8, clause *c*, shall be entitled to one delegate.

(*d*) The members of the National Executive, including the Treasurer, the Members of the Parliamentary Labour Party, and the duly-sanctioned Parliamentary Candidates shall be *ex-officio* members of the Party Conference, but shall, unless delegates, have no right to vote.

6.—THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE.

(*a*) There shall be a National Executive of the Party consisting of twenty-three members (including the Treasurer), elected by the Party Conference at its regular Annual Meeting, in such proportion and under such conditions as may be set out in the Standing Orders for the time being in force, and this National Executive shall, subject to the control and directions of the Party Conference, be the Administrative Authority of the Party.

(*b*) The National Executive shall be responsible for the conduct of the general work of the Party. The National Executive shall take steps to ensure that the Party is represented by a properly constituted organisation in each constituency in which this is found practicable ; it shall give effect to the decisions of the Party Conference ; and it shall interpret the Constitution and Standing Orders and Rules of the Party in all cases of dispute subject to an appeal to the next regular Annual Meeting of the Party Conference by the organisation or person concerned.

(*c*) The National Executive shall confer with the Parliamentary Labour Party at the opening of each Parliamentary Session, and also at any other time when the National Executive or the Parliamentary Party may desire such conference on any matters relating to the work and progress of the Party, or to the efforts necessary to give effect to the General Programme of the Party.

7.—PARLIAMENTARY CANDIDATURES.

(*a*) The National Executive shall co-operate with the Local Labour Party in any constituency with a view to nominating a Labour Candidate at any Parliamentary General or Bye-Election. Before any Parliamentary Candidate can be regarded as finally adopted for a constituency as a Candidate of the Labour Party, his candidature must be sanctioned by the National Executive.

(*b*) Candidates approved by the National Executive shall appear before their constituencies under the designation of " Labour Candidate " only. At any General Election they shall include in their Election Addresses and give prominence in their campaigns to the issues for that Election as defined by the National Executive from the General Party Programme. If they are elected they shall act in harmony with the Constitution and Standing Orders of the Party in seeking to discharge the responsibilities established by Parliamentary practice.

8.—AFFILIATION FEES.

1. Trade Unions, Socialist Societies, Co-operative Societies, and other organisations directly affiliated to the Party (but not being affiliated Local Labour Parties or Trades Councils) shall pay 3d. per member per annum to the Central Party Funds with a minimum of 30s.

The membership of a Trade Union for the purpose of this clause shall be those members contributing to the political fund of the Union established under the Trade Union Act, 1913.

2. The affiliation of Trades Councils will be subject to the following conditions :—

(*a*) Where Local Labour Parties and Trades Councils at present exist in the same area every effort must be made to amalgamate these bodies, retaining in one organisation the industrial and political functions, and incorporating the constitution and rules for the Local Labour Parties in the rules of the amalgamated body.

(*b*) Where no Local Labour Party is in existence and the Trades Council is discharging the political functions, such Trades Council shall be eligible for affiliation as a Local Labour Party, providing that its rules and title be extended so as to include Local Labour Party functions.

(*c*) Where a Local Labour Party and a Trades Council exist in the same area, the Trades Council shall be eligible to be affiliated to the Local Labour Party, but not to the National Party except in such cases where the Trades Council was affiliated to the National Party prior to November 1st, 1917. In these cases the Executive Committee shall have power to continue national affiliation on such conditions as may be deemed necessary.

(*d*) Trades Councils included under Section (*c*) shall pay an annual affiliation fee of 30s.

3. Local Labour Parties must charge individually enrolled members, male a minimum of 1s. per annum, female 6d. per annum ; and 2d. per member so collected must be remitted to the Central Office with a minimum of 30s., as the affiliation fee of such Local Labour Party.

4. In addition to these payments, a delegation fee of 5s. to the Party Conference or any Special Conference may be charged.

9.—CONDITION OF ELIGIBILITY OF DELEGATES FROM CONSTITUENT BODIES TO EITHER LOCAL LABOUR PARTIES OR TO ANY NATIONAL OR LOCAL CONFERENCE OF THE LABOUR PARTY.

(*a*) Every person nominated to serve as a delegate shall individually accept the Constitution and principles of the Labour Party.

(*b*) No person shall be eligible as a delegate who is a member of any organisation having for one of its objects the return to Parliament or to any Local Governing Authority of a candidate or candidates other than such as have been endorsed by the Labour Party, or have been approved as running in association with the Labour Party.

STANDING ORDERS.

1.—ANNUAL CONFERENCE.

1. The National Executive shall convene the Annual Party Conference for the month of June (but not at Whitsuntide) in each year, subject to the Constitution and the Standing Orders, and shall convene other Sessions of the Party Conference from time to time as may be required.

2. In the event of it being necessary to convene the Party Conference upon short notice, in order to deal with some sudden emergency, the Secretaries of the affiliated organisations and Local Labour Parties shall, on receiving the summons, instantly take such action as may be necessary to enable the Society or Constituency to be represented, in accordance with the rules.

3. Any Session of the Party Conference summoned with less than ten days' notice shall confine its business strictly to that relating to the emergency, which cannot without detriment to the Party be postponed.

4. Persons eligible as delegates must be paying *bona fide* members, or paid permanent officials of the organisation sending them.

5. No delegate to the Conference shall represent more than one Society, and no Member of Parliament who has not joined the Parliamentary Labour Party is eligible as a delegate.

6. Every person nominated to serve as a delegate shall individually accept the Constitution and principles of the Labour Party.

7. No person shall be eligible as a delegate who is a member of any organisation having for one of its objects the return to Parliament or to any Local Governing Authority of a candidate or candidates other than such as have been endorsed by the Labour Party, or have been approved as running in association with the Labour Party.

8. Members of affiliated organisations claiming exemption from political contributions under the Trade Union Act, 1913, shall not be entitled to act as delegates.

2.—AGENDA.

1. Notice of Resolutions for the Annual Conference shall be sent to the Secretary at the Office of the Party not later than April 1st, for inclusion in the first Agenda which shall be forthwith issued to the affiliated organisations.

2. Notice of Amendments to the Resolutions in the first Agenda, and Nominations for the Executive, Treasurer, Auditors (2), Annual Conference Arrangements Committee (5), shall be forwarded to the Secretary not later than May 16th, for inclusion in the final Agenda of the Annual Conference.

3. No business which does not arise out of the Resolutions on the Agenda shall be considered by the Party Conference, unless recommended by the Executive or the Conference Arrangements Committee.

4. When the Annual Conference has, by resolution, made a declaration of a general policy or principle, no motion having for its object the reaffirmation of such policy or principle shall appear on the Agenda for a period of three years from the time such declaration was made, except such resolutions as are, in the opinion of the Executive, of immediate importance.

3.—VOTING.

Voting at the Party Conference shall be by Cards issued as follows :—

Trade Unions and other affiliated societies shall receive one Voting Card for each 1,000 members or fraction thereof paid for.

Trades Councils affiliated under Section 8, clause *c*, shall receive one Voting Card.

Every Local Labour Party shall receive one Voting Card for each delegate sent in respect of each Parliamentary Constituency within its area.

Central Labour Parties in Divided Boroughs shall receive one Voting Card,

4.—NATIONAL EXECUTIVE.

1. The National Executive shall be elected by the Annual Conference, as a whole, and shall consist, apart from the Treasurer, of (*a*) 13 representatives of the affiliated organisations; (*b*) five representatives of the Local Labour Parties; and (*c*) four women. The Executive shall be elected by ballot vote on the card basis from three lists of nominations confined to delegates appointed to attend the Annual Conference.

2. Each affiliated national organisation shall be entitled to nominate one candidate for List A; and two candidates if the membership exceeds 500,000. Each candidate must be a *bona fide* member of the organisation by which he or she is nominated.

3. Each Parliamentary Constituency organisation, through its Local Labour Party or Trades Council, may nominate one candidate for List B, and the candidate so nominated must be resident or have his or her place of business within the area of the nominating Local Labour Party.

4. Each affiliated organisation shall be entitled to nominate one woman candidate for List C, and two candidates if the membership exceeds 500,000, whether such nominees are or are not members of the nominating organisation.

5. The National Executive shall elect its own Chairman and Vice-Chairman at its first meeting each year, and shall see that all its officers and members conform to the Constitution and Standing Orders of the Party. The National Executive shall present to the Annual Conference a Report covering the work and progress of the Party during its year of office, together with the Financial Statement and Accounts duly audited.

6. No member of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress is eligible for nomination to the National Executive.

7. The consent of candidates must be secured before their nomination for office.

5.—TREASURER.

The Treasurer shall be elected separately by the Annual Conference. Each affiliated organisation may nominate a candidate for the Treasurership independent of any other nomination it makes for the National Executive.

6.—SECRETARY.

The Secretary shall be elected by the Annual Party Conference, and be *ex-officio* a member of the Conference; he shall devote his whole time to the work of the Party, but this shall not prevent him being a Candidate for or a Member of Parliament. He shall remain in office so long as his work gives satisfaction to the National Executive and Party Conference. Should a vacancy in the office occur between two Annual Conferences, the Executive shall have full power to fill the vacancy, subject to the approval of the Annual Conference next following.

Nominations for the office shall be on the same conditions as for the Treasurer ship.

7.—ANNUAL CONFERENCE ARRANGEMENTS COMMITTEE.

1. The duties of the Conference Arrangements Committee shall be :—

(*a*) To attend at the place of Conference two days before its opening, for the purpose of arranging the Conference Agenda;

(*b*) To appoint Scrutineers and Tellers for the Conference from among the delegates whose names have been received at the Head Office prior to May 31st, such appointments to be subject to the approval of the Conference;

(*c*) To act as Standing Orders Committee during the Conference.

2. Should any of the five members of the Conference Arrangements Committee be unable to fulfil his or her duties, the person who received the highest number of votes amongst those not elected shall be called upon, but should the voting list be exhausted, it shall lie with the Society the member represents to nominate a substitute.

3. Remuneration of the Conference Arrangements Committee, Scrutineers and Tellers shall be at the rate of 15s. per day.

APPENDIX II.

LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCES.

Year.	Place of Conference.	Chairman.	No of Delegates.	Membership.	Income of General Fund.
					£
1900	London	W. C Steadman	129	568,177	—
1901	Manchester	J. Hodge	82	456,438	243
1902	Birmingham	W. J. Davis	110	469,311	286
1903	Newcastle-on-Tyne	J. N. Bell	243	861,150	715
1904	Bradford	J. Hodge	355	969,800	1,009
1905	Liverpool	D. J. Shackleton	348	900,000	1,305
1906	London	A. Henderson	363	921,280	2,059
1907	Belfast	J. J. Stephenson	347	998,338	2,768
1908	Hull	W. Hudson	404	1,072,413	1,789
1909	Portsmouth	J. R. Clynes	399	1,152,786	2,057
1910	Newport	J. Keir Hardie	448	1,486,308	3,053
1911	Leicester	W. C. Robinson	460	1,430,539	6,628*
1912	Birmingham	Ben Turner	474	1,539,092	2,834*
1913	London	G. H. Roberts	516	1,895,498	21,529†
1914	Glasgow	Tom Fox	551	—	8,297
1916	Bristol	W. C. Anderson	608	2,093,365	20,092‡
1917	Manchester	G. J. Wardle	752	2,219,764	11,734
1918	Nottingham	W. F. Purdy	879	2,465,131	12,263¶
1918	London	W. F. Purdy	852	2,726,000	—
1919	Southport	J. McGurk	954	3,013,129	25,537‖
1920	Scarborough	W. H. Hutchinson	1,109	3,511,290	37.866
1921	Brighton	A. G. Cameron	872	4,359,807	54.523
1922	Edinburgh	F. W. Jowett	820	4,010,361	61,178

* Including Special Appeal Fund. † Including all balances on amalgamation of General, Special and Parliamentary Funds.
‡ Two years (1914-5). ¶ Excluding £18,000 Treasury Bills realised. ‖ Excluding £14,920 Investments realised.

APPENDIX III.

Memorandum on Unemployment and the International Situation, Reparations and Russia.

Submitted to the Government as a result of an interview given by the Prime Minister and his colleagues on Thursday, 15th December, 1921, to representatives of the Parliamentary Labour Party, the General Council of the Trades Union Congress and the National Executive of the Labour Party.

UNEMPLOYMENT AND INTERNATIONAL POLICY.

In accordance with the suggestion made by the Prime Minister during the interview with representatives of Labour on December 15th, we submit the following proposals :—

(1) The temporary suspension of the reparation payments due from Germany.

(2) Consideration of the international economic situation in all its aspects by an International Economic Conference.

(3) The reparation demanded from Germany by the Allies should be reduced by the deduction of an amount equivalent to the sum claimed in respect of war pensions, and separation allowances, as this claim was not contemplated in the terms under which Germany laid down her arms.

(4) The reparation payments received by the Allies should be distributed according to need, and the restoration of the devastated regions of France and Belgium should have priority. The principle of delivery in kind and labour for the immediate purposes of reconstruction should be adopted wherever possible.

(5) The Allies should promote an arrangement for the cancellation of the mutual indebtedness of the Allied and Associated Powers.

(6) The International Conference should promote international loans or credits for :—

(*a*) The reconstruction of the devastated regions of France and Belgium, Germany accepting the obligation to pay the annuities and

(*b*) the restoration of normal conditions of production and exchange on the Continent of Europe.

(7) The restoration of Russia's economic life as essential to the revival of normal trade, and to the development of Germany's ability to meet the reparation demands.

(8) As regards Russia, it is suggested that—

(*a*) Further relief credits should be immediately granted.

(*b*) The Soviet Government should be fully recognised.

(*c*) Arrangements should be made to provide Russia with reconstruction material, and the general trade credit scheme should be extended to Russia.

(*d*) The question of the Russian war debt to the United Kingdom should be considered in relation to the whole question of mutual indebtedness of the countries associated in the war.

I.—AN INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC CONFERENCE.

An International Economic Conference should be called as soon as possible to review the international economic situation in all its aspects, including the mutual indebtedness of the Allied and Associated Powers created by and during the state of war, the depreciation of currencies, the abnormal fluctuations of the exchanges and the consequences to the economic life of the world of the indemnities imposed by the Peace Treaties. It would be neither equitable nor desirable that the German and Russian Governments should be excluded from such a Conference.

The reparation payments due from Germany in the immediate future should be temporarily suspended by the Reparations Commission under Article 234 of the Treaty of Versailles, pending the consideration of the whole of the issues involved, firstly, by the Allied and Associated Powers and, secondly, by the International Economic Conference. At the same time, as a matter of equal urgency, further famine credits should be granted to Russia.

II.—REPARATION.

The Labour Movement has always placed in the forefront the damage suffered by France and Belgium, and we have recorded our view that no British claim is more urgent than the claims of France and Belgium for the prompt restoration of the devastated regions. We are in favour of their receiving full reparation for the damage done, and we are satisfied that it is within the capacity of Germany to make good this damage.

The demand that Germany should repay to the Allies the sums expended on pensions and dependents' allowances has always appeared to us to be a departure, both in the letter and the spirit, from the pre-Armistice Agreement; and it undoubtedly renders it the more difficult for Germany to fulfil her obligations to restore the actual damage done to civilian life and property. Further, this demand forms a much larger proportion of the British claim than of the French claim; if it were dropped, France, whose need is greater, would obtain a larger proportion of the total payments received.

Under the head of "damage done to civilians and their property," we include, of course, damage done to the civilians of our own country, but this is relatively small when compared with the losses suffered by civilians in the devastated regions of France and Belgium.

The method of payment in kind adopted in the Wiesbaden Agreement seems to us, broadly speaking, the right one. It has been consistently advocated both by the Labour Movement in this country and by the various international organisations of Labour. We would advocate it in its general outlines as the right method by which France and Belgium should obtain the reparation properly due to them, without at the same time making it necessary for Germany to export for nothing goods of a kind which are made in the ordinary course of trade by British manufacturers.

We believe that in the process of restoration German labour, as well as German materials, should play a part, so far as the sentiment of the French people will allow it.

We would draw special attention, in addition, to the Scheme proposed by the French, Belgium, British and German sections of the Second International on March 30th, 1921, whereby one or more great international loans should be floated, for the restoration of the devastated regions, and guaranteed by annuities which Germany would undertake to pay.

With regard to the coal deliveries under the Spa Agreement of 1920, and subsequent agreements, it is evident that, if manufactured goods for restoration are to be delivered in great quantities to France, out of resources already substantially reduced by the loss of Upper Silesia, it will not be possible to maintain these deliveries at their present level. In any case, the deliveries of manufactured goods and of coal and other raw materials should be considered as part of one whole.

Finally, we are of opinion that the whole question of reparation should ultimately be considered, as part of a general scheme for the economic reconstruction of Europe, by the International Economic Conference above referred to, which should include, at least, the principal Governments of Europe and that of the United States. It would, in any case, be necessary to revise the Reparations Agreement of May, 1921, since a large portion of Upper Silesia has been separated from Germany since that Agreement was made.

The Allied and Associated Powers should agree to the cancellation of their mutual indebtedness as part of the general scheme for the economic reconstructoin of Europe adopted by the International Economic Conference.

This general settlement, which would create a new atmosphere, should render possible the complete withdrawal of the Armies of Occupation from the Rhineland. Up to the present time—three years after the Armistice—the British Army of Occupation has absorbed all the payments and deliveries made to this country by way of Reparation.

It is also our opinion that the Allies should adopt the principle of impartial arbitration on certain points of disagreement between them and the German Government. These relate particularly to the valuation of the German deliveries and other questions of fact arising in connection with the Treaty of Versailles; and also to the general question of Germany's capacity to pay. These should be referred for settlement to an expert Commission appointed by the League of Nations, the International Economic Conference, or some other authority acceptable to both sides.

III.—RUSSIA.

Labour's economic policy with regard to Russia is based upon two facts. Firstly, Russia is potentially Europe's largest granary and the greatest market in Europe for the purchase of manufactured articles. Secondly, all the countries of Europe are economically interdependent. Russia was the principal customer of Germany before the war, whilst Germany was our principal European customer, and Russia was becoming the chief source of our supply of cereals. These facts cannot be dissociated. It will be quite impossible for Germany to make any substantial contribution towards her reparation obligations until the economic relations between Russia and Germany have been re-established. Moreover, the maintenance of a regular and sufficient food supply for the United Kingdom will depend more and more upon the prosperity of Russian agriculture.

As the Russian Government itself plays a leading part in any commercial transactions between Russia and the outside world, trade with Russia depends upon the credit of the Russian Government, and therefore upon recognition of the Russian Government by other Governments and upon free and unrestricted co-operation and consultation with it. It is essential in the interests of our trade that normal relations should be fully restored, both diplomatic and otherwise, and that a conference should be held at which the whole question of the debts, and the conclusion of a definite and general peace with Russia should be discussed between the Governments. Indeed, the Trade Agreement contains a clause referring the payment of debts to a conference. The war debts of the late Russian Government to which the Prime Minister referred should be treated as part of the international problem of war debts of all the Allies.

The revival of Russian agriculture depends upon the reconstruction of her railways and transport, and upon the free flow of manufactured commodities once more into Russia. It depends too upon prompt relief to the vast area which has suddenly been overwhelmed by the catastrophe of the famine. It follows that Russia must purchase manufactured goods from us before she can be in a position to supply us with grain. In other words the opening of the Russian market to our trade depends upon our granting credit in some form to Russia.

The granting of credit to finance foreign trade always implies risk ; Labour holds that the economic position is so threatening in Europe and in this country, that the risk must be taken. In conference with the Russian Government our Government should work out the measures and guarantees which would reduce that risk to a minimum, but action should be taken immediately because the pressure of unemployment is dangerously insistent. The granting of credits to be spent upon the purchase by Russia of goods manufactured in this country must in any case be the cheapest form of unemployment relief, partly because one international transaction promotes another in the sphere of trade, and partly because it is expenditure which should eventually be fully recovered.

The bearing of Russian possibilities on our trade balance is all-important. At present, both this country and Europe generally are obliged to import grain in vast quantities from the United States, which cannot and will not receive our manufactured goods in payment. That is one cause of the unfavourable exchange. It is essential therefore to revive Russia as a source of supply, if only to put an end to this dangerous dependence on America and the continued piling up of American claims against Europe. Unlike America, Russia can be paid in machinery and manufactured goods.

In regard to the urgent question of the Volga famine, the experience of four months has shown that all the Relief Societies together, including the American effort, can touch only the fringe of the distress. Little or nothing is being done for adults, and even of the children only a minority are being fed. The mortality is already incredibly high, and it is certain to increase. We ask under this head for a further credit to cover the purchase of grain for the Volga. One easy way of attaining this purpose would be to give surplus stores of such goods as nails, spades, boots, cloth, &c., which might be bartered for foodstuffs in the unaffected districts of Russia, the produce of the transaction to be sent to the Relief Agencies on the Volga.

To sum up we suggest for Russia—

(*a*) As a matter of urgency, further relief credits in cash or kind.

(*b*) The full official recognition of the Soviet Government.

(*c*) As an item in the general European settlement, some credit arrangement, in the form of a reconstruction loan to Russia, which will enable her to obtain railway material and machinery for the restoration of her agriculture.

(*d*) The extension of the general trade credit scheme to Russia, in order to foster the export of British manufactured goods.

MEMORANDUM UPON THE EFFECT OF THE REPARATION AGREEMENT UPON THE EXPORT OF BRITISH COAL.

The latest comparative figures of export coal from the United Kingdom reveal a growing disparity between the coal exported in 1913 and in 1921.

The export of British coal to Russia during the eleven months ended November 30th, 1913, was 5,598,000 tons, and in the eleven months ended November, 1921, 126,400 tons, or a net reduction of five and a half million tons in eleven months.

Exports to Germany for the eleven months ended 30th November, 1913, amounted to 8,300,000 tons, as against 659,000 tons in the eleven months ended November, 1921, a reduction of nearly 8,000,000 tons of coal.

The amount of coal exported to France from this country during the eleven months ended the 30th November, 1913, was 11,676,000 tons, and in the eleven months ended November, 1921, 5,161,000 tons of coal, or a net reduction of over 6,000,000 tons of coal.

It will be seen, therefore, that the total loss of coal exports to Russia, Germany and France, as compared with the pre-war period, amounts to a figure of 19½ million tons of coal.

The effect of this loss in export trade upon the exporting districts in the country is damaging to a degree. Not only has it rendered large numbers of men unemployed—about 50,000 mine-workers are out of work in South Wales alone—but the cutting of prices in an attempt to recover the continental market, and particularly the French market, has had an equally disastrous effect on the wages of the workmen who are employed, most of whom do not work more than four shifts per week.

The effect of the Spa Coal Agreement has been to damage materially the prospects of trade recovery in the exporting districts of this country. Under the Agreement, Germany is compelled to export to the Allied countries 22,000,000 tons of coal per annum. This coal finds its way into Belgium, France and Italy, and in consequence of the character of the Treaty, no cash transactions take place between the receiving countries and the German Government. The respective Governments, however, in selling the coal to consumers in their countries, charge them the current prices in their country. But if they are unable to dispose of it at home, they re-export it to other countries and obtain the world price. Therefore, the net effect of this process is that coal is being sold so cheaply in the countries referred to, that British coal has to be sold at a price below cost in order to find any kind of market at all, and only the better classes of British coal are able to secure a market, in view of the large quantities of coal coming into these countries under the Reparation Clauses.

The German Government is given credit for the coal so exported as a set-off against the reparation payable by her, but the price at which it is credited to her is the actual price at which similar classes of coal are sold in Germany, plus the freightages to the frontier. When these prices are expressed in the rate of exchange of the receiving countries, they are considerably below any price at which British exporters can sell their coal as a paying proposition. In our judgment, it is folly for this country to pursue a reparation policy which has such a disastrous effect on our own countrymen. It has been argued that if the German mine workers would only insist upon getting a wage commensurate with the increased cost of living in Germany, the price of German coal would necessarily be higher. The plain fact is that the German mine-worker at present works a shorter working day than his English co-workers (the working day of the former being 7 hours bank to bank), and from time to time he has endeavoured to secure such advances in wages as correspond with the declining mark and consequent increase in the cost of living. On two occasions this year has he made such application, but he has never been able to secure the full claims which he set forth. From time to time he has actually threatened to strike in order to secure a living wage, but he has been met by the statement that a strike of any magnitude would result in the military occupation of the Ruhr Valley, which would, of course, have the effect of retarding the regular delivery of reparation coal to France.

The export of a large quantity of coal from Germany is, we are credibly informed, having disadvantageous effects upon their own home industries, which are being seriously crippled in consequence of the shortage in the supply of coal and the inferior quality that has to be used. This causes some amount of stagnation in industry, and this stagnation in turn prevents Germany from importing the usual quantities of coal from Great Britain, which, as has already been indicated, amounted to more than 8¼ millions in the eleven months ended 30th November, 1913.

It is clear from the above that the only solution to the present difficulties affecting the export trade in coal from this country is the drastic revision of the Treaty, although it should be said that all the miners who are members of the International Miners' Federation, including German miners, are of opinion that any losses in coal caused by the devastation in the French coal mines should be made good (and it will undoubtedly be made good) from coal produced in the German mines, and that coal payments should continue until French production reaches its pre-war quantities. The present price of British export coal is such as to have definitely excluded America from the European market, but the effect of the Spa Agreement is to compel British exporters to sell their coal in Europe at a price which is entirely uneconomical and which cannot and does not yield either a living wage for the men engaged in the export districts or the profits for the owners in those districts necessary for the continuous expansion of the industry. This state of affairs, in addition to the small amount of time worked in consequence of restricted markets, has placed the mining industry in Britain's export districts in a position of penury.

APPENDIX IV.

LABOUR MEMBERS, JUNE, 1922.

Constituency.	*Name.*	*Society.*
CUMBERLAND : Workington	Thos. Cape, 91, Harrington Road, Workington, Cumberland.	M.F.G.B.
DERBY : Derby	Rt. Hon. J. H. Thomas, Unity House, Euston Rd., N.W. 1.	N.U.R.
DURHAM : Barnard Castle	J. E. Swan, Dipton S.O., Co. Durham.	M.F.G.B.
Bishop Auckland	Ben Spoor, 4, Wellington House, Eton Road, N.W. 3.	I.L.P.
Chester-le-Street	J. Lawson, 6, Twizell Lane, Beamish, Co. Durham.	M.F.G.B.
Houghton-le-Spring	R. Richardson. St. Ardan's Terrace, New Herrington, Fence Houses, Co. Durham.	M.F.G.B.
ESSEX : West Ham (Plaistow)	Ald. Will Thorne, 28, Tavistock Square, W.C. 1.	N.U.G.W.
,, (Silvertown)	Ald. J. J. Jones, 28, Tavistock Square, W.C. 1.	N.U.G.W.
GLOUCESTER : Forest of Dean	Jas. Wignall, 17, Fawnbrake Avenue, Herne Hill, S.E. 24.	Dockers.
KENT : Dartford	J. E. Mills, 4, Lassa Road, S.E. 9.	D.L.P.
LANCASHIRE : Bolton	R. Toothill, "Westfield," Second Avenue, Blackpool.	D.L.P.
Burnley	Dan Irving, 80, Glen View Road, Burnley, Lancs.	S.D.F.
Manchester (Clayton)	J. E. Sutton, North Road, Clayton, Manchester.	M.F.G.B.
,, (Gorton)	Rt. Hon. John Hodge, 76, Swinton Street, Gray's Inn Road, W.C.	B.I.S. & K.T.A.
,, (Platting)	Rt. Hon. J. R. Clynes, 41 St. John's Road, Putney, S.W. 15.	N.U.G.W.
Nelson and Colne	Robinson Graham, 96, Gainsborough Avenue, Burnley.	U.T.F.W.A.
Preston	Tom Shaw, 243, Keighley Road, Colne, Lancs.	U.T.F.W.A.
St. Helens	J. Sexton, 17, Norton Street, Liverpool.	N.U. Dockers.
Salford (North)	Ben Tillett, 3, Central Buildings, Westminster, S.W. 1.	Dockers.
Wigan	J. A. Parkinson, Glenthorne, Oriel Mount, near Wigan.	M.F.G.B.
Clitheroe	A. Davis, Moorfield Terrace, Hollingworth, near Manchester.	U.T.F.W.A.
Heywood and Radcliffe	Walter Halls, 43, Henry Road, W. Bridgford, Nottingham.	N.U.R.
Ince	Stephen Walsh 8, Swinley Road, Wigan.	M.F.G.B.
Newton	Robt. Young, 213, Barry Road, East Dulwich, S.E.	A.E.U.
Ormskirk	Jas. Bell. 116, Belgrave Road, Oldham.	U.T.F.W.A.
Westhoughton	R. J. Davies, "Oakley," Wilmslow Road, Fallowfield, Manchester.	N.U.D.A.W.

Constituency.	*Name.*	*Society.*
Widnes	Rt. Hon. A. Henderson, 81, Carlisle Mansions, Carlisle Place, S.W. 1.	Ironfounders.
LEICESTER : Leicester (East)	Ald. G. Banton, " Stapleford," Westfield Road, Leicester.	D.L.P.
LINCS. : Holland-with-Boston	W. S. Royce, Pinchbeck Hall, Spalding, Lincs.	D.L.P.
LONDON : Camberwell (North)	C. G. Ammon, L.C.C., 43, Cromwell Road, South Kensington, S.W. 7.	U.P.O.W.
Deptford	Rt. Hon. C. W. Bowerman, 4, Battledean Road Highbury, N. 5.	L.S.C.
Southwark (S.E.)	T. E. Naylor, 175, Highbury Hill, N. 5.	L.S.C.
NORFOLK : South Norfolk	Geo. Edwards, 7, Lichfield Street, Fakenham, Norfolk.	A.L. & R.W.
NORTHAMPTON : Kettering	A. E. Waterson, 34, Harcourt Road, Alexandra Park, Wood Green, N. 22.	Co-operative.
Wellingborough	W. R. Smith, Belle Vue, St. Clements Hill, Norwich.	B. & S.O.
NORTHUMBERLAND : Morpeth	J. Cairns, 16, The Drive, Gosforth, Newcastle-on-Tyne.	M.F.G.B.
NOTTINGHAM : Nottingham (West)	A. Hayday, 1, St. James, Nottingham.	N.U.G.W.
Broxtowe	G. A. Spencer, 39, Langtry Grove, Nottingham.	M.F.G.B.
Mansfield	W. Carter, 8, Berridge Road, Sherwood Rise, Nottingham.	M.F.G.B.
STAFFORD : Dudley	J. Wilson, 40, Lynwood Terrace, Newcastle-on-Tyne.	N.U.R.
Newcastle-under-Lyme	Col. J. Wedgwood. 12, Beaufort House, Beaufort Street, S.W. 3.	I.L.P.
Smethwick	J. E. Davison, 32, Cottingham Street, Attercliffe, Sheffield.	Ironfounders.
Stoke-on-Trent (Burslem)	S. Finney, Miners' Offices, Burslem, Staffs.	M.F.G.B.
Wednesbury	A. Short, House of Commons, S.W. 1.	Boilermakers.
West Bromwich	F. O. Roberts, 61, Collingwood Road, Northampton.	Typo. Assn.
Kingswinford	C. H. Sitch, 1, Whitehall Road, Cradley Heath	Chainmakers.
Leek	W. Bromfield, Foxlowe, Market Place, Leek, Staffs.	Mid. Tex. A.
WARWICKSHIRE : Birmingham (Duddesdon)	Eldred Hallas, Institute Road, King's Heath, Birmingham.	D.L.P.
YORKSHIRE : Leeds (South East)	J. O'Grady, 60, Cavendish Road, Clapham Common, S.W. 13.	T. & G.W.U.
Hemsworth	J. Guest, South Heindley, Barnsley, Yorks.	M.F.G.B.
Normanton	F. Hall, 26, Victoria Road, Barnsley, Yorks.	M.F.G.B.
Penistone	W. Gillis, 35, Chapel Street, Hoyland Common, near Barnsley, Yorks.	M.F.G.B.

Constituency.	*Name.*	*Society.*
Rother Valley	.. T. W. Grundy, .. 15, Godstone Road, Rotherham.	M.F.G.B.
Rothwell	.. W. Lunn, .. "Westleigh," Rothwell, Leeds.	M.F.G.B.
Spen Valley	.. Coun. T. Myers, .. Brewery Lane, Thornhill Lees, Dewsbury, Yorks.	I.L.P.
Wentworth	.. G. Hirst, .. Church Street, Darfield, Barnsley, Yorks.	M.F.G.B.
GLAMORGAN :	.. Col. D. Watts Morgan, D.S.O., ..	M.F.G.B.
Rhondda (East)	.. Cæmwar Hall, Porth, Rhondda.	
,, (West)	.. Will John, .. Glas Bryn, 156, Kenry Street, Tonypandy, Glam.	M.F.G.B.
Caerphilly	.. Morgan Jones, .. 21, Park Crescent, Bargoed, Glam.	I.L.P.
Gower	..*J. Williams, .. Godrer Bryn, Sketty, Swansea.	M.F.G.B.
Ogmore	.. Vernon Hartshorn, .. Hill Crest, Maesteg, Glam.	M.F.G.B.
MONMOUTH :	.. Geo. Barker, ..	M.F.G.B.
Abertillery	116, Alexandra Road, Abertillery.	
Bedwellty	.. C. Edwards .. Stafford House, Gelli Crescent, Risca, Mon.	M.F.G.B.
Ebbw Vale	.. Evan Davies, .. Caerwent, Ebbw Vale,	M.F.G.B.
Pontypool	.. T. Griffiths, .. 45, Lewis Road, Neath.	B.I.S. & K.T.A.
ABERDEENSHIRE :	.. Frank Rose, ..	A.E.U.
Aberdeen (North)	.. "Dumbarton," 192, Brixton Hill, S.W.	
AYRSHIRE :	.. J. Brown, ..	M.F.G.B.
Ayrshire (South)	.. 56, Annbank-by-Ayr.	
FIFESHIRE :	.. T. Kennedy, ..	S.D.F
Kirkcaldy Burghs	19, Belvoir Road, East Dulwich, S.E.	
Western Fife	.. Rt. Hon. W. Adamson, .. 6, Victoria Street, Dunfermline.	M.F.G.B.
FORFARSHIRE :	.. A. Wilkie, J.P., ..	Shipwrights.
Dundee	36, Hesbury Road, Heaton, Newcastle-on-Tyne.	
LANARKSHIRE :	.. Neil Maclean, ..	I.L.P.
Glasgow (Govan)	171, St. Andrews Road, Pollokshields, Glasgow.	
Bothwell	.. J. Robertson, .. Cadzowburn House, Hamilton, N.B.	M.F.G.B.
Hamilton	.. Duncan Graham, .. Gowrie House, Bothwell Road, Hamilton.	M.F G.B.
MIDLOTHIAN :	.. Wm. Graham, ..	D.L.P.
Edinburgh (Central)	105, Sunny Gardens, Hendon, N.W. 4.	

*Deceased.

ADDITIONS SINCE JUNE, 1922.

GLAMORAN (Gower)	.. D. Grenfell, Carnglas Road, .. Sketty, Nr. Swansea.	M.F.G.B.
,, (Pontypridd)	.. Mardy Jones, 16, Llantwit Road, .. Treforest, Glam.	M.F.G.B.

APPENDIX V.

LIST OF SANCTIONED CANDIDATES, JUNE, 1922.

(Exclusive of Sitting Members.)

KEY TO INDEX LETTERS REPRESENTING PARTY ORGANISING DISTRICTS.

A. North-Eastern District.
B. North-Western District.
C. Midlands District.
D. Southern and Home Counties District.
E. London District.
F. South-Western District.
G. Eastern District.
H. Wales.
J. Scotland.
K. Universities.

KEY TO NATURE OF CONSTITUENCY.

(C.D.) County Divisions 292
(S.B.) Single-Membered Boroughs .. 86
(D.M.B. Double-Membered Boroughs (12 with 2 Members each) 24
(D.B.) Divided Boroughs } .. 189
(B.D.) Borough Divisions }
(U.) Universities 11
Total Number of Seats .. 602

Constituencies and Index Nos.		*Candidates.*	*Financing Organisation.*
BEDFORD—			
D1. Bedford	(C.D.) ..	E. Backhouse, ... 50, Higher Drive, Purley, Surrey.	D.L.P.
D3. Luton	(C.D.) ..	Percy Alden, The Outlook, Woodford Green, Essex.	D.L.P.
BERKS—			
D4. Reading	(S.B.) ..	Fred Bramley, 32, Eccleston Square, London, S.W.1.	D.L.P.
BUCKS.—			
D9. Buckingham	(C.D.) ..	O. Connellan, 4, Upper Fountaine Street, Leeds.	Typo. Association.
D10. Wycombe	(C.D.) ..	S. Stennett, 10, Ringstead Road, Catford, London, S.E.6.	A.S.W.
CAMBRIDGE—			
G12. Cambridge	(C.D.) ..	A. E. Stubbs, 3, Arbury Road, Cambridge.	D.L.P.
CHESTER—			
B14. Birkenhead, West	(B.D.) ..	W. Egan, 41, Hamilton Square, Birkenhead.	Boilermakers
B15. Stockport	(D.M.B.)	S. C. Porter, Westcliffe, Portrush, Ireland.	D.L.P.
B19. Crewe	(C.D.) ..	E. G. Hemmerde. K.C., 1, Hare Court, Temple, London, E.C.	D.L.P.
B21. Knutsford	(C.D.) ..	A. J. Penston, M.A., 58, Bertrand Road, Bolton.	D.L.P.
B22. Macclesfield	(C.D.) ..	W. Pimblott, J.P., 76, Derby Street, Macclesfield.	D.L.P.
B23. Northwich	(C.D.) ..	J. Williams, 171, Mauldeth Road, Withington, Manchester.	N.U.G.W.
B24. Stalybridge and Hyde	(C.D.) ..	P. H. Ward, 26, Stone Street, Maidstone.	A.E.U.
CORNWALL—			
F27. Camborne	(C.D.) ..	T. Proctor, 5, Carbiel Road, Torpoint, Cornwall.	A.E.U.
F29. Penryn and Falmouth	(C.D.) ..	J. Harris, 3, Tavistock Road, Drake Circus, Plymouth.	N.A.W.U.
CUMBERLAND—			
B31. Carlisle	(S.B.) ..	G. Middleton. 43, Cromwell Rd., S. Kensington, London, S.W.7.	U.P.O.W.
B34. Whitehaven	(C.D.) ..	T. Gavan Duffy, Miners' Hall, Cleator Moor, Cumb.	Cumberland Iron Ore Miners
DERBY—			
C36. Derby	(D.M.B.)	W. R. Raynes, 63, London Road, Derby.	D.L.P.
C37. Belper	(C.D.) ..	O. W. Wright, Holmlea, Swanwick, nr. Alfreton.	M.F.G.B

Constituencies and Index Nos.		*Candidates.*	*Financing Organisation.*
DERBY—			
C41. Ilkeston	(C.D.) ..	G. Oliver, 37, Wallbrook Road, Derby. ..	D.L.P.
C42. North Eastern	(C.D.) ..	Frank Lee, Miners' Offices, Chesterfield. ..	M.F.G.B.
C43. Southern	(C.D.) ..	S. Truman, 40, Oakleys Road, Long Eaton, Notts. ..	D.L.P.
DEVON—			
F46. Plymouth, Drake	(B.D.) ..	James Gorman, 28, Keswick Grove, Seedley, Salford. ..	A.E.U.
DORSET.—			
F56. Eastern	(C.D.) ..	F. J. Hopkins, 34, Commercial Road, Parkstone, Dorset. ..	D.L.P.
F58. Southern	(C.D.) ..	Coun. H. Pavely, 28, Newstead Road, Westham, Weymouth. ..	D.L.P.
F59. Western	(C.D.) ..	T. Dukes, Puddletown, Dorset. ..	D.L.P.
DURHAM—			
A60. Darlington	(S.B.) ..	W. Sherwood, Unity Chambers, Athenæum Street, Sunderland. ..	N.U.G.W.
A61. Gateshead	(S.B.) ..	J. Brotherton, 15a, St. Luke's Road, Beeston Hill, Leeds. ..	A.E.U.
A63. South Shields	(S.B.) ..	Wm. Lawther, Redhills, Durham. ..	M.F.G.B.
A64. Stockton-on-Tees	(S.B.) ..	F. F. Riley, 43, Cromwell Rd., S. Kensington, London, S.W.7. ..	U.P.O.W.
A65. Sunderland	(D.M.B.)	Dr. Rutherford, 16, Park Village East, London, N.W.1. ..	D.L.P.
A68. Blaydon	(C.D.) ..	Wm. Whiteley, 3, The Villas, Durham. ..	M.F.G.B.
A70. Consett	(C.D.) ..	Rev. H. Dunnico, 74, Wellesley Road, Ilford. ..	I.L.P.
A71. Durham	(C.D.) ..	J. Kitson, East House, Roker Avenue, Sunderland. ..	M.F.G.B.
A73. Jarrow	(C.D.) ..	R. J. Wilson, 4, Sidecliffe Road, Roker, Sunderland. ..	D.L.P.
A74. Seaham	(C.D.) ..	Sidney Webb, 41, Grosvenor Road, London, S.W.1. ..	Fabian Society.
A75. Sedgefield	(C.D.) ..	J. Herriots, J.P., 31, Eden Terrace, Chilton Lane Ends, Ferryhill, Co. Durham. ..	M.F.G.B.
A76. Spennymoor	(C.D.) ..	J. Batey, Miners' Hall, Durham. ..	M.F.G.B.
ESSEX—			
G77. East Ham, North	(B.D.) ..	Miss Susan Lawrence, Dilke House, Malet Street, London, W.C.1. ..	D.L.P.
G80. Leyton, East	(B.D.) ..	W. Carter, Unity House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1. ..	N.U.R.
G81. Leyton, West	(B.D.) ..	A. Smith, 71, Burns Road, Harlesden, London, N.W. ..	D.L.P.
G83. Walthamstow, East	(B.D.) ..	W. B. Steer, 92, Kedlestone Road, Derby. ..	D.L.P.
G84. Walthamstow, West	(B.D.) ..	V. L. McEntee, 64, Ulverston Road, Walthamstow. ..	A.S.W.
G87. West Ham, Stratford	(B.D.) ..	T. Groves, 155, Leytonstone Road, London, E.15. ..	D.L.P.
G88. West Ham, Upton	(B.D.) ..	B. Gardener, 472, Barking Road, London, E.13. ..	I.L.P.
*G89. Chelmsford	(C.D.) ..	W. F. Toynbee, 45, Greenleaf Road, Walthamstow. ..	D.L.P.
G90. Colchester	(C.D.) ..	Capt. R. L. Reiss, 3, Grays Inn Place, London, W.C.1. ..	D.L.P.
G93. Maldon	(C.D.) ..	Geo. Dallas, 49, Chandos Street, London, W.C. ..	N.A.W.U.
G94 Romford	(C.D.) ..	Emil Davies, 65, Chancery Lane, London, W.C. ..	D.L.P.
G95. Saffron Walden	(C.D.) ..	W. Cash, 8, Grange Road, Bermondsey, London, S.E. ..	D.L.P.

*Since withdrawn.

Constituencies and Index Nos.		*Candidate.*	*Financing Organisation.*
ESSEX—			
G96. South Eastern	(C.D.) ..	P. Hoffman, 38, Oakwood Road, Hampstead Garden Suburb, London, N.W.	..Shop Assist's. Union.
GLOUCESTER—			
F97. Bristol, Central	(B.D.) ..	Brig-Gen. C. B. Thomson, St. Agnes' Vicarage, Badminton Road, Bristol.	.. D.L.P
F98. Bristol, East	(B.D.) ..	Luke Bateman, 11, Woodcroft Avenue, Whitehall, Bristol.	N.U.R.
F99. Bristol, North	(B.D.) ..	Coun W. H. Ayles, Kingsley Hall, Old Market Street, Bristol.	I.L.P.
F100. Bristol, South	(B.D.) ..	D. J. Vaughan, Eden Derry, Via Julia, Newport, Mon.	.. D.L.P
*C103. Gloucester	(S.B.) ..	Capt. E. N. Ackroyd, M.C., G40, Royal Exchange Hotel, Manchester.	.. D.L.P.
C104. Cirencester and Tewkesbury	(C.D.) ..	W. H. Robins, 38, Florence Street, Swindon, Wilts.	.. R.C.A.
C106. Stroud	(C.D.) ..	S. E. Walters, Milton Road, Swindon, Wilts.	.. Boilermakers
C107. Thornbury	(C.D.) ..	J. H. Alpass, 15, Grove Road, Redland, Bristol.	.. D.L.P.
HANTS—			
D109. Portsmouth, Central	(B.D.) ..	A. G. Gourd, 43, Fratton Road, Portsmouth.	.. N.A.W.U.
D110. Portsmouth, North	(B.D.) ..	H. Hinshelwood, 33, Nelson Road, Gourock.	.. D.L.P.
D112. Southampton	(D.M.B.)	Coun. T. Lewis, 22, St. Mary Street, Southampton.	.. A.M.W.U.
D114. Basingstoke	(C.D.) ..	S. Ledbury, 92, Beaumont Road, Bournville, Birmingham.	.. A.E.U.
D115. Fareham	(C.D.) ..	Lt.-Col. C. H. Hoare, Hocker Edge, Cranbrook, Kent.	.. D.L.P
D117. Petersfield	(C.D.) ..	Major Leigh Aman, Rowlands Castle, Hants.	.. D.L.P.
D118. Winchester	(C.D.) ..	A. W. Haycock, 66, Oxney Road, Rusholme, Manchester.	.. D.L.P.
HEREFORD—			
C119. Hereford	(C.D.) ..	J. J. Dodd, 11, New Square, Lincoln's Inn, London, W.C.	.. D.L.P.
HERTS—			
D121. Hemel Hempstead	(C.D.) ..	F. Thoresby, 133, Salisbury Square, Fleet Street, London, E.C.4.	.. D.L.P.
D123. Hitchin	(C.D.) ..	B. Skene MacKay, 19, Hampstead Hill Gardens, London, N.W.3.	.. D.L.P.
D124. St. Albans	(C.D.) ..	J. W. Brown, Wood Street, Barnet.	.. D.L.P.
D125. Watford	(C.D.) ..	J. J. Mallon, Toynbee Hall, 28, Commercial Street, London, E.1.	.. D.L.P.
ISLE OF ELY—			
G127. Isle of Ely	(C.D.) ..	Capt. W. G. Hall, 34, Eccleston Square, London, S.W.1.	.. D.L.P.
KENT—			
D129. Bromley	(S.B.) ..	E. P. Hodes, 4, Lime Villas, Oakfield Road, Penge.	.. D.L.P.
D132. Rochester	(B.D.) ..	Col. Spencer, The Old Rectory, Lower Hardres, Canterbury.	.. D.L.P.
D133. Ashford	(C.D.) ..	B. Noble, 15, Mead Road, South Willesborough, Ashford, Kent.	.. D.L.P.
D138. Faversham	(C.D.) ..	Rev. Stanley Morgan, Greenhithe, Kent.	.. D.L.P.
D139. Gravesend	(C.D.) ..	Geo. Isaacs, 26, Blackfriars Road, London, S.E.	.. N.U.O.P
D141. Maidstone	(C.D.) ..	Hugh Dalton, M.A., 77, Panton Street, Cambridge.	.. D.L.P.

*Since withdrawn.

Constituencies and Index Nos.		*Candidate.*	*Financing Organisation*
KENT—			
D142. Sevenoaks	(C.D.) ..	L. A. Goldie, 67, High Street, Rochester, Kent. ..	D.L.P.
D143. Tonbridge	(C.D.) ..	J. T. Davis, 25, Salisbury Road, Plymouth. ..	D.L.P.
LANCASHIRE—			
B144. Accrington	(S.B.) ..	C. Roden Buxton, 6, Erskine Hill, Golders Green, London, N.W.4. ..	I.L.P.
B145. Ashton-under-Lyne	(S.B.) ..	T. Gillinder, 60, Northbourne Street, Newcastle-on-Tyne. ..	A.E.U.
B146. Barrow-in-Furness	(S.B.) ..	J. Bromley, 9, Arkwright Road, Hampstead, London, N.W. ..	A.S.L.E. & F.
B147. Blackburn	(D.M.B.) ..	J. P. Davies, 42, St. George's Place, Blacburn. ..	D.L.P.
*B148. Blackpool	(S.B.) ..	J. C. Martin, 8, St. Patrick's Road North, St. Annes-on-Sea. ..	D.L.P.
B149. Bolton	(D.M.B.) ..	S. Lomax, 17, Merlin Grove, Bolton. ..	R.C.A.
		W. Abraham, 154, Clough Road, Sheffield. ..	N.U.R.
B152. Bury	(S.B.) ..	H. Wright Wallace, 43, Cromwell Rd., S. Kensington, London, S.W.7. ..	U.P.O.W.
B153. Eccles	(S.B.) ..	J. Buckle, J.P., 13, Eighteenth Avenue, New Wortley, Leeds. ..	B. & S.O.
B154. Leigh	(S.B.) ..	H. Twist, 1, Laurel Grove, Wigan Road, Ashton-in-Makerfield. ..	M.F.G.B.
B156. Liverpool, Edge Hill	(B.D.) ..	J. H. Hayes, Vigilance House, 57, Clapton Common, London, E.5. ..	P. &P.O.
B157. Liverpool, Everton	(B.D.) ..	J. Toole, 7, Essex Road, Gorton, Manchester. ..	D.L.P.
B160. Liverpool, Kirkdale	(B.D.) ..	S. Mason, 187, Stanley Road, Liverpool. ..	D.L.P.
B163. Liverpool, Wavertree	(B.D.) ..	J. Vint. Laughland, 265, Edge Lane, Liverpool. ..	D.L.P.
B164. Liverpool, West Derby	(B.D.) ..	H. A. Booth, 71, Esmond Street, Liverpool. ..	D.L.P.
B166. Manchester, Ardwick	(B.D.) ..	T. Lowth, 201a, Bowes Road, New Southgate, London, N.11. ..	N.U.R.
B167. Manchester, Blackley	(B.D.) ..	A. E. Townend, 8, Meadow Croft, Dane Road, Sale. ..	R.C.A.
B174. Manchester, Rusholme	(B.D.) ..	A. E. Wood, K.C., 14, Herbert Street, Dublin. ..	D.L.P.
B176. Nelson and Colne	(S.B.) ..	Arthur Greenwood, 28, The Avenue, Surbiton, Surrey. ..	D.L.P.
B177. Oldham	(D.M.B.) ..	W. J. Tout, Weavers' Office, Burnley Road, Todmorden. ..	U.T.F.W.A.
B179. Rochdale	(S.B.) ..	J. Stanley Burgess, 115, Empire Road, Sheffield. ..	A.E.U.
B180. Rossendale	(S.B.) ..	G. W. Jones, 167, Tonge Moor Road, Bolton. ..	U.T.F.W.A.
B184. Salford, West	(B.D.) ..	A. Law, 144, St. Mary's Road, Moston, Manchester. ..	N.U.R.
B186. Warrington	(S.B.) ..	Jas. Gregory, 77, Platt Street, Leigh. ..	D.L.P.
B190. Darwen	(C.D.) ..	J. McGurk, 13, Phœnix Street, Bury. ..	M.F.G.B.
B191. Farnworth	(C.D.) ..	T. Greenall, Dingsdale House, Boothstown, Manchester. ..	M.F.G B.
B195. Lancaster	(C.D.) ..	Fenner Brockway, 9, Johnson's Court, Fleet Street, London, E.C.4. ..	D.L.P.
B197. Middleton and Prestwich	(C.D.) ..	Ald. M. B. Farr, 110, Breeze Hill, Mossley, Lancs. ..	U.T.F.W.A.
B201. Royton	(C.D.) ..	J. Battle, 786, Bury New Road, Bolton. ..	U.T.F.W.A.

*Since withdrawn.

Constituencies and Index Nos.		*Candidate.*	*Financing Organisation.*
LEICESTER—			
C208 Leicester, West	(B.D.) ..	A. Hill, J.P., St. James Street, Humberstone Gate, Leicester.	B. & S.O.
C209. Bosworth	(C.D.) ..	Clement J. Bundock, Editor, "Pioneer," Leicester.	D.L.P
C210. Harborough	(C.D.) ..	W. J. Baker. 43, Cromwell Rd., S. Kensington, London, S.W.7.	U.P.O.W.
C211. Loughborough	(C.D.) ..	E. Winterton, Alexandra Cot, nr. Warlingham, Surrey.	D.L.P.
LINCOLN & RUTLAND—			
G213. Grimsby	(S.B.) ..	C. Franklin, c/o G. G. McDonald, 337, Convamore Road, Grimsby.	D.L.P.
G214. Lincoln	(S.B.) ..	R. A. Taylor, Ruskin College, Oxford.	D.L.P.
G216. Kesteven, Grantham	(C.D.) ..	J. H. Tones, South Rauceby, Grantham.	D.L.P.
G217. Kesteven, Rutland & Stamford	(C.D.) ..	Fleming Eccles, 52, Chapel Street, Salford.	N.U.G.W.
G218. Lindsey, Brigg	(C.D.) ..	D. Quibell, 195, St. Mary's Street, Scunthorpe, Lincs.	D.L.P
G219. Lindsey, Gainsborough	(C.D.) ..	J. Read, 114, Churchill Avenue, Coventry.	A.E.U.
LONDON—			
E222. Battersea, North	(B.D.) ..	S. Saklatvala, 2, St. Alban's Villas, Highgate Road, London, N.W 5.	D.L.P.
E223. Battersea, South	(B.D.) ..	A. J. Winfield, J.P., 39, Morrison Street, Battersea, London, S.W.	M.E.A.
E224. Bermondsey, West	(B.D.) ..	Dr. A. Salter, 5, Storks Road, Bermondsey, London, S.E.	I.L.P.
E225. Bermondsey, Rotherhithe	(B.D.) ..	Chas. Diamond, *The Catholic Herald*, 12, Bouverie Street, London, E.C.4.	D.L.P.
E231. Camberwell, Peckham	(B.D.) ..	W. A. Chambers, Pali, 18, Alleyn Park, West Dulwich, London, S.E.21.	D.L.P.
E235. Finsbury	(S.B.) ..	G. M. Gillett, 4, North Square, Golders Green. London, N.W.4.	D.L.P
E237. Fulham, West	(B.D.) ..	R. M. Gentry, 57, Sidney Street, Chelsea, London, S.W.3.	A.U.O. Bakers.
E238. Greenwich	(S.B.) ..	E. T. Palmer, 28, Holborn Hall, Grays Inn Road, London, W.C.	Prudential Staff Fed.
E239. Hackney, Central	(B.D.) ..	Col. Arthur Lynch, 80, Antrim Mansions, Haverstock Hill, London, N.W.3.	D.L.P
E242. Hammersmith, North	(B.D.) ..	J. Gardner, 14, Leysfield Road, London, W.12.	D.L.P.
E243. Hammersmith, South	(B.D.) ..	Coun. Wyndham Alberry, 41, Abbey Road, St. John's Wood, London, N.W.8.	D.L.P.
E244. Hampstead	(S.B.) ..	J. Marley 10, Estelle Road, London, N.W.	D.L.P.
E246. Islington, East	(B.D.) ..	Dr. Ethel Bentham, 61, Lansdowne Road, London, W.11.	D.L.P.
E247. Islington, North	(B.D.) ..	Miss Picton Turberville, 14, Gayfere St., London, S.W. 1.	D.L.P.
E248. Islington, South	(B.D.) ..	F. W. Pethick Lawrence, 11, Old Square, Lincoln's Inn, London, W.C.2.	D.L.P.
E250. Kensington, North	(B.D.) ..	W. J. Jarrett, 8, Bonchurch Road, N. Kensington, London, W.10.	D.L.P.
E253. Lambeth, Kennin[illegible]	(B.D.) ..	Harry Gosling, 3, Central Buildings, Westminster, London, S.W.1.	D.L.P.

Constituencies and Index Nos.		*Candidate.*	*Financing Organisation.*
LONDON—			
E254. Lambeth, North	(B.D.) ..	Mrs. Ayrton Gould, 54, St. Mary's Mansions, Paddington, London, W.	D.L.P.
E255. Lambeth, Norwood	(B.D.) ..	W. Hodgson, 5, Southwell Ct., Rossendale Road, London, S.E.21.	D.L.P.
E256. Lewisham, East	(B.D.) ..	E. W. Wilton, 28, Mount Ephraim Lane, London, S.W.10.	D.L.P
E258. Paddington, North	(B.D.) ..	Coun. Hugh Roberts, 64, Droop Street, Queen's Park, London, W.10.	D.L.P.
E260. Poplar, Bow and Bromley	(B.D.) ..	George Lansbury, 39, Bow Road, Bow, London, E.3.	D.L.P
E261. Poplar, South	(B.D.) ..	Coun. S. March, 31, Gt. Prescott Street, London, E.1.	Transport and G.W.U.
E262. St. Marylebone	(S.B.) ..	J. O'Brien, 16, Church Street, St. John's Wood, London, N.W.8.	D.L.P.
E263. St. Pancras, North	(B.D.) ..	J. Gilbert Dale, Bond Street House, 14, Clifford Street, London, W.1.	D.L.P.
E264. St. Pancras, South East	(B.D.) ..	H. G. Romeril, 45, Palmerston Crescent, Palmer's Green, London, N.13.	R.C.A.
E265. St. Pancras, South West	(B.D.) ..	Fred Easton, 85, Northumberland Park, Tottenham, London, N.17.	D.L.P.
E266. Shoreditch	(S.B.) ..	Ernest Thurtle, 36, Temple Fortune Hill, London, N.W.11.	D.L.P.
E267. Southwark, Central	(B.D.) ..	G. D. Bell, 74, Herongate Road, Manor Park, London, E.12.	D.L.P.
E268. Southwark, North	(B.D.) ..	Dr. Haden Guest, 47, Elm Park Mansions, Park Walk, Chelsea, London, S.W.10.	D.L.P.
E270. Stepney, Limehouse	(B.D.) ..	Major C. R. Atlee, 638, Commercial Road, London, E.14.	D.L.P.
E271. Stepney, Mile End	(B.D.) ..	John Scurr, 15, Woodstock Road, Poplar, London, E.14.	D.L.P.
E272. Stepney, Whitechapel	(B.D.) ..	Dr. Ambrose, The Mount, Shootup Hill, Brondesbury.	D.L.P
E279. Westminster, St. George's	(B.D.) ..	W. Madeley, M.A., 80, Belgrave Road, London, S.W.	D.L.P.
E280. Westminster, Abbey	(B.D.) ..	J. G. Butler, 57, Pimlico Road, London, S.W.1.	D.L.P.
E281. Woolwich, East	(B.D.) ..	H. Snell, 3, Leighton Crescent, London, N.W.	D.L.P.
E282. Woolwich, West	(B.D.) ..	J. T. Sheppard, 1, Havelock Place, Woolwich, London, S.E.18.	A.E.U.
MIDDLESEX—			
D283. Ealing	(S.B.) ..	A. H. Chilton, 119, Northcroft Road, West Ealing.	D.L.P.
D284. Edmonton	(S.B.) ..	F. A. Broad, 39, Sweetbriar Walk, Edmonton, London, N.	D.L.P.
D287. Tottenham, South	(B.D.) ..	R. H. Tawney, 43, Mecklenburgh Square, London, W.C.1.	D.L.P.
D289. Willesden, West	(B.D.) ..	S. P. Viant, 71, Clifford Gardens, Kensal Rise, London, N.W.10.	A.S.W.
D292. Enfield	(C.D.) ..	G. Lathan, 36, Kingsley Road, Palmers Green, London, N.13.	R.C.A.
D293. Finchley	(C.D.) ..	Hugh Shayler, 114, Erskine Hill, Golders Green, London, N.W.	D.L.P.
D295. Hendon	(C.D.) ..	C. L. Latham, 17, Egerton Gardens, The Burrows, Hendon, London, N.W.	D.L.P
D296. Spelthorne	(C.D.) ..	Major Church, 46, Ederhill Avenue, Norbury.	D.L.P.

Constituencies and Index Nos.		*Candidate.*	*Financing Organisation.*
MIDDLESEX—			
D298. Uxbridge	(C.D.) ..	W. J. Brown, 38a, St. George's Road, Victoria, London, S.W.1.	Civil Service Asst. Clerks.
D299. Wood Green	(C.D.) ..	H. Tudor Rhys, "Noddfa," 24, Harcourt Road, Alexandra Park, London, N.22.	D.L.P.
NORFOLK—			
G301. Norwich	(D.M.B.)	Coun. H. E. Witard, J.P., Planet House, St. Martin's Lane, Norwich	D.L.P.
		G. F. Johnson, Hardie Hall, St. Gregory's Alley, Norwich.	D.L.P.
G303. King's Lynn	(C.D.) ..	R. B. Walker, 72, Acton Street, Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C.1.	A.L.&R.W.U.
G304. Northern	(C.D.) ..	Noel Buxton, 12, Rutland Gate, London, S.W.7.	D.L.P.
NORTHAMPTON—			
C307. Northampton	(S.B.) ..	Miss Bondfield, Dilke House, Malet Street, London, W.C.1.	N.U.G.W.
C308. Daventry	(C.D.) ..	W. Rogers, 55, Collingwood Road, Northampton.	D.L.P.
C310. Peterborough	(C.D.) ..	J. Mansfield, 9, Harris Street, Peterborough.	D.L.P.
NORTHUMBERLAND—			
A313. Newcastle, Central	(B.D.) ..	C. P. Trevelyan, Cambo, Morpeth, Northumberland.	I.L.P.
A314. Newcastle, East	(B.D.) ..	J. N. Bell, 90, Friern Park, Finchley, London, N.	N.A.U.L.
A316. Newcastle, West	(B.D.) ..	David Adams, J.P., The Cottage, Jesmond, Newcastle-on-Tyne.	A.E.U.
A318. Wallsend-on-Tyne	(S.B.) ..	Patrick Hastings, K.C., 37, Curzon Street, Mayfair, London, W.	D.L.P.
A320. Hexham	(C.D.) ..	Geo. Shield, Scotsfield Terrace, Haltwhistle.	M.F.G.B.
A321. Wansbeck	(C.D.) ..	G. H. Warne, 100, Woodhorn Road, Ashington.	M.F.G.B.
NOTTINGHAM—			
C329. Newark	(C.D.) ..	H. Nixon, Eston Nab., Frodingham Road, Scunthorpe, Lincs.	Blastfurnacemen.
C330. Rushcliffe	(C.D.) ..	Norman Angell, 4, King's Bench Walk, London, E.C.4.	D.L.P.
OXFORD—			
D332. Banbury	(C.D.) ..	Capt. E. N. Bennett, 12, Prince Arthur Road, Hampstead, London, N.W.3.	D.L.P.
SALOP—			
C335. Oswestry	(C.D.) ..	T. Morris, "Hampton," Gobowen, nr. Oswestry.	M.F.G.B.
SOMERSET—			
F338. Bath	(S.B.) ..	H. H. Elvin, 1, Brunswick Square, London, W.C.	D.L.P.
F340. Frome	(C.D.) ..	Capt. E. Gill, M.C., 34, Eccleston Square, London, S.W.1.	M.F.G.B.
F342. Wells	(C.D.) ..	Len Smith, 16, Northcote Street, Semilong, Northampton.	B. & S.O.
F344. Yeovil	(C.D.) ..	W. T. Kelly, 68, Denman Road, Peckham, London, S.E.15.	A.E.U.
STAFFORD—			
C348. Stoke-on-Trent, Burslem	(B.D.) ..	A. MacLaren, 312, Durnsford Road, Wimbledon.	D.L.P.
C349. Stoke-on-Trent, Hanley	(B.D.) ..	Harper Parker, c.o Meir, 7, Cope's Avenue, Tunstall.	N.A.U. of Enginemen.
C351 Walsall	(S.B.) ..	Robert Dennison, "Chippenham House," Bosworth Road, New Barnet.	B.I.S. & K.T.A.

Constituencies and Index Nos.		*Candidate.*	*Financing Organisation.*
STAFFORD—			
C354. Wolverhampton, Bilston	(B.D.) ..	J. Baker, .. 76, Swinton Street, Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C.	B.I.S. & K.T.A.
C355. Wolverhampton, East	(B.D.) ..	W. T. A. Foot, ... 119, Harvist Road, West Kilburn, London, N.W.6.	N.U.R.
C356. Wolverhampton, West	(B.D.) ..	A. G. Walkden, .. 25, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.	R.C.A.
C358. Cannock	(C.D.) ..	W. Adamson, .. Portland Chambers, Portland Street, Lincoln.	N.A.W.U.
C361. Lichfield	(C.D.) ..	W. J. French, .. 83, Glascote Road, Tamworth.	M.F.G.B.
C362. Stafford	(C.D.) ..	W. Holmes, 15, Somerset Road, Tottenham, London, N.17.	A.L. & R.W.U.
SUFFOLK—			
G364. Ipswich	(S.B.) ..	Coun. R. F. Jackson, .. 35, Silent Street, Ipswich.	D.L.P.
G366. Suffolk, East, Lowestoft	(C.D.) ..	R. Mellanby, .. 1, Chapel Street, Lowestoft.	D.L.P.
SURREY—			
D372. Kingston-on-Thames	(S.B.) ..	F. Wilson Temple, .. Sempre, Cotsford Avenue, New Malden, Surrey.	D.L.P.
D376. Eastern	(C.D.) ..	Mrs. E. R. Pease, .. The Pendicle, Limpsfield, Surrey.	D.L.P.
D377. Epsom	(C.D.) ..	Dr. Somerville Hastings, .. 43, Devonshire Street, London, W.C.1.	D.L.P.
D378. Farnham	(C.D.) ..	T. H. Marshall, .. Trinity College, Cambridge.	D.L.P.
D379. Guildford	(C.D.) ..	W. Bennett, .. Glendale, York Road, Guildford.	D.L.P.
D381. Reigate	(C.D.) ..	Comr. R. Hope, .. 38, Bannisters Road, Onslow Village, Guildford.	D.L.P.
SUSSEX.—			
D385. Sussex, East, East Grinstead	(C.D.) ..	T. Crawford, .. "Doona," Lewes Road, East Grinstead.	D.L.P.
D386. Sussex, East, Lewes	(C.D.) ..	Coun. Milner Black, .. 132, Western Road, Hove.	D.L.P.
WARWICK—			
C390. Birmingham, Aston	(B.D.) ..	J. Cotter, .. 14-16, Central Buildings, North John Street, Liverpool.	A.M.W.U.
C391. Birmingham, Deritend	(B.D.) ..	F. Longden, .. 561, Moseley Road, Birmingham.	D.L.P.
C392. Birmingham, Duddesdon	(B.D.) ..	M. Brothers, .. 56a, Victoria Street, Blackburn.	U.T.F.W.A.
C394. Birmingham, Erdington	(B.D.) ..	C. J. Simmons, .. 20, Clipson Road, Alum Rock, Birmingham.	D.L.P.
C397. Birmingham, Ladywood	(B.D.) ..	Coun. J. W. Murby, .. 6, Aylestone Street, Leicester.	I.L.P.
C400. Birmingham, West	(B.D.) ..	Frank Smith, .. 14, Buckingham Street, Strand, London, W.C.	D.L.P.
C401. Birmingham, Yardley	(B.D.) ..	A. G. Gossling, .. 147, Buchanan Gardens, Willesden, London, N.W.	A.S.W.
C402. Coventry	(S.B.) ..	Robert Williams, .. 8, St. Martin's Place, Trafalgar Square, London, W.C.2.	T. & G.W.U.
C403. Nuneaton	(C.D.) ..	J. Stevenson, .. Church Road, Bell Green, Foleshill, Warwickshire.	M.F.G.B.
C404. Rugby	(C.D.) ..	Capt. T. H. Holt-Hughes, .. North View, Pinchbeck, Spalding.	D.L.P.
C405. Tamworth	(C.D.) ..	C. H. Jones, .. 8a, Lady Bank, Tamworth.	D.L.P.
C406. Warwick and Leamington	(C.D.) ..	P. W. Cole, .. 76, Swinton Street, Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C.1.	B.I.S. & K.T.A.

Constituencies and Index Nos.		*Candidate.*	*Financing Organisation.*
WILTS—			
F408. Chippenham	(C.D.) ..	W. R. Roberts, 4, Venmore Street, Liverpool. ..	A.S.W.
F411. Swindon	(C.D.) ..	J. Compton, Philos Chambers, 195, Oxford Street, Manchester. ..	N.U.V.B.
F412. Westbury	(C.D.) ..	George Ward, 21, Roundpond, Melksham, Wilts. ..	D.L.P.
WORCESTER—			
C416. Kidderminster	(C.D.) ..	J. Bruce, Wrotham Waters, Wrotham, Kent. ..	D.L.P.
YORKS—			
A418. Barnsley	(S.B.) ..	J. Potts, Miners' Offices, Barnsley. ..	D.L.P.
A419. Batley and Morley	(S.B.) ..	B. Turner, J.P., 5, Talbot Street, Batley. ..	G.U.T.W.
A420. Bradford, Central	(B.D.) ..	Wm. Leach, 16, Haslingden Drive, Bradford. ..	I.L.P.
A421. Bradford, East	(B.D.) ..	F. W. Jowett, 10, Grantham Terrace, Bradford. ..	I.L.P.
A422. Bradford, North	(B.D.) ..	J. H. Palin, 121, Lower Rushton Road, Bradford. ..	N.U.V.W.
A424. Dewsbury	(S B.) ..	B. Riley, 28, Westfield Avenue, Huddersfield. ..	I.L.P.
A426. Huddersfield	(S.B.) ..	J. H. Hudson, 5, Laburnham Avenue, Folly Lane, Swinton, Manchester. ..	D.L.P.
A428. Kingston-on-Hull, East	(B.D.) ..	Coun. A. Starke, 160, New Bridge Road, Hull. ..	D.L.P.
A430. Kingston-on-Hull, South West	(B.D.) ..	J. Arnott, 14, Upper Fountaine Street, Leeds. ..	I.L.P.
A432. Leeds, North	(B.D.) ..	David Stewart, M.A., 277, Dewsbury Road, Leeds. ..	D.L.P.
A433. Leeds, North East	(B.D.) ..	J. Badlay, 4, Sandringham Road, Tuebrook, Liverpool. ..	D.L.P.
A434. Leeds, South	(B.D.) ..	H. C. Charleton, 83, Falkland Road, Kentish Town, London, N.W. ..	N.U.R.
A436. Leeds, West	(B.D.) ..	Coun. Stamford, 108, Durham Road, Bradford. ..	I.L.P.
A437. Middlesbrough, East	(B.D.) ..	M. H. Connolly, 208, Hampstead Road, Benwell, Newcastle-on-Tyne.	Boilermakers.
A439. Rotherham	(S.B.) ..	J. Walker, 49, Jamaica Street, Glasgow. ..	B.I.S. & K.T.A.
A440. Sheffield, Attercliffe	(B.D.) ..	Coun. C. H. Wilson, 26, Chippingham Street, Attercliffe. ..	D.L.P
A441. Sheffield, Brightside	(B.D.) ..	A. Ponsonby, Schulebrede Priory, Lynchmere, nr. Haslemere, Surrey. ..	I.L.P.
A446. Sheffield, Park	(B.D.) ..	Ald. R. Morley, 6, Akeds Road, Halifax. ..	N.A.W.U.
A447. Wakefield	(S.B.) ..	A. Bellamy, 93, Fox Street, Edgeley, Stockport. ..	N.U.R.
A448. York	(S.B.) ..	J. H. Gill, 77, Lindley Street, York. ..	R.C.A.
A452. North Riding, Cleveland	(C.D.) ..	Harry Dack, 17, Ruby Street, Saltburn-by-Sea. ..	M.F.G.B.
A457. West Riding, Colne Valley	(C.D.) ..	Philip Snowden, 53, Carlisle Mansions, Westminster, London, S.W.1. ..	I.L.P.
A458. West Riding, Doncaster	(C.D.) ..	W. Paling, 36, Askern Road, Bentley, Doncaster. ..	M.F.G.B.
A459. West Riding, Don Valley	(C.D.) ..	T. Williams, Probert Avenue, Goldthorpe, nr. Rotherham. ..	M.F.G.B.
A460. West Riding, Elland	(C.D.) ..	W. C. Robinson, Derby Chambers, 6, Fleet Street, Bury. ..	U.T.F.W.A. Fed.

Constituencies and Index Nos.		*Candidate.*	*Financing Organisation.*
YORKS—			
A462. West Riding, Keighley	(C.D.) ..	H. B. Lees Smith, 12, North Square, Golders Green, London, N.W.11.	D.L.P.
A465. West Riding, Pontefract	(C.D.) ..	T. Smith, 19, Harrowgate Road, Darnall, nr. Sheffield.	M.F.G.B.
A466. West Riding, Pudsey & Otley	(C.D.) ..	Percival Myers, 11, Hamilton Terrace, Otley, Yorks.	D.L.P.
A471. West Riding, Skipton	(C.D.) ..	T. Snowden, Rosemount, Bramham Road, Bingley.	D.L.P.
A472. West Riding, Sowerby	(C.D.) ..	J. W. Ogden, 2, Grosvenor Street, Heywood, Lancs.	U.T.F.W.A.
		WALES	
BRECON & RADNOR—			
H476. Brecon and Radnor	(C.D.) ..	E. T. John, Llanidan Hall, Llanfair, P.G. Anglesey.	D.L.P.
H479. Llanelly	(C.D.) ..	Dr. J. H. Williams, Snowden House, Burry Port, Carmarthen.	D.L.P.
CARNARVON—			
H481. Carnarvon	(C.D.) ..	R. T. Jones, 17, Bridge Street, Carnarvon.	N.W.Q.U.
DENBIGH—			
H483. Wrexham	(C.D.) ..	T. Richards Llangynog, Oswestry.	D.L.P.
GLAMORGAN—			
H486. Cardiff, East	(B.D.) ..	A. J. Williams, 43, Stallcourt Avenue, Roath, Cardiff.	N.U.R.
H488. Merthyr Tydvil Aberdare	(B.D.) ..	G. H. Hall, 4, Harris View, Penrhiwceiber, Glam.	M.F G.B.
H489. Merthyr Tydvil, Merthyr	(B.D.) ..	R. C. Wallhead, 21, East Avenue, Burnage Garden Village, nr. Manchester.	I.L.P.
H492. Swansea, East	(B.D.) ..	D. Williams, 25, Windmill Terrace, Swansea.	I.L.P.
H493. Swansea, West	(B.D.) ..	H. W. Samuel, 12, Fisher Street, Swansea.	Fabian.
H494. Aberavon	(C.D.) ..	J. Ramsay MacDonald, 9, Howitt Road, Hampstead, London, N.W.	I.L.P.
*H496. Gower	(C.D.) ..	D. R. Grenfell, Carnglas Road, Sketty, nr. Swansea.	M.F.G.B.
H497. Llandaff and Barry	(C.D.) ..	J. A. Lovat Fraser, 18, Quay Street, Cardiff.	D.L.P.
H498. Neath	(C.D.) ..	Ald. Wm. Jenkins, Cymmer, Glam.	M.F.G.B.
*H500 Pontypridd	(C.D.) ..	T. I. Mardy Jones, 16, Llantwit Road, Treforest, Glam.	D.L.P.
MONMOUTH—			
H502. Newport	(S.B.) ..	J. Bowen, 43, Cromwell Road, South Kensington, London, S.W.	U.P.O.W.
H506. Monmouth	(C.D.) ..	Rev. Gordon Lang, St. James' Square, Monmouth.	D.L.P.
PEMBROKE—			
H509. Pembroke	(C.D) ..	W. Jenkins, Hoplas, Wallaston, Pembroke.	D.L.P.
		SCOTLAND.	
AYR & BUTE—			
J516. Ayr Burghs	(S.B.) ..	J. M. Airlie, 11, Bonnington Grove, Leith.	Boilermakers.
J517. Bute and Northern Ayr	(C.D.) ..	John Paton, 6, Dungoil Street, Gilshochhill, Maryhill, Glasgow.	I L.P.
J518. Kilmarnock	(C.D.) ..	Robt. Climie, 25, Armour Street, Kilmarnock.	D.L.P.
BERWICK & HADDINGTON—			
J521. Berwick and Haddington	(C.D.) ..	Robt. Spence, 6, Radnor Street, Clydebank.	D.L.P.

*Elected since date of report and included in members' list.

Constituencies and Index Nos.		*Candidate.*	*Financing Organisation.*
DUMBARTON—			
J523. Dumbarton and Clydebank	(S.B.) ..	David Kirkwood, 3, St. Mark's Street, Shettleston, Glasgow.	A.E.U.
J524. Dumbarton	(C.D.) ..	W. H. Martin, 109, Bath Street, Glasgow.	I.L.P.
FIFE—			
J526. Dunfermline Burghs	(S.B.) ..	Wm. M. Watson, 341, Broad Street, Cowdenbeath.	M.F.G.B.
FORFAR—			
J530. Dundee	(D.M.B.) ..	E. D. Morel, Cherry Croft, King's Langley, Herts.	D.L.P.
J531. Montrose Burghs	(S.B.) ..	John Carnegie, The Nook, Barry, nr. Dundee.	I.L.P.
J532. Forfar	(C.D.) ..	J. C. Hendry, Textile Workers' Union, Latch Road, Brechin, Forfar.	D.L.P.
LANARK—			
J537. Glasgow, Bridgeton	(B.D.) ..	Jas. Maxton, M.A., 201, Buchanan Street, Glasgow.	I.L.P.
J538. Glasgow, Camlachie	(B.D.) ..	Rev. Campbell Stephen, M.A., 13, Ronald Street, Townhead, Glasgow.	I.L.P.
J539. Glasgow, Cathcart	(B.D.) ..	Capt. J. P. Hay, M.A., 12, Miller Street, Shawlands, Glasgow.	I.L.P.
J541. Glasgow, Gorbals	(B.D.) ..	G. Buchanan, 28, Pollok Street, Glasgow.	Pattern-makers.
J545. Glasgow, Maryhill	(B.D.) ..	J. W. Muir, 250, Cumlodden Drive, Maryhill.	D.L.P.
J547. Glasgow, Pollok	(B.D.) ..	A. B. MacKay, 3, Stanmore Road, Mount Florida, Glasgow.	D.L.P.
J548. Glasgow, St. Rollox	(B.D.) ..	James Stewart, 312, Cumbernauld Road, Glasgow.	I.L.P.
J549. Glasgow, Shettleston	(B.D.) ..	J. Wheatley, "Avoca," Hillview, Shettleston.	D.L.P.
J550. Glasgow, Springburn	(B.D.) ..	G. B. D. Hardie, 93, Hope Street, Glasgow.	I.L.P.
J555. Lanark	(C.D.) ..	Thos. Dickson, C.C., County Houses, Hamilton Road, Larkhall.	D.L.P.
J557. Northern	(C.D.) ..	J. Sullivan, 523, Main Street, Mossend, Lanarkshire.	M.F.G.B.
J558. Rutherglen	(C.D.) ..	W. Wright, 96, Rosslyn Avenue, Rutherglen.	I.L.P.
LINLITHGOW—			
J559. Linlithgow	(C.D.) ..	Coun. E. Shinwell, 10, George Drive, Govan, Glasgow.	I.L.P.
MIDLOTHIAN & PEEBLES—			
J566. Northern	(C.D.) ..	Andrew Clarke, 64, Campie Road, Musselburgh.	N.U. Scottish Mineworkers.
J567. Peebles and Southern	(C.D.) ..	J. Westwood, 56, Pottery Street, Gallatown, Kirkcaldy.	M.F.G.B.
PERTH & KINROSS—			
J570. Perth	(C.D.) ..	Wm. Westwood, 65, West Regent Street, Glasgow.	Shipwrights.
RENFREW—			
J574. Eastern	(C.D.) ..	Robt. Nichol, M.A., 8, Dungoil Street, Maryhill, Glasgow.	I.L.P.
J575. Western	(C.D.) ..	Robt. Murray, 13c, Main Street, Barrhead, Renfrew.	I.L.P.
STIRLING & CLACKMANNAN—			
J577. Stirling & Falkirk	(S.B.) ..	Hugh Murnin, 1, Dean Crescent, Stirling.	N.U. Scottish Mineworkers.
J578. Clackmannan and East Stirling	(C.D.) ..	L. MacNeil Weir, 6, Carlisle Mansions, Westminster, London, S.W.1.	D.L.P.
J579. West Stirling	(C.D.) ..	T. Johnston, 164, Howard Street, Glasgow.	I.L.P.

APPENDIX VI.

LABOUR PARTY AGENTS, JUNE, 1922.

(Appointed under Conference Scheme.)

Constituency.	*Name.*
BEDFORD—	
Bedford	.. J. W. Seamark, 69, Tavistock Street, Bedford.
BERKS—	
Reading	.. A. Lockwood, 40, Oxford Street, Reading.
BUCKS—	
Buckingham	.. R. W. Turner, 7, Bletchley Road, Bletchley, Bucks.
Wycombe	.. W. Anderton, 15, Priory Avenue, High Wycombe.
CHESTER—	
Northwich	.. F. Parker, 16, Applemarket Street, Northwich.
Stalybridge & Hyde	.. T. Brown, 3, Whitehead Street, Dukinfield.
CORNWALL—	
Camborne	.. J. H. Rounds, 24, Union Street, Camborne, Cornwall.
Penryn & Falmouth	.. C. A. Millman, Labour Offices, South Street, St. Austell.
CUMBERLAND—	
Carlisle	.. J. Wynne, L.P. Offices, 25a, English Street, Carlisle.
DERBY—	
Derby	.. W. R. Raynes, 63, London Road, Derby.
High Peak	.. T. Cooper, 10, Peel Street, Hyde.
DEVON—	
Plymouth	.. J. C. Turner, 33, Treville Street, Plymouth.
Plymouth (Drake)	.. H. Hall, Room 3-46, Union Street, Stonehouse, Plymouth.
DURHAM—	
Darlington	.. Ben Dodd, Post Office Chambers, Northgate, Darlington.
Gateshead	.. J. Smith, 129, Walker Road, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
Stockton-on-Tees	.. A. J. Thatcher, Second Floor, Cinema Buildings, High Street, Stockton-on-Tees.
Consett	.. B. J. Burridge, 3, Pelaw Avenue, Stanley.
Jarrow	.. J. Coutts, 47, Ellison Street, Jarrow.
ESSEX—	
East Ham (North)	.. W. Stewart Rainbird, Labour Hall, Catherine Road, East Ham, E. 6.
Leyton (East)	.. F. G. Burgess, 376, High Road, Leytonstone, E. 11.
Walthamstow (East)	.. S. J. Donoghue, 342, Hoe Street, E. 17.
Maldon	.. W. Burrows. High Street, Witham, Essex.
South Eastern	.. J. Lavin, c/o Mrs. Goodyear, 24, Hathaway Road, Grays, Essex.
GLOUCESTER—	
Bristol (Boro')	.. E. Parker, 11, High Street, Bristol.
Bristol (East)	.. H. E. Rogers, 84, Church Road, Redfield, Bristol.
Cirencester & Tewkesbury	L. E. Horne, Moreton-in-Marsh, Glos.
HANTS.—	
Portsmouth (Central)	.. E. A. Barter, 28, Sydenham Terrace, Fratton, Portsmouth.
Basingstoke	.. H. A. Rose, 17, Council Houses, Sherborne Road, Basingstoke.
Fareham	.. C. Wilkinson, "Stranraer," Catisfield, Fareham.
HERTS.—	
St. Albans	.. H. J. Hamilton Cardwell, 3, Folly Villas, Folly Hill, St. Albans.
Watford	.. J. G. Hodge, 33, Market Street, Watford.
KENT—	
Gravesend	.. W. Pickles, 14, Overcliffe, Gravesend.
LANCS.—	
Ashton-under-Lyne	.. A. J. Heal, 61, Park Street., Ashton-under-Lyne.
Barrow-in-Furness	.. B. Longstaff, 80a, Cavendish Street, Barrow.

Constituency.	*Name.*
LANCS.—	
Blackburn	.. G. B. Eddie, 52a, Victoria Street, Blackburn.
Burnley	.. J. W. Gradwell, 1, Yorke Street, Burnley.
Bury	.. Frank H. Edwards, Peter Street, Moorgate, Bury.
Eccles	.. Wm. Rogerson, 6, Mayfield Avenue, Walkden, Manchester.
Manchester	.. W. Jackson, 3, Clarence Street, Albert Square, Manchester.
,, (Ardwick)	.. T. M. Larrad, 15, East Avenue, Burnage Garden Village, Levenshulme, Manchester.
,, (Gorton)	.. S. Hague, 3, Hyde Road, Gorton, Manchester.
,, (Platting)	.. A. James, 2a, Enoch Street, Miles Platting.
Nelson & Colne	.. W. Throup, 56, Railway Street, Nelson.
Oldham	.. I. Crabtree, 151, Union Street, Oldham.
Preston	.. W. E. Morris, 14, Guildhall Street, Preston
Rochdale	.. E. J. Alford, 6, Hunter's Lane, Rochdale.
Rossendale	.. M. Palmer, 604, Bacup Road, Waterfoot, near Manchester.
St. Helens	.. Coun. R. Waring, Windle Labour Club, Dentons Green Lane, St. Helens.
Salford (West)	.. J. Openshaw, 207, Langworthy Road, Pendleton, Manchester.
Clitheroe	.. F. Constantine, 36, Burnley Road, Padiham.
Heywood & Radcliffe	.. E. J. Hookway, Bleachers' Office, Blackford Brow, Bury.
Middleton & Prestwich	.. Coun. J. Graham, 77, Boarshaw Road, Middleton, Lancs.
Newton	.. W. Speakman, Park Road, Newton-le-Willows.
Ormskirk	.. John Ruck, Troqueer Buildings, Aughton Street, Ormskirk, Lancs.
Royton	.. W. Barton, Trades Hall, Littleborough, Lancs.
Westhoughton	.. W. A. Spofforth, 1, Todd Street, Corporation Street, Manchester.
Widnes	.. J. Francis, Old Lane, Eccleston Park, near St. Helens.
LEICESTER—	
Leicester	.. W. Howard, 88, Rutland Street, Leicester.
Leicester (West)	.. J. H. Baum, 11, Briton Street, Leicester.
Harborough	.. T. Rowland Hill, 14, Granby Street, Leicester.
LINCOLN—	
Holland with Boston	.. W. E. Venters, Oak Villa, Cowbitt Road, Spalding.
Kesteven (Rutland and Stamford)	J. E. Swain, 82, Taverners Road, Peterborough.
Lindsey (Gainsborough)	W. Hargreaves, 1, Church Street, Gainsborough.
LONDON—	
Battersea	.. W. Coltman, 455, Battersea Park Road, S.W. 11.
Camberwell (North)	.. C. A. G. Manning, 356, Old Kent Road, S.E. 1.
,, (Peckham)	.. H. Curtis, 81, Jewell Road, E. 17.
Islington (East)	.. W. Miles, 248, St. Paul's Road N. 1.
,, (North)	.. Ben. Wilson, 30, Manchester Mansions, Sunnyside Road, N. 19.
Poplar (Bow & Bromley)	J. H. Banks, 6, Campbell Road, Bromley-by-Bow.
,, (South)	.. G. J. Cressall, The Dockers' Hall, 1, Newbury Place, E. 14.
St. Pancras (North)	.. A. Leach Williams, 67, Camden Road, N.W. 1.
,, (South-East)	H. Dawson Large, 67, Camden Road, N.W. 1.
Southwark (Central)	.. R. Sudell, 61, Penrose Street, Walworth, S.E. 17.
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Abertillery, Bedwellty, Ebbw Vale, Monmouth	W. Harris, "Arfryn," Bryn Road, Pontllanfraith, Mon.
DUNFERMLINE—	
Dunfermline Burghs and Western Fife	W. Watson, J.P., 341, Broad Street, Cowdenbeath, Fife.
AYR AND BUTE—	
South Ayrshire	David Stitt, Madeline Place, Muirkirk.
LANARK—	
Bothwell and N. Lanark	J. Fotheringham, Orwell Bent Road, Hamilton.
Hamilton	J. Waugh, Dirleton Place, Bellshill.
MIDLOTHIAN AND PEEBLES—	
Northern and Peebles and Southern	Coun. J. Westwood, 56, Pottery Street, Gallatown, Kirkcaldy.

A record of Officials, part-time, honorary and otherwise, who are being appointed to act as Agents for the General Election, is in course of preparation.

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UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
SEP 10 1923

REPORT

OF THE

23rd Annual Conference

HELD IN THE

Queen's Hall, Langham Place, London, on June 26th, 27th, 28th, and 29th, 1923

33, ECCLESTON SQUARE, LONDON, S.W.1.

THE LABOUR PARTY

33, Eccleston Square, London, S.W.1.

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Telephone: VICTORIA 8016, 8017 and 8018.

Report of the Executive Committee

1922-1923

NATIONAL JOINT COUNCIL.

During 1922 the composition of the National Joint Council was as follows :—

General Council of the Trades Union Congress: J. B. Williams (Chairman), H. Gosling, C. W. Bowerman, M.P., R. Smillie, R. B. Walker.

Parliamentary Labour Party: J. R. Clynes, M.P., W. Graham, M.P., J. Hodge, M.P., T. Shaw, M.P., H. S. Lindsay.

Executive Committee of the Labour Party: F. W. Jowett, M.P., C. T. Cramp, J. R. MacDonald, M.P., Sidney Webb, M.P., Arthur Henderson, M.P. (Secretary).

Messrs. Fred Bramley and J. S. Middleton (Assistant Secretaries).

During the present year, however, Messrs. J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., and E. Shinwell, M.P., have been appointed in place of Messrs. W. Graham, M.P., and John Hodge, M.P., on behalf of the Parliamentary Party, and Mr. A. G. Cameron takes the place of Mr. MacDonald as a representative of the Party Executive.

The Council has met on several occasions during the last twelve months, and has issued statements on the situation in the Near East, when war was threatened in September, 1922; upon the French occupation of the Ruhr in January, 1923; and on the threatened rupture of Anglo-Russian relations in May last. The text of these various declarations will be found in the International section of the Report which follows.

The Committee of Inquiry on National Production has pursued its work during the year, and presented an "Interim Report on Hours," which the Council adopted and authorised for publication in pamphlet form.

Other publications issued by the Council are pamphlets on "The Fair Wages Clause," "The Blind Persons' Act," and "Unemployment Insurance by Industry."

Manifestoes were also issued in connection with the Municipal Borough Elections in November, 1922, and the Urban District Council Elections in March, 1923.

Representations have been made on behalf of the Council to the Ministry of Labour with respect to the renewal of the publication of various Official Reports concerning labour and industry, which were suspended during the war period.

Consideration has also been given to various schemes of amalgamating Health and Unemployment Insurance, and a circular and memorandum was addressed to the Trade Unions affiliated to the Trades Union Congress and the Labour Party, indicating the inadvisability of such amalgamation.

In conjunction with the Joint Research Department the Council has co-operated with Unions administering the National Unemployment Insurance Acts, in making repeated representations to the Ministry of Labour with respect to the scaling down of the grants made to such Unions in respect to administrative expenses. These joint representations were successful in modifying the Ministry's initial proposals, and consideration is now being given to some permanent machinery whereby the Council may be kept in touch with the Unions concerned.

The Trades Union Congress remitted a considerable number of resolutions adopted at the Southport Trades Union Congress to the National Joint Council, and these have been dealt with as indicated below :

The Registration of Trade Journals; the League of Nations and the International Labour Office; Unemployment; Housing; Registration of Theatrical Employers; Checkweighing in Various Industries.—Remitted direct to the Parliamentary Party.

Agricultural Wages Board.—Remitted to the Advisory Committee on Agriculture and the Advisory Committee on Legal Affairs, with a view to a Bill being drafted and submitted to the Parliamentary Party.

National Unemployment Insurance Acts.—Remitted to the Joint Research Department for consideration by a Special Sub-Committee. In the meantime a warning against schemes of Insurance by Industry has been issued to the affiliated Trade Unions.

Protection of Workpeople Against Bankrupt Firms.—Remitted to the Advisory Committee on Legal Affairs.

Washington Conference and Working Hours.—Remitted to the Joint Research Department for the preparation of a memorandum for submission to the Parliamentary Party.

Hours of Labour in Shops.—Remitted to the Joint Research Department for the preparation of a memorandum for submission to the General Council, with special reference to the proposals for an earlier pay-day in industry generally.

Electoral Reform.—Remitted to the Advisory Committee on the Machinery of Government for the compilation of data to enable the Advisory Committee on Legal Affairs to draft a Bill for submission to the Parliamentary Party.

Capital Levy.—Remitted to the Special Committee which was responsible for the Labour Party's pamphlet, "Labour and the War Debt."

RECONSTRUCTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL.

Within the last twelve months definite progress in the reconstruction of the International is to be recorded.

As reported last year, the London Congress of the International had invited the International Working Union of Socialist Parties (the Vienna Union) to co-operate with them in summoning a General Conference of Socialist and Labour Parties on October 1, 1922, at Hamburg, and had decided that, should the Vienna Union be unable to do so, the Second International would proceed to summon a Conference itself.

Meanwhile, the Vienna Union had decided to summon a Congress at Carlsbad in September. Negotiations took place, with the result that the holding of both Congresses was postponed.

In September, the two Social Democratic Parties of Germany—the one affiliated to the Vienna Union and the other affiliated to the Second International—became a united Party, and this union, together with the growing intimacy of the French and British Parties, became a starting-point for the creation of better international relations between the Socialist and Labour Parties.

The Executive Committees of the two Socialist Internationals held meetings at The Hague in the intervals of the sessions of the World Peace Congress. At their meeting held on December 9, 1922, the Second International were informed that the Vienna Union had resolved to entrust a delegation consisting of seven of its members to meet the London Executive, or a Committee chosen by them, at The Hague,

with the object of proposing that a general Committee of Action should be formed, having for its principal aim the preparation of a Workers' World Conference. This Committee would submit, as soon as ever possible, a draft of all suggestions which it recommended the International Congress to adopt, and the Vienna Union would express their opinion on these proposals at an International Conference to be held immediately before the Joint International Congress.

A meeting of the representatives of the two Executives took place on December 10, when they declared once more their desire to work for the realisation of united Labour and Socialist action and organisation and resolved to set up a Common Committee of Action of ten members, which would have as its principal task the calling of an International Labour and Socialist Congress at the earliest possible date and the preparation of the resolutions to be laid before it.

The Committee was appointed, and agreed at their first meeting in The Hague that the Congress should take place in Hamburg on May 20, 1923.

On January 5 and 6, 1923, the Committee met at Cologne, and agreed unanimously upon the publication of the following manifesto to the Labour and Socialist Parties of all countries :—

TO THE LABOUR AND SOCIALIST PARTIES OF ALL COUNTRIES!

The Socialist International was destroyed by the war. There are now only international groups of workers' parties none of which is entitled to call itself a true International. Besides, there are quite a number of parties to-day without any international ties.

This disorganisation has had the gravest results; it has hindered the effectiveness of the workers and deepened the differences of opinion as to the conditions and possibilities of action in the immediate future.

In the present condition of the world this splitting of International forces constitutes a grave danger and the irresistible force of events has caused the workers to demand with growing force an understanding not only in ideas, but in action, of all the bodies which are conscious of the true interests of the workers. It is obvious that a Socialist Labour International realising both the ideal of all-inclusiveness and unity in principles is not to be attained immediately; it can only be reached by long and indefatigable efforts.

The last years of the world war and the years following the armistice showed how profound were the differences of opinion which existed as to the methods of action and the possibilities of revolutionary methods for the emancipation of the workers.

To-day we are in quite a different phase of development. Reaction becomes more aggressive from day to day, both in the political and the economical fields. The general attack of the possessing classes is shown in the most striking way by the sanguinary regime of Horthy in Hungary, the victory of Fascism in Italy and the "Hakenkreuzler" in Germany. But it is being pursued in all countries. Under these conditions the essential duty of the workers is to concentrate all their forces and to present a solid and fighting front to the attacks of the capitalist parties. The last few years have been marked by differences, the present calls for the unification of the working class. These two phases have been shown in the most striking way by the history of the German Socialists. But in almost all other countries where revolutionary fermentation has caused division, reunion has been achieved or is on the point of realisation.

Only those parties or groups of parties which call themselves Communist deliberately thwart the efforts for unity of the workers. They are not desirous of settling the differences of opinion amongst the workers but are ready to split up effective organisations for the sake of an advantage, however slight, to their group or the policy of the Moscow Government. This spirit on the part of the principal Moscow Bolshevists was responsible for the abandonment of the idea of a world Congress of the Workers, to be called by the Executives of London, Vienna and Moscow. Since then the difficulties in the way of coming to an agreement with the Moscow Executive have constantly increased, owing to the barbarous and incessant persecutions of Russian Socialists. It would be useless to prophesy to-day whether a Congress of the whole of the workers will be possible when the Communists have ceased their evil tactics

towards the Labour and Socialist Parties or when, as is the case now in many countries, the Communist groups have died out. In any case the possibility of convoking a Congress together with the Moscow Executive has disappeared for a long time.

After the experience of the Berlin Conference in May, 1922, there is no other way possible but the calling of an International Labour and Socialist Congress to achieve effective action.

This being the state of things, the International Executives of London and Vienna have appointed the undersigned Committee, with instructions to arrange an International Labour Congress of Socialist Parties to be held in Hamburg, on May 21, 1923, opening at 10 o'clock a.m., in the Trade Union Hall, Besenbinderhof 57 (close to the Hauptbahnhof-Central Station).

The Committee exhaustively discussed the organisation of this Congress in Cologne on January 5 and 6. It proposes the following Provisional Agenda :—

(1) The Imperialist Peace and the policy of the organised workers' Labour and Socialist movement.
(2) International Action against International Reaction.
(3) The efforts of the Labour and Socialist Parties for the eight-hour day and international social reform legislation.
(4) The organisation of the International working class.

The Committee will send out at the end of March its propositions on the points of the agenda and all motions sent in by the different parties up to March 10, 1923. These propositions may be sent either to :—

Tom Shaw, 25, Victoria Street, London, S.W.1, or to
Friedrich Adler, Wien V, Rechte Wienzeile 97.

The approximate number of delegates should also be sent to the same addresses by March 10. The Committee decided that one delegate should be allowed for each 3,000 members, but no party may send more than 50 representatives.

The reconstruction of the International cannot be realised by the order of a committee or any group of parties. It must be the result of mutual understanding between the different Labour and Socialist parties. This understanding can only be arrived at by comparison of ideas, and that will need time. The International organisation of the working class, therefore, at the moment of its formation, cannot be the result of an agreement on principles by all affiliated parties, but it is one of the most important steps to realise such an agreement. By exchanging experiences, by active co-operation, and by constant effort to reach an agreement on methods and aims, the International Workers' movement will gradually form the necessary basis of joint action which will unite all the workers' movements of the world in common action.

Having regard to all this, it cannot be the task of the Committee organising the Congress to anticipate the work of the future International organisation, rather they must be content to mark those points of view which sharply define the parties willing to unite themselves in a co-operation promising positive results. The Committee therefore invites all Socialist Labour Parties to attend the Congress in Hamburg which accept :—

(1) the principle of the economic emancipation of the workers from capitalist domination as their object and the independent political and industrial action of the workers' organisations as the means of realising that object;
(2) the unity of the International Trade Union movement of Amsterdam as an absolute essential for the realisation of that emancipation;
(3) the resolution of The Hague World Peace Conference (1922) on "The Mission of Organised Labour in the Movement of World Peace" as the present basis in all action when there is imminent danger of war, and recognise the necessity of adopting a clear and definite policy to be pursued by the workers' movement in case of war;
(4) to recognise the Labour and Socialist International, not only as an effective instrument in peace, but as absolutely essential during war;
(5) to agree after the formation of a Labour and Socialist International not to affiliate to any other political International.

We hope to see represented at the Congress in Hamburg all parties which are ready to collaborate in the hard and indefatigable work which is necessary to prepare the workers for joint international actions.

Abramowitsch (Russia).
Adler (Austria).
Bracke (France).
Crispien (Germany).
Henderson (England).
Shaw (England).
Stauning (Denmark).
Vandervelde (Belgium).
Wallhead (England).
Wels (Germany).

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR AND SOCIALIST CONGRESS. HAMBURG, MAY, 1923.

The two National Committees decided to record their appreciation of the progress which had been made in the reconstruction of the International, and appointed delegates to the Congress at Hamburg as follows :—

Labour Party.	*Trades Union Congress.*
Mr. Sidney Webb, M.P.	Mr. J. B. Williams.
Mr. F. W. Jowett, M.P.	Mr. J. Bromley.
Dr. Ethel Bentham.	
Miss A. S. Lawrence.	

The following British members of the Executive of the International were also included in the delegation :

Mr. A. Henderson, M.P.	Mr. H. Gosling, M.P.
Mr. J. R. MacDonald, M.P.	Mr. J. H. Thomas, M.P.

Mr. W. Gillies, *Secretary of the Delegation.*

Mr. Will Thorne, M.P., was subsequently appointed in place of Mr. J. B. Williams, who found it impossible to attend.

His Parliamentary duties prevented Mr. MacDonald from being present. The other sections of the British Labour and Socialist Movement were represented at the Congress, as follows :—

Independent Labour Party: H. N. Brailsford, C. R. Buxton, M.P., Ben Riley, M.P., R. Wallhead, M.P., J. Wheatley, M.P., Clifford Allen, J. H. Hudson, John Scurr, and W. H. Ayles.

Social Democratic Federation: T. Kennedy.

Fabian Society: Mrs. Sidney Webb.

But as all these organisations are but parts of the one British Labour and Socialist Movement, the British delegation to the Hamburg Congress was one delegation seeking common agreement on all questions with which the International had to deal.

Thirty countries were represented at the Congress by 424 delegates from 43 parties or groups. The countries and the number of delegates were respectively :—

Armenia	Armenian Revolutionary Federation (3).
Austria	Social Democratic Labour Party (37).
	Czech Social Democratic Labour Party (2).
Belgium	Labour Party (24).
Bulgaria	Social Democratic Party (4).
Czecho-Slovakia	Czech Social Democratic Party (47).
	German Social Democratic Party (30).
	Socialist Federation (11).
	Polish Socialist Labour Party (3).
	Ruthenian Socialist Labour Party (3).
	Hungarian Socialist Labour Party (1).
Danzig	Social Democratic Party (1).
Denmark	Social Democratic Party (50).
Esthonia	Social Democratic Party (1).
Finland	Social Democratic Party (7).
France	Socialist Party (S.F.I.O.) (17).
Georgia	Social Democratic Party (3).
Germany	United Social Democratic Party (50).

Great Britain	Labour Party and Trades Union Congress (9).
	Independent Labour Party (10).
	Fabian Society (1).
	Social Democratic Federation (1).
Holland	Social Democratic Labour Party (11).
Hungary	" Jövo " Group (1).
	Emigrants " Villagossag " Group (1).
Italy	Unitarian Socialist Party (3).
Latvia	Social Democratic Party (2).
Lithuania	Social Democratic Party (2).
Luxembourg	Socialist Party (1).
Norway	Social Democratic Party (4).
Poale-Zion	Jewish Socialist Labour Confederation Poale-Zion (7).
Poland	Polish Socialist Party (6).
	Independent Socialist Party (3).
	German Socialist Party (1).
Roumania	Socialist Party (4).
Russia	Mensheviks (11).
	Social Revolutionaries (9).
Spain	Social Democratic Party (2).
Sweden	Social Democratic Labour Party (24).
Switzerland	Social Democratic Party (6).
Ukraine	Social Democratic Party (6).
United States	Socialist Party (4).
Jugo-Slavia	Socialist Party (1).

The principal work of the Congress was done in Commissions. British delegates were represented on the five Commissions by the following members of the delegation :—

I. *The Imperialist Peace:* Sidney Webb, M.P., C. R. Buxton, M.P., J. H. Hudson, H. Gosling, M.P., Miss Lawrence and F. W. Jowett, M.P.

II. *International Action against International Reaction:* Will Thorne, M.P., J. Wheatley, M.P., Mrs. S. Webb, Thomas Kennedy, and H. N. Brailsford.

III. *Eight Hours' Day:* J. H. Thomas, M.P., Ben Riley, M.P., Dr. E. Bentham, and J. Bromley.

IV. *Organisation of the New International:* A. Henderson, M.P., T. Shaw, M.P., Clifford Allen.

V. *Credentials:* C. Allen.

With the exception of the resolution on Russia, all the reports of the Commissions, including that of the new constitution, were adopted unanimously as Congress Resolutions.

The resolution upon Russia was designed as " a moral intervention of the international proletariat in the home affairs of Russia." The British delegation abstained from voting. There were a few other abstentions (9 votes). Two votes were cast against this resolution.

Mr. Sidney Webb was one of the reporters to the Congress on " The Imperialist Peace "; Mr. Brailsford brought before the Congress the resolution on " Working-class Action against International Reaction "; and Mr. Thomas introduced the report on " The Eight Hours' Day."

Mr. Henderson made a protest against the threats of the British Government towards the Government of Soviet Russia, which was accepted by the Congress with acclamation.

The complete texts of the Resolutions and the Constitution of the new International are printed below.

Executive Committee.—Countries or nationalities are represented on the Executive Committee of the new International by one, two or three members, according to the number of votes to which they are entitled in the Congress. The Executive Committee is constituted as follows :—

Great Britain	MacDonald, Thomas, and Henderson.
Germany	Crispien, Mueller, and Wels.
France	Bracke and Longuet
Italy	Modigliani and Treves.
Belgium	Vandervelde and De Brouckère.
Austria	Adler and Skaret.
Russia	Abramovitch and Soukhomline.
Sweden	Branting and Moeller.
Denmark	Stauning and Madsen.
America	Hillquit and Berger.
Poland	Diamand.
Czecho-Slovakia—Czechs	Nemec.
Czecho-Slovakia—Germans	Czech.
Hungary Holland Switzerland	Troelstra.
Finland	Wiik.
Norway	Nielsen.
Georgia	Tseretelli.
Roumania	Voinea.
Latvia Esthonia	Zeelens.
Armenia Poale Zion	Varandian or Kaplansky.
Jugo Slavia Bulgaria Turkey	Topalovic or Sakasoff.
Poles in Czecho-Slovakia Germans in Poland Polish I.S. Party	Drobner.

Mr. Henderson was elected Chairman of the Executive Committee.

The Bureau.—The Executive Committee appointed nine of its members to form the Bureau, which can be called together quickly on urgent matters, and will deal with the necessary preparations for the full executive meetings. This Bureau consists of :—

Bracke (France), Vandervelde (Belgium), Troelstra (Holland), Branting (Sweden), Bauer (Austria), Abramovitch (Russia), Henderson (Great Britain), Modigliani (Italy), Wels (Germany). Finland and Georgia will be invited to send representatives to the meetings of the Bureau in a consultative capacity.

The Secretariat.—The Executive Committee decided, and the Congress unanimously endorsed the decision, that London should be the seat of the Secretariat, and that Tom Shaw (Great Britain) and Friedrich Adler (Austria) should be Joint Secretaries.

The Administrative Committee.—The Executive Committee also appointed an Administrative Committee, consisting of the secretaries (Tom Shaw and Friedrich Adler); the treasurer (H. Gosling); the British members of the Executive Committee (J. R. MacDonald, J. H. Thomas

and A. Henderson); and three other members (Sidney Webb, Clifford Allen and Richard Wallhead). The members of this Committee have the right to attend the meetings of the Executive and Bureau, but only those members definitely appointed to the Executive and Bureau have the right to vote.

FINANCIAL.—A yearly levy based on membership will be payable by all the parties affiliated to the International. The levy will be based on a contribution per member equivalent in the pre-war currency of the country concerned—to, say, 1 Swiss centime at pre-war rates of exchange. This contribution will then be multiplied by the number of times which wages have increased, and be payable in pounds sterling at the current rates of exchange. This was found to be the only method which secured equality of sacrifice in payment of contributions. In the case of parties, as in Belgium and Britain, with Trade Union affiliations, the levy will be payable on half the membership. The estimated annual contribution required from the British parties is £1,000.

VOTES.—A provisional allocation of votes at international congresses was made at Hamburg, as follows :—

Country.	*No. of Votes.*
Britain	30
Germany	30
France	16
Czecho-Slovakia	16
Czechs (9).	
Germans (7).	
Italy	15
Belgium	15
Austria	15
Social Democratic Party (14).	
Czechs (1).	
America	12
Sweden	12
Russia	12
Mensheviks (6).	
Social Revolutionaries (6).	
Denmark	12
Poland	10
Socialist Party (8).	
Germans in Poland (1).	
Independents (1).	
Hungary	8
Villagossag Group (1).	
Social Democratic Party (7).	
Switzerland	7
Holland	7
Finland	6
Georgia	3
Norway	3
Roumania	3
Armenia	2
Latvia	2

Bulgaria	1
Danzig	1
Esthonia	1
Yugo-Slavia	1
Lithuania	1
Luxembourg	1
Poale Zion	1
Turkey	1
Ukraine	1

THE RESOLUTIONS.

I.

THE IMPERIALIST PEACE.

I.

The imperialist war had for its object the conquest of the world's wealth and ended in the destruction of this wealth. A depression of extreme intensity and duration followed the horrible destruction and devastation of the war. Millions of workers were put out of employment, production and international trade were reduced by 50 per cent., poverty was enormously increased.

The Peace Treaties violate all economic principles; they have thus prolonged and intensified the depression and postponed economic reconstruction. They have brought to the defeated nations insecurity and the menace of continuous violent oppression. They have destroyed their credit, they have upset their national finances, and rendered financial and monetary reconstruction extremely difficult. They have caused general misery and destitution amongst the defeated nations through the continuous and increasing devaluation of money, and amongst the victorious and neutral countries through the destruction of world trade, the loss of markets for export, unemployment and the lowering of wages. A violent and overbearing spirit in the camp of the victors, hatred and thoughts of vengeance on the part of the vanquished, and on all sides a nationalism which is a danger to peace—such are the results of the imperialist and militarist phase of capitalism.

Unrestricted protectionism, designed to protect individual nations from this general collapse, has balkanised economically a Europe already politically rent in pieces, and thus added to the catastrophe. Armaments have developed in an extraordinary fashion. The standing armies are larger than ever. The competition of the colonial powers for the world's oil, coal and mineral supplies has become a permanent struggle in which whole nations are sacrificed, and constitutes new dangers of war. The struggles of oppressed but awakening nations for freedom are exploited by imperialism to further its policy of domination and exploitation.

The imperialism of the ruling capitalist classes threatens thus to draw humanity into the throes of a new war. With modern weapons of destruction, which have reached a terrible degree of perfection, a new conflict would mean the end of human civilisation. This tragedy can only be averted by the power of the International Working Class.

These results of imperialist policy clearly indicate their task to the workers of the world. Liberated from Tsarist oppression, strengthened by the conquests of the 1918 revolution, which dethroned the emperors of Central Europe and gave to the workers of those countries the weapon of republican democracy, strengthened also by the powerful development of the Labour organisations—especially by the notable rise of the British Labour Party—Labour opposes to the policy of imperialism its policy of peace, freedom and Socialism, which alone can ensure world peace.

One of the most important tasks of the workers of all countries is to watch over the foreign policy of their Governments, to oppose strongly every measure which might aggravate international difficulties or imperil peace, to oppose the oppression of alien peoples and to secure for them the right of complete self-determination, and to demand that all international conflicts be settled by impartial arbitration. This struggle of the International Working Class against imperialist policy will be most effective if Labour everywhere fights against the imperialism and capitalism of its own country, with all Parliamentary and extra-Parliamentary means at its disposal for the class struggle, and if this struggle is ever more and more united internationally.

In order to prevent international conflicts in their very origins, Labour must oppose all oppression of racial and religious minorities and demand for them institutions of democratic self-government. Labour must oppose the expansion of colonial powers, the exploitation of native peoples and the violent destruction of their

economic systems, and must demand self-government for native races, or, where conditions make this impossible, deliberate measures to prepare them as rapidly as possible for self-government. Labour must also fight against protectionism and in favour of free trade, and the right to move freely from one country to another.

Permanent peace can only result from general disarmament by land, sea and air. One-sided disarmament of the defeated nations increases the danger of imperialistic oppression; general disarmament abolishes this danger. In every country, Labour must exercise a continuous pressure upon its own Government to compel it to propose general disarmament to the other countries.

Labour must repudiate all military alliances which transform local conflicts into general wars, and all secret agreements which dispose of the life and liberty of the peoples for unknown aims.

The League of Nations threatens to become either a thing of no importance at all, or an instrument of reaction and imperialism. It is the duty of the working class to resist this fatal tendency and to use its power in every country to secure that all nations shall be admitted to the League, that its organisation shall be made democratic, and that the workers of each country shall exercise effective control over the actions of their delegates on the League. In this way it may be so transformed that it will become an effective instrument to secure (a) the interests of peace, (b) the rights of peoples, and (c) the revision of the existing Peace Treaties.

The newly-created Socialist and Labour International, uniting afresh the power of the Labour Parties in all countries, regards as its chief task the struggle against capitalism, which inevitably leads to war. It takes its stand on the resolutions of the Hague Peace Congress (1922) concerning the duties of Labour, and it recognises the need to define clearly the attitude which Labour must take in time of war. To study that question is one of the first tasks of the International. The International calls upon the workers of all countries to put an end to their disastrous divisions, and combine their whole strength in a determined struggle against imperialism. The first requirement of this struggle is that the Labour and Socialist Parties of all countries refuse all support to an imperialist war, and that their Parliamentary representatives, in accordance with this attitude, withhold their consent to military or war credits having imperialist objects.

II.

The Congress declares the right to restoration of the devastated districts and repeats the unanimous protest of all the Socialist and Labour Parties against the occupation of the Ruhr.

The restoration of the devastated areas is an essential condition of the establishment of moral and material pacification in Europe. It is beyond dispute that the cost of these reparations should be borne by Germany, because this moral obligation was proclaimed by the German industrial and political organisations at Amsterdam (1921) and at Frankfort (1922), and these organisations then pledged themselves to devote their whole energies to this task.

But, in the first place, such reparations must depend upon what is economically possible. The Frankfort Conference had already noted that all the predictions of the authors of the Treaty of Versailles on these questions had been falsified, especially with regard to the stability of the currency and the amount of the German export trade. Since that time the situation had grown worse from day to day, until we are now in the presence of nothing less than a catastrophe.

In the second place, the work of reparation can only be realised on the one hand by a full and sincere understanding between Germany and her creditors, and on the other by the complete abandonment of violent measures and of occupation of territory. By these means only can normal relations be re-established among all the nations of the world and peace and quietude be permanently re-established.

Finally, the duty of Germany with regard to reparations must be limited to actual material damage, excluding entirely any payment on account of military pensions.

The duty of the International, acting through the parties which are immediately concerned, is, on the one hand, to exert the greatest possible pressure upon the Allied Governments, and especially upon the French and Belgian Governments, in order that reasonable solutions based upon international co-operation may replace those chimerical illusions which no force and no violence can ever realise; and, on the other hand, to exert an equally strong pressure upon German capitalism and upon the German Government. The former by its selfish resistance and the latter through its weakness have in a high degree contributed to impede the financial restoration of Germany. Upon this restoration the question of reparations depends—and not merely the question of reparations, but also the possibility of a more secure life and of a less miserable wage for the German workers.

The measures to be taken should be based upon the Frankfort resolutions. This Congress adopts these resolutions, which may be easily adapted to present circumstances without any alteration of principle.

The Congress therefore demands:

(1) The final settlement of the sum still due from Germany at a figure equivalent at present values to the actual amount due for material reparations.

(2) The adoption of a plan of payment which, by means of international credit operations, shall make it possible for Germany to free itself in the shortest time practicable from its burden of indebtedness, whilst at the same time placing at the disposal of the creditor States the funds necessary for their reparations.

(3) The conclusion of agreements between the various Governments securing that all such payments shall be devoted exclusively to reparations in the strict sense of the word.

In consequence, the United States and the Allied Powers must :—

(a) Abandon any claim for payments from Germany towards military pensions;

(b) Agree to universal cancelling of the inter-allied governmental debts.

The latest proposals of the German Government, together with the replies of the French and Belgian Governments on the one hand, and of the British and Italian Governments on the other, ought to be made the occasion for entering into negotiations which should lead to agreement. The Congress condemns in advance any Government which, by undue obstinacy, fails to take advantage of the opportunity for reaching agreement.

But at the very moment when the whole world is waiting impatiently for a settlement of the question of reparations, this very question has led, in the heart of industrial Europe, to a crisis of extraordinary gravity, which is now pressing on the economic life of the whole world, menacing the very foundations of peace.

The Congress protests unanimously and with all its might against the military occupation of the Ruhr Basin.

It is not true that this occupation will secure reparations. On the contrary, it is day by day lessening the power of Germany to pay. The payment of reparations, and the credit operations that this involves, cannot be carried out otherwise than by work and confidence, and therefore only under conditions of peace.

Nor is it true that the occupation will give security to Belgium and France. On the contrary, like all military occupations, it revives a spirit of hatred and threatens to arouse new conflicts.

The occupation of the Ruhr prolongs antagonism among the nations whose collaboration is an essential condition of the re-establishment of Europe.

By the mere fact that this occupation both inflames and disturbs the national sentiment it serves but to strengthen those parties which, in Germany as elsewhere, habitually exploit the national sentiment in the interest of militarist and monarchist reaction. It imperils the very existence of the German Republic, the overthrow of which must inevitably involve Europe in fresh convulsions and new wars.

The Congress declares that the occupation of the Ruhr violates the supreme right of mankind, the right to live and work in peace without foreign constraint. No Treaty can justify any victor in a limitless use of force. It protests against all measures intended, openly or covertly, to annex German territory or to disrupt German unity. The Congress protests against the return to barbarism involved in creditor States seizing several millions of working people as a living pledge, instead of such material guarantees as might be furnished by a Government, and by property.

The Congress expresses its fraternal solidarity with the workers who are so gallantly standing out against both foreign militarism and their own nationalism. It welcomes their passive resistance as evidence of the social indispensability of Labour, as a demonstration of the power of working-class organisation and as a forecast of future triumphs of the wage earners.

III.

The Congress approves the resolutions of the Second International and the Vienna Union on the question of Georgia, and demands the evacuation of Georgia by the Soviet troops and the re-establishment of the sovereignty of the Georgian people.

IV.

The Congress protests against the bloody tyranny to which Armenia has been subjected by Turkey and by Russia, and claims for the Armenian nation the right of self-determination.

V.

The Conference calls the attention of the working class to the fact that it is not only in the West, but also in the East, that the right of self-determination is trodden under foot.

In the territories occupied by the peoples detached from Russia and Germany,

from the Baltic to the Black Sea, and in the Balkans and Central Europe, the frontiers of many of the new States have not been fixed according to the principle of self-determination, but imposed by violence. The Congress regards it as the duty of the Labour and Socialist Parties to work for the application of this principle to all peoples. The Executive is hereby instructed to prepare, by means of separate conferences between the Socialist parties concerned, a uniform working-class policy for the peaceful settlement of these questions.

II.

INTERNATIONAL ACTION AGAINST INTERNATIONAL REACTION.

Throughout the world the war has left behind it, as one of its most disastrous consequences, the tendency to settle economic and political problems by violence. Classes which feel themselves threatened by the growing power of the workers are abandoning democratic government and resorting to violence in order to redress the balance of force in their favour. The working class must defend democracy against these violent methods of the bourgeoisie. The Congress affirms the right of asylum for political refugees, calls for the release from imprisonment of those who have suffered for the Socialist ideal, and summons the whole Labour movement to a decisive and united struggle against international reaction.

I.

The Congress believes that, in the last resort, the working class of every land must fight its own battle for political and industrial liberation. It strongly opposes every proposal for armed intervention, for blockades or boycott, more especially when these are directed against States which have incurred the displeasure of the ruling classes. It condemns the continued use of terrorism by the Russian Government and the suppression of the essential rights of democracy, as a danger not only to the Russian workers, but also to the vital interests of the international proletariat. At the same time it calls upon the Labour movement to resist every form of intervention by capitalist Governments against Russia. Intervention under their direction would destroy, not so much what is mischievous in the present phase of the revolution, as the revolution itself. So far from creating a true democracy it would restore a Government of bloody counter-revolution which would become an instrument for the exploitation of the Russian people by Western imperialism.

The Congress calls upon all Labour and Socialist Parties, especially those in the Allied countries and in the States bordering on Russia, not only to oppose intervention, but to press for the *de jure* recognition of the Russian Government and the immediate restoration of commercial and diplomatic relations.

II.

The Congress summons the Labour movement in every country to a vigilant scrutiny of the external policy of the governing class, lest it should result in promoting reaction beyond its frontiers. The repeated violence of the Allies towards Germany is driving large sections of the German people into a nationalist movement, which would disturb the peace of the world, dishonour the debt which the masses of the German people recognise, and promote general reaction throughout Central Europe. The republic is thereby endangered, militarism encouraged and the German working class confronted with the danger of violent repression. The Congress calls upon the German working class to organise the stoutest resistance to the counter-revolution and to the sabotage of German capitalists, who shrink from the sacrifices which they are called upon to make in the interests of Germany's obligations. It summons the Labour and Socialist Parties of the Allied countries to give their loyal aid to their German comrades, by resisting in their own countries any policy of their rulers which subjects free labour to military despotism, or assails the sovereignty of the German Republic, the integrity of its territory, the vital economic interests of its people, or their legitimate self-respect.

III.

The Congress calls upon the Labour and Socialist Parties in every country to work for the elimination of national hatreds. This is especially a duty in countries where national minorities are denied their full political rights, or their cultural autonomy. The discontent of these minorities is used by reactionary parties for their own purposes, and increases the risk of war and reaction. In some of these countries Fascism has taken the peculiar form of antisemitism, and has become a danger which the whole working class must combat. The Congress calls upon the Labour and Socialist Parties in every country where such minorities exist, and especially in the new European States created by the Peace Treaties, to use all their power to realise the principles of democratic self-government and cultural freedom. By these principles alone can national minorities be reconciled to the State in which they are incorporated.

IV.

The Congress draws the attention of the working class to the efforts of capitalist Governments to create an insidious form of intervention through the expedient of financial control and by other economic means. Thus, in Austria, the financial control favours the capitalist and monarchist reaction and undermines the power of the working class. In the newly-created States the economic pressure of the capitalist powers makes itself felt alike in their internal and in their foreign policy. The Congress therefore calls upon Labour and Socialist Parties to oppose these characteristic forms of international reaction with the utmost energy.

V.

The Congress believes that through the enlightenment of public opinion throughout the world the International has at its command a powerful weapon for the support of its comrades in countries where violent reaction prevails. The White Terror in Hungary, the Fascist dictatorship in Italy and Turkish persecution in Armenia, have not only destroyed democracy and persecuted the organised working class in these countries, they have also set an example which threatens to poison the political life of other countries. The Congress calls upon Labour and Socialist Parties to make the utmost use of the information with which the Executive will supply them, in order to bring the excesses of Fascism before the judgment of the civilised world. The Labour and Socialist International is the natural defender of oppressed peoples, but until Hungary restores democracy and freedom to its working class it will refuse it all support, and will press the Allied Governments not to favour reactionary Hungary in the matter of disarmament in comparison with democratic Austria, Bulgaria and Germany. The Congress summons the working masses in every land to unite all their forces against international reaction, to repulse the offensive of capitalist violence, to restore democracy the world over, and so create conditions which will ensure the victory of the Socialist ideal.

IIa.

RUSSIA.

The Congress considers it to be the duty of the world's workers to combat with all their strength all endeavours by the imperialist powers to intervene in the home affairs of Russia or to cause a fresh civil war in that country. Therefore, in the name of millions of Socialist proletarians which support it, and in the interest of the Russian, as well as of the entire international working classes, the Congress declares that it opposes the violent intervention of imperialism by the moral intervention of the international proletariat. In order to preserve Russia as a support for the Revolution, and to prevent its becoming a focus of the international reaction, the Congress supports the following demands of the Russian Socialists, reminding the Soviet Government of its working-class origin.

(1) The immediate cessation of the persecution of Socialists and workers of different opinions in Russia and in those parts of Georgia occupied by Russian troops, immediate release of all such persons as have been convicted, condemned or exiled for the propaganda of their political convictions.

(2) Complete abandonment of the system of terroristic party dictatorship and the adoption of a régime of political freedom and democratic self-government of the people.

The Congress expresses to the Socialist victims of Bolshevist terror in Russia and Georgia its warmest sympathy and declares it to be the duty of all affiliated Labour and Socialist Parties to give every moral and material support to all those Russian Socialists who work in the spirit of this resolution.

III.

THE EIGHT-HOUR DAY.

The Congress declares its complete agreement with the social policy of the International Federation of Trade Unions believing that the carrying out of such policy is essential for the promotion of the welfare and protection of the workers of all nations. The Congress urges the affiliated parties to use the full force of their political and industrial power to secure these ends, more especially a maximum eight-hour day.

This Congress further places upon record its condemnation of those nations which, having accepted obligations, have failed to give legislative effect to them, and calls upon the affiliated parties to bring pressure to bear upon their Governments to compel them to ratify all the Conventions of the International Labour Conferences. These Conventions, in the opinion of the Congress, represent the minimum demands of the workers in the sphere of social legislation.

This Congress further urges the workers to oppose the many sinister attempts to prejudice the work of the International Labour Office by the various capitalist interests which are always against the social betterment of the workers. The Congress declares its firm intention to safeguard the social improvements resulting from the great sacrifices of the workers during and after the war.

IV.

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA.

The Congress instructs the Executive to appoint a Commission with a view to investigating the conflicts between the Socialist Parties in Czecho-Slovakia. This Commission is to report to the Executive as early as possible and submit a suitable proposal. The Commission will be appointed by the Executive during its meetings in Hamburg.

V.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE LABOUR AND SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL.

The Labour and Socialist International.

(1) The Labour and Socialist International (L.S.I.) is a union of such parties as accept the principle of the economic emancipation of the workers from capitalist domination and the establishment of the Socialist Commonwealth as their object and the class struggle which finds its expression in the independent political and industrial action of the workers' organisations as a means of realising that object.

(2) The object of the L.S.I. is to unify the activities of the affiliated parties, to arrange common action, and to bring about the entire unification of the International Labour and Socialist Movement on the basis of this constitution.

The parties associated in the L.S.I. undertake not to affiliate to any other political international.

(3) The Labour and Socialist International can only become a reality if its decisions in all international questions are binding on its affiliated bodies. The resolutions of the International will therefore imply a self-imposed limitation of the autonomy of the affiliated organisations.

(4) The L.S.I. is not only an effective instrument in peace but just as absolutely essential during war.

In conflicts between nations the International shall be recognised as the highest authority.

(5) The carrying out of this task is entrusted by the L.S.I. to (a) the International Congress, (b) the Executive Committee, (c) the Bureau, (d) the Administrative Committee, (e) the Secretariat.

International Congresses.

(6) International Congresses will be convened by the Executive Committee as required by political events, but shall be held at least once in three years. The next Congress is to be held not later than in 1925. The Executive will publish the time and place of the Congress at least four months before it takes place, unless urgent reasons make it impossible. The Executive must convene as speedily as possible an International Congress on being requested so to do by ten affiliated organisations, having at least one-fourth of the votes represented in the International Congress.

(7) Only such parties as are affiliated to the L.S.I. are entitled to attend the Congress. The Executive shall decide upon applications for affiliation to the L.S.I., but such decisions shall be subject to confirmation by Congress.

(8) Every 3,000 members of an affiliated party are entitled to one delegate with a maximum of fifty delegates for any party.

(9) The Executive Committee will allow each party represented at the Congress a certain number of votes in the plenary meetings. The basis of this number of votes is the membership of the Party and the total strength of the organised working class in their respective countries (Trade Unions, Co-operatives, number of electors, party Press, etc.). The maximum for each party is 30 votes.

If thirty delegates representing at least five different countries make a demand for a vote to be taken by Congress strength instead of by show of hands the demand must be complied with.

The Executive Committee.

(10) Members of the Executive Committee will be appointed by the affiliated parties, and their number will be determined by their representation on International Congresses. In countries where there are different nationalities with separate organisations, each organisation will be dealt with separately. In the case of small national groups in a country the Executive shall decide how they shall be dealt with.

(11) Countries (nationalities) which are entitled to more than 20 votes may appoint 3 members to the Executive Committee. Countries (nationalities) which are entitled to from 11 to 20 votes may appoint 2 members to the Executive Committee. Countries (nationalities) entitled to from 3 to 10 votes may appoint 1 member to the Executive Committee. Countries (nationalities) entitled to less than 3 votes may combine into groups, and such groups shall have one representative on the Executive for every 3 votes.

In countries (nationalities) where there are more than one affiliated party the number of members of the Executive Committee will be determined by the Congress

votes, and will be allotted proportionately. Where one member only is allowed the party with the largest membership will make the appointment.

(12) Between Congresses the Executive exercises the functions of the Congress, but an appeal may be made to the Congress against a decision of the Executive.

(13) If at least one-fifth of the Executive members make a demand for a vote to be taken by Congress strength and not by show of hands (§ 9) the demand shall be complied with.

(14) Parties are allowed to send a substitute for any member of the Executive who is unable to attend a meeting of the Executive Committee.

(15) If any member of the Executive Committee joins a Government his membership of the Committee shall cease automatically. If he leaves the Government his organisation can again re-appoint him a member of the Committee.

Bureau.

(16) The Executive Committee shall appoint nine of its members to form a Bureau which can be called together quickly on urgent matters and can deal with the necessary preparations for the full Executive meetings. These nine members should represent as many countries as possible, but due regard should be paid to being able to get them together quickly. This Bureau shall report and be responsible to the Executive Committee.

(17) When matters are to be discussed which concern a country which has not a direct representation on the Bureau the Administrative Committee (§ 19) shall invite a representative from that country to attend the meeting.

The Administrative Committee and the Secretariat.

(18) The Executive Committee shall decide the country where the Secretariat shall be and appoint either one or more secretaries and the treasurer.

(19) An Administrative Committee shall be appointed by the Executive, consisting of the secretary or secretaries, the treasurer, the members of the International Executive of the country in which the Secretariat is fixed and three members appointed by the Executive Committee. These latter must also reside in the same country.

Members of the Administrative Committee have the right to attend and take part in the deliberations of the Executive and Bureau, but the right to vote is confined to the members definitely appointed to the Executive and the Bureau.

(20) The Administrative Committee shall control the activities of the Secretariat, appoint any assistants who may be necessary, authorise the calling of meetings of the Executive and sub-committees, and in urgent cases take all preliminary steps for the discussion of the political situation.

(21) Duties of the Secretariat:—

(a) The Secretariat shall make all arrangements for Executive and Bureau meetings and International Congresses.

(b) Shall facilitate communications between affiliated parties and give all necessary information, principally through an L.S.I. bulletin, to be issued as required, in three languages. This bulletin shall give special attention to reporting meetings of the Executive and Bureau, and record all important decisions and actions of affiliated parties.

(c) Shall prepare for the Executive a periodical statement of income and expenditure.

(d) Shall publish the reports of International Congresses.

(e) Shall create a reference library of the international Labour and Socialist movement.

Financial.

(22) To defray the costs of the work of the L.S.I. a yearly levy based on the membership must be paid. This levy will be arranged to deal as equitably as possible with the peculiar position of the exchanges. It will be based on pre-war currencies, say, 1 Swiss centime per member multiplied by the number of times wages have increased.

(23) In addition to the regular yearly levies the affiliated parties will contribute to the costs of Congresses by paying for each delegate they send an amount which will be fixed when the Congresses are convoked.

Relations between the L.S.I. and the International Federation of Trade Unions and the International Co-operative Alliance.

(24) The L.S.I. considers the unity of the Trade Union movement as it is represented in the International Federation of Trade Unions (Amsterdam) to be absolutely essential for realising the emancipation of the working class.

The L.S.I considers the unity of the Co-operative movement as it is represented in the International Co-operative Alliance (London) to be invaluable to the working class in their struggle for emancipation.

The L.S.I. will, therefore, maintain close connection both with the International Federation of Trade Unions (Amsterdam) and the International Co-operative Alliance (London). The L.S.I. is ready to call joint meetings and Congresses from time to time together with these International Organisations in order to discuss problems which are common to all.

The L.S.I. appeals to all workers to realise unity within the Socialist movement in each country and in the International. It is determined to work strenuously for the realisation of this unity on the basis of the decisions and resolutions passed by it. It appeals to the Socialists of all countries to give support to its efforts by making all endeavours to bring about a united front against capitalism and imperialism, both in their own countries and also in the International Working Class organisation.

NEAR EASTERN CRISIS

When the British troops were being rushed to the Near East after the defeat of the Greek armies and a Turco-British conflict seemed imminent, the National Joint Council considered the situation and issued the following manifesto on September 29, 1922 :—

The National Joint Council, representing the General Council of the Trades Union Congress, the Executive Committee of the Labour Party, and the Parliamentary Labour Party, have again considered the grave situation in the Near East.

Five years after the defeat of the Turkish Army in the field, the obstinate and persistent mishandling of the Near Eastern problem by the Government has brought the British people to the verge of a fresh war with Turkey.

Labour has on many occasions drawn public attention to the faults of the Peace Treaty, and to the incomplete character of the present League of Nations. For the purpose of the particular crisis which now brings us to the verge of war, we declare, however, that the Peace Treaty contains covenants which could be utilised as a substitute for military and naval action.

> It is provided in the Covenant that, if a dispute arises between a member of the League and a State that is not a member of the League, an inquiry should be instituted into the circumstances of the dispute, and that the League of Nations shall recommend such action as may seem best and most effective in the circumstances.

The Near Eastern crisis has been dealt with by the British Government with an almost total disregard of the above provision of the Peace Treaty. The machinery of the League of Nations has been ignored, and, instead of the Conference methods being applied and all parties concerned with the dispute consulted, a method which Mr. Lloyd George admitted recently in Parliament might have averted the Great War, the British Cabinet adopted in the initial stages a policy of isolated action, and the manifesto of September 16 was the crowning item of a dangerous policy. It was only the efforts of other Governments which made possible the Joint Allied Note of September 23 to the Turkish Nationalist Assembly. This Note may possibly avert a Turco-British conflict.

A just and durable peace can only be established if all the Powers directly interested confer in the spirit and under the auspices of the League of Nations, which should be the protector of minorities and the guardian of the freedom of the Straits.

Russia has as great a stake in the question of the Straits as any other nation. Bulgaria, again, has as vital an interest in the freedom of the Straits as Rumania, seeing that at present she has no outlet, except through the Straits, to the open sea. Moreover, Bulgaria is still more closely interested in Eastern Thrace, with which province she has a common frontier, than the members of the Little Entente.

We welcome the proposed invitation to Yugo-Slavia to the Peace Conference, but suggest that similar invitations should be extended to the other Danubian States, since the waterway of the Danube depends for communication with the open sea upon the waterway of the Straits. Germany is also entitled to a place at the Conference in virtue of her economic relations with the Near East.

We declare that the freedom of the Straits is a question to be settled by all nations, and particularly do we condemn the prospect of any one nation setting itself up as the guardian of the Straits. We set ourselves unflinchingly against any course of action or any claim by any Government which may prejudice an early peace and lead to renewed hostilities in the Near East.

If the Conference is to be a success, there must be agreement as to the cessation of military movements, alike by British, Greek, and Turkish forces, the delimitation of a new neutral zone, and the evacuation of Eastern Thrace by the Greek Army. To avoid the imminent risk of an armed conflict which might make war inevitable, all British forces should be withdrawn from the Asiatic shores of the Dardanelles. Even if it be considered necessary for any Allied troops to remain on these shores pending a peace settlement, no opposition should be offered to a joint occupation by the Turks and the Allies.

The National Joint Council regrets that, notwithstanding the grave possibility of a Turco-British war arising from some "unfortunate incident," the Government have not summoned Parliament to consider the situation. Despite their policy of national economy on housing, education, and the maintenance of the unemployed, millions of public money are being spent upon preparations for war without Parliamentary authority. The people's representatives have no opportunity of receiving information as the crisis develops, or of controlling the policy of the Government.

We are therefore compelled to make this protest, and, if necessary, we shall summon a conference of representatives of the whole of our affiliated organisations, and do all in our power to avert the national calamity of another war.

At a later meeting on October 9, 1922, they called attention to the procedure adopted by the Downing Street Secretariat with respect to Press communiqués on the crisis, and issued the following statement :—

The Council is convinced that there is not a shadow of justification for war, seeing that with respect to all points of substance the various parties have agreed either upon a settlement or a reference to a Conference. The Council further has had its attention drawn to the fact that the war party in the Cabinet pursue activities, especially through communications to the Press, without their origin in Downing Street being acknowledged, which keeps the country in a state of uncertainty and alarm.

This is seen not only in the manifesto of September 16, but in the war scare during the week-end of October 1, for which, as has subsequently been shown, there was no foundation, and again last Friday and Saturday, when similar alarm was spread by similar baseless information.

The Council emphatically condemns these mischievous activities, and warns the public regarding their origin and intentions. It further calls for a definite and decisive ending, not only of the disastrous policy which has been pursued, but also of the Government which is responsible for that policy. It is convinced that a Government so divided within itself and so discredited abroad can do nothing but harm to our national interests, and is now unfit to represent the country in any important international conferences.

The Council therefore calls for the immediate resignation of the Government and the election of a new Parliament as being the only step which can now be taken to secure a fresh and rigorous reconsideration of our position, not only in the Near East, but in all the other pressing home and foreign problems which the Government of our country must face.

RELATIONS WITH RUSSIA.

When the Government was threatening to break off relations with Russia, the National Joint Council made the following declaration on May 11, 1923 :—

That this Joint Council, representing the Trades Union Congress, the National Labour Party, and the Parliamentary Labour Party, expresses its strongest disapproval of the terms of the Government's Note to Russia as calculated to bring about a revival of the attacks of the "White Guards" on the Russian Government, and also a renewal of the militarist methods of resorting to force instead of negotiation and justice.

It declares that there may well be faults on both sides, and calls for a Conference, or in the alternative a reference of the grievances of the respective countries to arbitration or to some International Court.

It protests against any rupture of trade relations with Russia, as the result will not only be an increase in unemployment here, but also a political unsettlement, which will add to the danger of war.

It therefore calls upon both the industrial and political organisations of Labour to protest immediately against the action of the Government.

The Joint Council welcomes the prompt intervention of the Parliamentary Party, and expresses its confidence that the Party in the House of Commons will defend the interests of our country and the needs of the working classes.

INVASION OF THE RUHR.

The attitude of the British Labour Movement towards the invasion of the Ruhr was expressed by the National Joint Council in a manifesto published January 15, 1923, as follows :—

The National Joint Council of the Trades Union Congress General Council, the Executive Committee of the Labour Party and the Parliamentary Labour Party, repudiates in the most formal manner all responsibility for approving, directly or indirectly, the policy now being pursued by the French Government towards Germany.

It regards this policy as an invasion of a neighbouring State in time of peace, without any justification, either under the Treaty of Versailles or any principle of international law, and consequently as an act of war.

This invasion constitutes an attack on the self-determination of the German people, as well as an attack on the rights of the working class, who are treated as mere pawns or chattels.

It threatens all Europe, not only with further economic disintegration, but with widespread anarchy, and the renewal of actual war.

This policy is calculated to cripple Germany, destroy her credit, and automatically diminish her capacity to make Reparation payments.

This policy is destined also to have the most disastrous effect upon the working class of Great Britain, where unemployment and its attendant evils, resulting in large measure from the collapse of Germany's purchasing power, will now be intensified.

It applauds the vigorous opposition which has been offered by the French and Belgian Socialists and Trade Unionists to this policy of aggression.

It demands of the British Government that they shall :—

(a) Refrain from all measures of support or co-operation with the French troops in their present action, as, for example, by allowing such troops to pass through British occupied territory, or allowing this territory to be used by them for any military operation.

(b) Dissociate itself by a formal declaration from all complicity with the present policy of the French Government.

(c) Refuse to take advantage in any way of the French Government's action, whether by sharing in cash payments, coal, or deliveries in kind, which may be obtained as a result of such action.

(d) Take all possible steps to secure the withdrawal of all the Armies of Occupation.

(e) Support the United States Government in securing the submission of the present dispute to an impartial body.

(f) Make a formal proposition for the reference of the whole Reparation problem (including the present action of the French Government) to the League of Nations.

The situation was again considered at a joint meeting of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress and the National Executive of the Labour Party, and on January 25, 1923, another manifesto was published in the following terms :—

The General Council of the British Trades Union Congress and the Executive Committee of the British Labour Party express the solidarity of British Labour with the working population of the Ruhr in their resentment of the invasion of the Ruhr, which is calculated to bring about the economic enslavement of the German people and the political dismemberment of their country.

We would remind the British people of the Prime Minister's warning that the invasion of the Ruhr would have a grave and even disastrous effect upon the economic situation in Europe. And yet, when militarism again threatens to undermine the foundations of European economic life, and the British Army of Occupation is in danger of being involved in the conflict, the British Government stands by as a spectator of events which lead inevitably to increasing misery among our own people and the economic ruin of Europe.

The Trades Union Congress and the Labour Party condemn this policy of inactivity as one of actual co-operation. It is not sufficient merely to predict that the present proceedings of the French and Belgian Governments will be financially ineffective. The political problem raised by their action is even more momentous in its effect on the general situation in Europe than the financial aspect. In particular, we would point out the grave danger of an extension of military operations in other parts of Europe, which we invite the working-class organisations of the countries concerned most strenuously to resist.

We oppose this policy on grounds far more important than its mere ineffectiveness to yield reparation payments. What is now taking place is a military effort to enforce a new European settlement which Britain and America refused to accept at Versailles, based on a Ruhr-Rhine frontier for France; on the dismemberment of Germany; on the complete control of German basic resources and industries by the French, acting entirely at their own discretion and in their own interests; and on the military domination of the Continent.

The General Council of the British Trades Union Congress and the Executive Committee of the British Labour Party therefore call upon the British Government:

(1) To adopt a policy of definite diplomatic intervention, if possible with the co-operation of the United States Government, with a view to securing the earliest possible evacuation of the Ruhr Valley by foreign troops.

(2) To support any proposal which may be put forward at the next meeting of the Council of the League of Nations on January 29, that the valid claims of France and Belgium for the reconstruction of the devastated regions, and the Ruhr situation should be dealt with by the League under Article 11 of the Covenant.

(3) To propose that the French and Belgian troops be withdrawn from the Ruhr pending the enquiry by the League into the whole situation.

(4) To appeal to the Governments of the Little Entente, and especially Poland and Czecho Slovakia, not to yield to any pressure to occupy German territory and by doing so involve Europe in a new war.

It was agreed that the resolution should be forwarded to the Prime Minister of Great Britain, to the Secretary General of the League of Nations, and to the members of the Council of the League.

THE AMSTERDAM CONFERENCE ON THE INVASION OF THE RUHR.

The Executive Committees of the Trades Union International (Amsterdam) and the two Labour and Socialist Internationals (London and Vienna) held a Joint Conference upon the situation in the Ruhr at Amsterdam on January 26 and 27, 1923, under the presidency of Mr. J. H. Thomas (Great Britain).

Those present were:

Labour and Socialist Internationals.		International Federation of Trade Unions.
London:	Vienna:	
Wauters (Belgium).	Bracke (France).	Mertens (Belgium).
Cramp (Britain).	Adler (Austria).	Thomas (Britain).
Williams (Britain).	Crispien (Germany).	Jouhaux (France).
Stauning (Denmark).	Grimm (Switzerland).	Leipart (Germany).
Wels (Germany)	Abramovitch (Russia).	Fimmen, Oudegeest, Sassenbach and Brown: Secretariat.
Troelstra (Holland).		
Vliegen (Holland).		
Wibaut (Holland).		
Gillies, Secretary.		

The Action of the International Federation of Trade Unions.

Fimmen explained that on January 8 and 9, when danger was imminent, the Bureau of the I.F.T.U. met and discussed the various possibilities of adopting a policy of:

(1) Boycott;
(2) A general strike in all countries, and
(3) A partial strike in certain countries and certain industries.

Since the London Conference of the I.F.T.U., the movement had been weakened by strikes, by the Fascisti in Italy, and by the Communists in other countries. The possibility of the masses responding to an appeal for any form of direct action was not very great. As a result of the meeting a protest was issued demanding a settlement by arbitration, and enquiries were made as to whether other forms of action were possible.

It was decided to meet on January 18 to consider the reports. In the meantime the International Council of Action had met to give effect to the Hague Resolution, and made recommendations to discover whether a general strike, or at the very least a partial strike in certain trades and certain districts, could be called.

It was decided to call a separate meeting of the Transport Workers. The French Transport Workers and Railwaymen could do nothing; the Germans were prepared to do all that was wanted; Britain was not represented.

The Belgians stated they could declare a general strike of Belgian Harbour and Dock Workers if they were joined by the Harbour and Transport Workers of other countries and the Belgian Trades Union Centre were to agree. Apart from this, the Dutch Transport Workers agreed to stop the transport of coal through Holland to France. It was said that the Belgians might follow, although they could not pledge themselves.

The I.F.T.U. also decided to get into touch with the political Internationals, and visits were made to France, Belgium and Great Britain. It was found that there was no possibility of a general strike, or even of a strike.

Invitations were received from the Communist International and the Red Trades Union International to make a common front with them. As far as the Trades Union International is concerned it was agreed for various reasons not to comply with that request.

The Suggested Withdrawal of the British Army of Occupation.

After Fimmen's statement, Thomas put two questions on behalf of the British Delegation:

(1) Whether, in the judgment of this meeting, but more especially in the judgment of our German comrades, it would be better for the British troops to be withdrawn; and

(2) whether international demonstrations in Germany, outside the Ruhr, would help the situation at this moment. If so, the British movement was prepared to co-operate.

With regard to the first question, Wels (Germany) replied that they had recently reconsidered the matter and had again come to the conclusion that they did not want the English troops to leave the Cologne district. The moral effect of the withdrawal would disappear entirely in comparison with the practical consequences. Withdrawal would open up the possibility of a complete revision of the economic areas and permit France to establish a dominant position in Europe, not only economically but politically. The presence of British troops was therefore a protection of British economic interests, and therefore of the interests of the British workers. The possibility of conflict between French and British troops was in his opinion not a real danger.

As to the second question, it was discovered that international demonstrations were not possible in Belgium and France owing to the certain refusal of passports, nor in Germany owing to the difficulties which French and Belgian speakers would incur.

Representatives then gave an exposition of the state of public opinion in their respective countries.

In conclusion the meeting agreed unanimously upon the following resolution :—

THE RESOLUTION OF THE INTERNATIONALS.

The Executives of the International Federation of Trade Unions, the Labour and Socialist International (London) and the Vienna Union, at their joint meeting held in Amsterdam on January 26 and 27, 1923, for the purpose of examining the situation created by the military occupation of the Ruhr, in conformity with the resolution passed at Frankfort in February, 1922, and in Amsterdam in July, 1922, and confirmed by the Peace Congress at The Hague in December last, condemn, most emphatically, the military occupation of the Ruhr, as well as the employment of methods of force and violence, as the means of solving the problem of reparations.

They also declare :

(a) That the occupation of the Ruhr, which has been effected under the pretext of ensuring the reconstruction of the devastated areas, in reality delays reconstruction and renders it more difficult, and is only a phase in the struggle which the different groups of French and German magnates in the iron and steel industries are waging for the permanent possession of the coal and iron deposits.

(b) That the workers, to-day, just as during the war, are the victims of this capitalist rapacity, whereas the workers' only and real interest is to frustrate the designs of the capitalist groups and ensure peace in the world.

(c) Reaffirm their desire to use all their power, by co-operating internationally, to effect the economic reconstruction of Europe, one of the essential factors of which is the payment within the limits of possibility of equitable reparations which are indispensable to enable France and Belgium to rebuild their devastated areas.

(d) Direct the attention of the workers and of the general public to the disastrous consequences of the military occupation; to the intolerable régime imposed on an industrious and peaceful population; to the serious and sanguinary incidents which accompany this occupation, and to the danger of war which it brings in its train.

(e) Desire to substitute for this policy of violence, a policy of harmony and peace based on the general interest of the workers of the world.

Further, the Executives decide :

(a) To propagate energetically these principles in all countries, by means of the Press, meetings and demonstrations.

(b) To organise a continuous exchange of exact and reliable information regarding the position in the various countries in order to maintain and strengthen the confidence which must exist between the working class in the various countries.

(c) To bring pressure to bear on the Governments, by means of Parliamentary action, to induce them to accept the mediation of the League of Nations, to which Germany must first be admitted with the same rights as all other Powers.

The Executives, in particular, draw the attention of the workers to the increasing danger of war and call upon them to use all their resources to repel the open and covert attacks of militarism and imperialism, and work for the establishment of a lasting peace.

They warn the workers in all countries that the bourgeois Press is again publishing lying alarmist reports in all countries just as it did during the war, and is thus poisoning public opinion, chiefly in France and Germany, in order to incite the nations against one another.

They denounce the misstatements of the Governments which pretend that they are attacking German capitalists only, whereas the first victims of their action are the German workers, whose Trade Union and Socialist organisations have admitted Germany's obligation to make the fullest possible reparation in her power, and have thus given democracy the surest guarantee of peace.

They desire to place on record that the Trade Union and Socialist organisations of France and Belgium, in meetings and in the Press, have clearly and vigorously protested against the policy of their Governments, which is a menace to peace, and that these have done all in their power, within the limits set by the present strength of capitalism and the divisions in the ranks of the workers, to lead the French and Belgium masses to more energetic action, and consider that it is the duty of these organisations to continue their endeavours with all the strength at their disposal.

In order to strengthen this guarantee of peace, to solve the reparation problem by means of peaceful negotiations and to prevent a further disintegration of the European economic system, the working classes of the world, and especially of France and Belgium, are called upon to demand the immediate withdrawal of all occupation troops from the Ruhr district, while at the same time the German working class is called upon to compel the German Government and German capitalists to fulfil Germany's obligation to make the fullest possible reparation.

The Executives of the International organisations named above place themselves at the disposal of the national organisations in order to give the demonstrations in the various countries an international character.

In view of the report of the Amsterdam Conference and the statements of the German representatives, the National Committee decided that it was not advisable at that moment to make any declaration for or against the withdrawal of the British Army of Occupation from the Rhineland.

It was also decided to send a circular to the affiliated bodies, enclosing a draft resolution for adoption at meetings and the widest possible publication in the Press. This circular reads as follows :—

DEAR SIR, or MADAM,—

All sections of the Labour Movement are under an international obligation at the present moment to condemn in the strongest possible terms the military occupation of the Ruhr, as well as the methods of force and violence as a means of solving the problem of reparations. They ought to direct the attention of the public in general, and the working classes in particular, to the disastrous consequences of the military occupation; to the intolerable regime imposed on the peaceful working classes by such occupation; to the serious and sanguinary incidents which may result, and to the inevitable and imminent return of the condition of war which military occupation always brings in its train. The first consequence of the French action, it should be pointed out, is to delay reconstruction and render it more difficult, and its first victims are the German workers, whose Trade Unions and Socialist organisations have admitted Germany's obligation to make the equitable reparations which are indispensable to enable France and Belgium to rebuild their devastated areas.

A resolution upon the subject should be proposed and adopted by every Executive Committee and every branch of a Trade Union, by every local Labour Party and every Trades Council, and at all meetings and demonstrations, whatever the subject. Copies of the resolution should be sent to the Prime Minister and the Member of Parliament for the constituency, and special efforts should be made to have it published in the local Press and Trade Union journals.

A draft resolution is enclosed herewith; additional copies can be supplied on request for circulation by Trade Unions to their branches, etc.

Yours faithfully,

(*Signed*) C. W. BOWERMAN
(*Secretary, General Council of the Trades Union Congress*).

ARTHUR HENDERSON
(*Secretary, The Labour Party*).

The accompanying resolution was in the following form :—

RESOLUTION :

This meeting appeals to the people to realise the gravity of the present international situation, and the failure of the Governments to make and maintain peace among the nations.

In the East we are threatened by a new war. In the West, the French troops have invaded Germany's richest and most densely populated region, and imposed a new hunger blockade upon the already underfed and overworked German people. Others also suffer, because the invasion of the Ruhr strikes at

the economic reconstruction of Europe, delays the rebuilding of the devastated areas, and threatens our own people with greater unemployment and misery. Meanwhile, the British Government, an idle spectator of the impending ruin, is regarded by the French and Belgian people as an accomplice of their Governments.

This meeting sends fraternal greetings to the working classes of Belgium, France, and Germany, and joins with them in the strongest possible denunciation of this policy of violence, which brings neither reparations nor security, and is making of the Rhineland and the Ruhr the Alsace-Lorraine of the future. We send an expression of our sympathy in their suffering to the workers in the Ruhr Valley.

This meeting calls upon the British Government:

(1) To adopt a policy of active diplomatic intervention, if possible with the co-operation of the United States Government;

(2) To remove all misunderstanding by making a public declaration that in their view the action of the French Government is a breach of the Treaty of Versailles and is one from which they formally and unmistakably dissociate themselves;

(3) To support any proposal that the Ruhr situation, the payment by Germany within the limits of possibility of the equitable reparations indispensable to restore devastated France and Belgium, as well as the whole problem of the inter-Allied debts, should be dealt with by the League of Nations under Article 11 of the Covenant; and at the same time to propose that Germany be admitted into full membership of the League with a seat on the Council;

(4) To propose as part of a settlement the withdrawal of all the Armies of Occupation, and to make it clear that in any event no general settlement which includes French or Belgian occupation of the Ruhr can be accepted by the British Government.

Article 11 of the Covenant to which reference has been made states:

THREATS OF WAR.

Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any Members of the League or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the whole League, and the League shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations. In case any such emergency should arise, the Secretary-General shall, on the request of any Member of the League, forthwith summon a meeting of the Council.

It is also declared to be the friendly right of each Member of the League to bring to the attention of the Assembly or of the Council any circumstance whatever affecting international relations which threatens to disturb international peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends.

FRATERNAL DELEGATIONS.

France.

Mr. F. O. Roberts, M.P., represented the Executive Committee of the Labour Party at the General Congress of the French Socialist Party, held at Lille, on Sunday, February 4, 1923, and following days.

Mr. Roberts delivered a short fraternal address to the delegates and was also one of the speakers at a great public meeting, a remarkable feature of which was the wonderful reception given to Hilferding, the German representative.

LILLE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS

On Friday and Saturday, February 2 and 3, 1923, a meeting of the International delegates present at the Congress was held for the purpose of giving consideration to the action of the French Government in occupying the Ruhr.

Mr. Paul Faure presided. Others present included: Vandervelde, Wauters, De Brouckère, Van Roosbroeck (Belgium); Hilferding (Germany); Dan (Russia); Matteotti (Italy); R. Wallhead, F. O. Roberts (Great Britain); Engberg (Sweden); Auriol, Blum, Renaudel, Grumbach (France).

At this meeting an appeal to the President and the members of the Council of the League of Nations was drafted as follows :—

Gentlemen,—

The Congress of the French Socialist Party (S.F.I.O.) is being held at this moment in Lille, in the very centre of the districts devastated by the war.

We represent, at this Congress, the Socialist Parties of the countries interested in the reparations : Germany, Great Britain, Belgium, France, and Italy.

It is on this ground that we have the honour of addressing this appeal to you.

The crisis which is shaking Europe is serious beyond words. The war has destroyed the economic equilibrium of the world. All the nations, both those which were lately belligerent and those which were neutral, are profoundly affected as regards their means of exchange, their production, and their general life. The burial of hatreds, the solidarity of the peoples, the settlement of disputes by just agreements, are the sole methods by which the visible signs of destruction can be blotted out, the nations freed from the heavy burden of a formidable debt and restored to prosperity, and peace established once again.

The solution of the reparations problem is, however, the essential condition for a settled peace. And this solution is only possible by measures of an international nature.

It is in this sense that the proletariat of Europe, at Amsterdam in March, 1921, in February and March, 1922, at the Paris and Frankfort Conferences, and quite recently at the World Conference in The Hague, formulated a detailed programme of reconstruction which we consider it our duty to communicate to you as an annex to this letter.

The essential points of this programme are :

(1) The final fixing of the German debt within the limit of Germany's capacity, confining it to what is necessary for the reparation of damage caused to the civil population and for the restoration of the devastated districts.

(2) The annulment of the inter-Allied debts, which, caused by the war, should be offset amongst the nations which fought for common aims.

(3) The realisation, by the League of Nations and to the account of Germany, of international credit operations, which would permit of making the indispensable payments to the devastated countries without delay, restoring the finances of Germany to a healthy condition, stabilising the exchange, re-establishing normal economic relations between the nations, that is, solving at one and the same time the two inseparable problems of the reparation of the devastated regions and the economic reconstruction of Europe.

(4) On conclusion of the agreements mentioned above, evacuation of all territory which was occupied by virtue of the Versailles Treaty, with the object of compelling Germany to carry out her pledges.

There is unanimous agreement amongst the workers of all countries on the different points of this programme, all of which depend the one upon the other.

This programme is already affecting public opinion. Men belonging to opposed political parties are rallying to it, and every time that the Governments, the bankers, and the economic experts have really attempted to find a practical solution to these problems, it is in the light of these ideas that they have begun to draft their schemes.

And your League, which organised an international financial conference in Brussels, has not forgotten the unanimous recommendations of delegates representing thirty-nine nations, which declared that, in order to realise the work of reconstruction of Europe with which the reparations of the devastated countries are inseparably connected, "the world must put an end to rivalry and to the feelings of animosity which are the inevitable consequence of the world war."

Therefore, Gentlemen, there is profound disillusion on the part of the peoples when they see the resistance of capitalist egoism and solutions of violence once more prevailing over counsels of reason and equity. In view of the occupation of the Ruhr, which is aggravating the economic disturbance, compromising the development of democracy, violating the rights of nations, sowing the seeds of future war, their distress is terrible and their protest filled with indignation.

But you can put an end to their anxiety.

The World Conference at The Hague, at which all the Labour, democratic and pacifist forces of the world were represented, invited the interested Governments to submit their differences to you and to request your intervention. This appeal was strongly urged in the name of the various Parliaments. It has had no response.

Quite recently, the Executive Governments of the three Trade Union and Socialist Internationals of Europe, representing tens of millions of organised workers, demanded that the Governments should address themselves to you. They have had no reply, save a fresh aggravation of the crisis.

And downtrodden men who hoped your League would be the means of restoring peace to the world, and who longed to see you solve other than questions of mere secondary importance in these tragic times, can find no explanation for your abstention and your silence.

The Governments have not brought before you this dispute on which the peace of the world depends. You have not taken cognizance of it yourselves. In the name of the workers of all countries, we bring it publicly to your notice.

We appeal also to the Government and people of the United States so that they may join their efforts to ours in this essential matter.

It is the duty of your League, to itself and to humanity, to intervene by giving to Germany rights of deliberation equal to those of the associated nations. We cling to our hope that it will do so.

If by prolonged silence you now add the cruelty of disillusionment to the unspeakable sufferings which the peoples underwent during the war, if your abstention leads to further bloody conflicts, what a crime it will be against humanity. What a weakening of the conception of the League of Nations in the world!

The League has before it a unique opportunity of affirming itself as a positive force.

In the trust that you will respond to our appeal and to the hopes of the world,

We have the honour to sign ourselves,

PAUL FAURE
(General Secretary of the French Socialist Party (S.F.I.O.)).
LEON BLUM, Deputy
(Secretary of the Parliamentary Group of the Socialist Party (S.F.I.O.)).
EMILE VANDERVELDE, Deputy
(Delegate of the Belgian Labour Party).
JOSEPH VAN ROOSBROECK
(Secretary of the Belgian Labour Party).
Dr. RUDOLF HILFERDING
(Delegate of the Unified Socialist Party of Germany).
GIACOMO MATTEOTTI, Deputy
(Secretary of the Italian Unitary Socialist Party).
R. C. WALLHEAD, M.P.
(President of the Independent Labour Party).
F. O. ROBERTS, M.P.
(Delegate of the Labour Party).

BELGIUM.

In accordance with the decision of the National Executive Mr. Herbert Morrison attended the 34th Annual Congress of the Belgian Labour Party, held in Brussels on March 31, April 1-2, 1923.

Mr. Morrison reported as follows:—

Fraternal delegates were also present from Czecho-Slovakia, Denmark, Germany, Georgia, France, Holland, Luxemburg and Poland. The Congress was held at the headquarters of the Party, the "Maison du Peuple," and was attended by approaching 700 delegates. The President was M. Wauters.

Apart from the reports of the General Council, Parliamentary Groups and the Federation of Municipal Councillors, the Congress concentrated its attention upon the question of the extension of the franchise to women for Provincial Council (corresponding to our County Council) elections, the international situation, and the question of public assistance and control in respect of church schools.

Although most of the leading members of the Party supported extension of the franchise to women for the County Council Elections, the question was postponed, there apparently being considerable apprehension as to clerical influence over women voters.

The declaration on the international situation, including the question of the Ruhr, was substantially in sympathy with the policy of our own Party. The question of the schools was adjourned for consideration at a Special Party Conference.

In conveying the fraternal greetings of the British Labour Party, I indicated the weakness of the present Government in foreign affairs, and summarised to the conference the official joint declarations of the Trades Union Congress and the Labour Party with regard to the situation in the Ruhr. After describing the serious situation in our country with regard to unemployment, falls in wages and impending industrial disputes, I informed the Congress as to the great progress the British Labour Party had made politically as a result of the last General Election and subsequent by-elections, pointing out the high degree of harmony and unity which now existed in the British Movement.

I reported to the Congress that the election results did not appear to show that women's franchise in Great Britain had injured the Party, that it was known that we had received considerable support from the women, and that in the work of the Party during the election and at other times women are taking an increasingly active part.

Finally, I told the Congress of the great development which has taken place during recent times in the Party's interest in international affairs, the establishment of its international department, and its determination to work wholeheartedly with the other Labour and Socialist Parties of the world to secure the united reconstruction of the Labour and Socialist International.

On the Sunday evening the foreign delegates were entertained to dinner by the Belgian Executive, Mr. Emile Vandervelde presiding.

Germany.

Messrs. R. J. Davies and C. G. Ammon attended the Annual Congress of the German Social Democratic Party, held at Augsburg, Bavaria, September 16-22, 1922, and in their report to the Executive state :—

We were greeted with acclamation at the opening gathering on the Sunday evening, at which about 6,000 persons were present.

Our statements were listened to with more than the usual attention, and it is obvious that the German working-classes are expecting release from their intolerable economic conditions through the help of the British Labour Party.

There were present fraternal delegates from Belgium, Denmark, France, Sweden and Czecho-Slovakia at the Party meeting.

The main questions discussed at the Congress concerned the economic conditions of women, the constitution of the Party, and closer relationship with the German Independent Socialist Party.

We also attended and spoke at the United Conference of the Independent and Majority Socialist Parties at Nuernberg on the morning of Sunday, September 24, and at a public meeting in the afternoon, and witnessed touching scenes at the merging of those two great organisations which now form the strongest Party in the country and the Reichstag. We were equally welcomed at Nuernberg, where the meetings were even larger than at Augsburg.

The programmes of the two Parties were adopted with unanimity, and an important manifesto to the workers of Germany was issued. Our presence was taken as the signal for better relationship, not only between British and German Labour, but as a step towards an improvement in the relationships between all the Labour and Socialist Parties of the world.

THE WORLD PEACE CONGRESS.

The Hague, December 10-15, 1922.

The Executive Committee of the Labour Party and the Parliamentary Labour Party were represented at the World Peace Congress convoked by the International Federation of Trade Unions by Messrs. C. R. Buxton, M.P., R. J. Davies, M.P., F. B. Varley, J. R. MacDonald, M.P., Sidney Webb, M.P., with Mr. Gillies, the Secretary of the Joint International Department. Messrs. A. Henderson, M.P., and T. Shaw, M.P., attended on behalf of the International.

More than 600 delegates from 30 countries assembled at the Dierentuin, The Hague, on the afternoon of Sunday, December 10, 1922, when the Conference was opened under the presidency of Mr. J. H. Thomas, M.P. The European Labour Movement in all its aspects was well represented. The Internationals of London and Vienna and their affiliated parties sent delegates; the Trades Union International and its affiliated Unions, as well as the various Trade Internationals, were represented in force. The International Co-operative Alliance and many national Co-operative movements also contributed to the representative character of the assembly, which was completed by a numerous contingent from the Peace Societies of Europe and America, organisations of Young Workers and Working Women, and delegates from the Russian Trade Union and Co-operative Movements. It was computed by the Secretary of the Congress than 40 million separate persons were members of the organisations in the Congress.

Draft resolutions upon the subjects on the agenda had been prepared by the Bureau of the Trades Union International, and the general discussion upon these subjects was opened by :—

	Subject.
Mr. L. Jouhaux (France) :	The necessity of concentrating all pacifist endeavours towards the attainment of one common aim, on the basis of the Resolution of the Rome Congress of the International Federation of Trade Unions.
Mr. Arthur Henderson, M.P. (Great Britain) :	What the Governments and the various Political Parties have done, and can do, for the Promotion of Peace.
Professor Buisson (Paris) :	The Propagation of Peace Ideals among the rising generation by means of Education.
Mr. Helmut von Gerlach for Prof. Quidde (Munich) :	The Pacifist Organisations and their task in the World Movement against War.
Mr. Edo. Fimmen (I.F.T.U.) :	War against War—The Mission of Organised Labour in the Movement for World Peace.

At the conclusion of the General Debate, the draft resolutions and amendments proposed by various delegations, including a memorandum submitted by the Russian delegation, were referred to a Committee of 60 members, composed of the various groups and delegations, in the following proportions :—

The Trade Unions, 29; the Political (Socialist) Parties, 12; the Pacifists, 8; the Co-operative Societies, 3; the Young Workers, 3; the Working Women's Organisations, 3; and the Russians, 2 delegates.

The Trade Unions of the various countries would be represented as follows :—Belgium, 2 delegates; Great Britain, 6; Germany, 6; France, 4; Holland, 1; Austria, 2; Czecho-Slovakia, 1; Denmark, 1; Italy, 1; Luxemburg, 1; Sweden, 1; Spain, 1; Latvia, 1; Russia, 1.

This Committee again divided itself into four Sub-committees.

Education.

A resolution proposed by the Commission on Education pointed out that the principle of having recourse to pacific measures of settling international disputes should influence the education of children, young persons and adults. Women may contribute powerfully to the forma-

tion of a new mentality by the training they give in the home and by their social action. The Congress therefore expressed the hope that the working-class movement would encourage in every way the political, Trade Union, and Co-operative organisation of women.

Teaching in the public schools and the training of teachers should be inspired by the same principle. The teaching of history should be reformed with a view to giving greater place to the history of civilisation, and everything which might tend to arouse or cultivate militarist nationalism should be eliminated from all educational equipment (books, libraries, etc.).

This resolution would have been carried unanimously but for the votes of the Russian delegates, which went against it.

Pacifist Resolution.

What is known as the "Pacifist" Resolution, because it was primarily the contribution of the representatives of the Peace Societies, expressed the conviction that practical measures against war could be taken on a more extensive scale than had hitherto been the case. It proposed that the International Federation of Trade Unions should concentrate the scattered peace forces by the establishment of an institution which would not be dependent upon any governmental connections whatsoever, and with which the International Federation of Trade Unions could establish relations at any time. It invited the Bureau to set up a committee to study the reforms which are necessary in the League of Nations, and concluded with an invitation to the Bureau to issue an appeal to members of Parliament, the members of the legal profession and intellectual workers in general, calling them to associate themselves with the movement against war and for the organisation of peace.

This resolution was carried against the votes of the Russian delegation and nine members of the German Federation of Peace Societies.

The Threatened Occupation of the Ruhr.

A resolution condemning the policy of penalties, coercion and violence in pursuit of reparations was introduced to the Congress on behalf of the French and Belgian Labour Parties and Trade Unions.

This resolution urged that the problems of reparations, debts and international loans be submitted to the arbitration of the League of Nations, and appealed to the masses to offer determined opposition to all measures of violence—particularly the military occupation of the Ruhr Basin—which menace civilisation and peace.

Only the Russian delegation voted against this resolution.

The Action of the Trade Unions.

The resolution proposed by the Trade Union Committee declared that the peace propaganda of Labour should have a double aim : (1) the removal of everything which propagates the spirit of war, and (2) real and actual disarmament.

Labour's propaganda for the brotherhood of peoples should be undertaken if possible in collaboration with non-Labour organisations. The Labour Movement itself must oppose all wars which may threaten to break out in the future with all the means at its disposal, and prevent the actual outbreak of such wars by proclaiming and carrying out a General Strike. By means of its propaganda the Labour Movement must also render the manufacture and transport of war materials impossible.

The preparations for all definite action, this resolution stated, shall be in the hands of the Committee set up by the International Trades Union Congress at Rome, composed of the representatives of the International Federation of Trade Unions and of the International Secretariats of the workers in the Transport, Mining and Metal Industries. The direction of all definite action shall be in the hands of the Management Committee of the International Federation of Trade Unions.

Only the Russian delegates voted against this resolution.

Political Resolution.

The resolution of the Political Commission declared that the conduct of the political struggle is the affair of the political parties, and each organisation affiliated to the common movement remains responsible for its own programme. Labour and Socialist Parties in the various countries were invited to co-operate in realising the aims put forward in the Rome Resolution of the International Federation of Trade Unions, so as to unite their divided forces in a common effort.

The resolution demanded the revision of the Peace Treaties; determined resistance, both in an out of Parliament, to militarism and armaments; public control over the armaments industry; transformation of war industries into peace industries; admission of Germany on equal terms to the League of Nations and transformation of the League into an all-embracing Society of Peoples; and the abolition of secret treaties and secret diplomacy.

This resolution was adopted against the votes of the Russian delegation.

THE RESOLUTIONS.

The full texts of the Resolutions are as follow:

I.

Commission on Education.

The International Peace Congress organised by the International Federation of Trade Unions and held at The Hague, December 10-15, 1922:

Declares that, in the present stage of the evolution of humanity, war can no longer be tolerated as a method of settling differences between nations.

The obligation of having recourse to pacific methods of settling such differences along the lines of arbitration should be inculcated as the highest expression of human conscience. And this principle should influence the education of children, young persons and adults.

(1) For this purpose, the first influence to bring into action is that of women. They may, both by the training they give in the home and by their social action, contribute powerfully to the formation of a new mentality and the reconstruction of society on a Socialist and pacifist basis. In order to secure this, the Congress expresses the hope that the working class movement will encourage in every way the political, Trade Union, and Co-operative organisation of women.

(2) The Congress urges the workers to foster the spirit of pacifism in their homes and to supplement State education by establishing for their children educational arrangements controlled by their own organisations and promoting their ideals, and to support the Young Workers' Movement as an important factor in the work for peace.

(3) It is indispensable:

(a) That the teaching in the public schools and in the training of teachers should be inspired by the principle enunciated above.

(b) That the teaching of history should be reformed with a view of giving a greater place to the history of civilisation, and laying emphasis upon the economic and social development of humanity.

(c) That there should be an end to the glorification of conquests and conquerors, and youth should learn to honour work of all kinds.

(d) That the younger generation should be imbued with the conviction that the nations can and ought to establish among themselves the rule which each has established for the millions of its own citizens, namely, the rule which forbids individuals from getting justice for themselves by force of arms.

(e) That there should be equal opportunities for education, including professional education, for all children.

(f) That control should be organised over the manuals, books, school libraries and all educational equipment in order to eliminate everything which might tend to arouse or cultivate militarist nationalism.

(4) The Congress urges parents and all those concerned in education deeply inspired by these principles, to endeavour to realise with the shortest possible delay this ideal of a new education for humanity.

II.

Pacifist Commission.

This World-Peace Congress held at The Hague from the 10th to the 15th December, 1922, under the auspices of the International Federation of Trade Unions :

Declares that although, owing to unfavourable circumstances, pacifist propaganda has been confined more to the theoretical sphere, this propaganda has nevertheless played an important part in the establishment—however incomplete that establishment may be—of the Permanent Court of Arbitration, the League of Nations and the Permanent Court of International Justice.

Being convinced that, by the participation of working class organisations in such propaganda, *practical* measures can be taken on a more extensive scale than has hitherto been the case against war.

In favour of disarmament and against the introduction of militarism in those countries which so far have been free from all militaristic tendencies.

Deems is desirable that all the forces desiring to work for peace should co-operate with the object of combating war.

Recommends the International Federation of Trade Unions to instruct its affiliated National Trade Union Federations to propagate the principles of constructive pacifism as well as the reforms which must be made in the League of Nations.

Deems it necessary, in the interests of this co-ordination, that all organisations which are working for peace shall meet together more frequently.

And proposes that they should concentrate their scattered forces by the establishment of an institution which shall not be dependent upon any government connections whatsoever, and with which the International Federation of Trade Unions can establish relations at any time and discuss the ways and means by which a ceaseless propaganda may be carried on.

The Congress invites the Bureau of the International Federation of Trade Unions to set up as soon as possible a Study Commission for the extremely urgent task of planning the necessary transformation of the League of Nations.

The Congress notes with satisfaction that important and influential pacifist groups have answered the call of the International Federation of Trade Unions and invites the latter body to issue an appeal to members of Parliament, the members of the legal profession and intellectual workers in general calling upon them to associate themselves with the movement against war and for the organisation of peace.

III.

Resolution Against the Policy of Sanctions and the Threatened Occupation of the Ruhr-basin.

This Congress, deeply moved by the persistent reports which give rise to the fear that coercive measures, in the form of guarantees or securities, particularly the military occupation of the Ruhr-Basin, are contemplated :

Declares that the reconstruction of the devastated areas in Belgium, France and Italy is an indispensable condition for securing moral and real peace between the peoples, and accepts the plans elaborated for this purpose at Amsterdam in April, 1921, and at Frankfort in February, 1922, by the International Federation of Trade Unions and the Socialist Parties.

It confirms its belief that the application of these plans is the only way to solve simultaneously the two inseparable problems of the restoration of the devastated areas and the economic reconstruction of Europe, and calls upon the organisations represented to devote all their strength to the task of securing the application of these plans.

But having established these principles, this Congress condemns all the more strongly the policy of sanctions, coercion and violence, the application of which policy has during the past four years furnished abundant proof of its complete futility, and which, even though it appears to carry out the strict letter of the Treaties, nevertheless by violating the rights of peoples encourages feelings of revenge and hatred, which are the germs of new wars.

The Congress denounces, with the same feelings of indignation, the policy which tends to substitute for effective reparation, measures for the disintegration of Germany, and measures which are only disguised and different forms of annexation of German territory. Without delaying to demonstrate the futility of this policy, it condemns it because it strikes at the roots of the fundamental right of nations and of individuals—the right of self-determination.

This Congress calls upon all the groups represented here to work in their own countries and parliaments for the realisation of the plans referred to above, and to give expression to definite and determined protest, and it appeals to the masses, to those who give expression to the highest ideals of the human race, to offer determined opposition to all measures of violence which menace civilisation and peace.

This Congress, in view of the disagreement between the Allied Governments, in view of the economic condition of Germany, and in order to prevent further military occupation, urges that the problems of reparation debts and international loans be submitted to the arbitration of the League of Nations.

IV.

Political Commission.

This International Peace Congress held at The Hague from December 10 to 15, 1922, under the auspices of the International Federation of Trade Unions, directs the attention of the workers of the world to the danger caused by the conflicts of economic interest between the ruling capitalist groups of the various countries, to the interest which these groups have in making profits and in securing power, and to the unbridled nationalist agitation carried on by them in the powerful press which they influence.

Although these tendencies are inherent in the existing capitalist system, yet the dangers which arise therefrom can be counteracted in a certain measure by a determined and deliberate effort on the part of the organised working class, supported by all those forces which are working against war.

The Congress therefore calls upon all movements directed against Militarism and Imperialism, and especially the Labour and Socialist political parties in the various countries, to co-operate in realising the aims put forward in the Rome Resolution of the International Federation of Trade Unions, so as to unite their divided forces in a common effort.

The Congress declares expressly that the conduct of the political struggle is the affair of the political parties, and each organisation affiliated to the common movement remains responsible for its own programme.

The Congress demands—

(1) The revision of the Peace Treaties in the spirit of the resolutions of the two Socialist Internationals and the International Federation of Trade Unions, and in accordance with the principle of the economic solidarity of the peoples.

(2) Determined resistance, both in and out of Parliament, to militarism and armaments; public control over the armaments industry by means of the League of Nations, with the collaboration of working-class organisations; and the transformation of war industries into industries working for peace production.

(3) The admission of Germany, on equal terms, to the League of Nations. The transformation of the League of Nations into an all-embracing Society of Peoples as the supreme international authority for the peaceful regulation of international economic, legal and political questions.

A Committee shall be appointed by the Congress to study the question of the transformation above referred to.

The Congress further demands the abolition of secret treaties and secret diplomacy.

V.

Trade Union Commission.

War is the most terrible scourge of humanity, and particularly of the workers.

In War the workers are always the losers. Capitalism always wins.

In War the workers do not destroy and weaken the Imperialism and Capitalism of a country; they destroy and weaken themselves.

Every defeat and weakening of the workers of any one country means the defeat and weakening of the international proletariat and the victory and strengthening of international capitalism.

The workers can improve their own position and make Peace safe and sure by uniting internationally for the struggle against the ruling classes, and not by dividing their forces and destroying each other on the battlefields of war between the nations.

For this reason it is the duty of the proletariat in all countries to carry on the war against war and against every cause of war, using every means, direct and indirect, inside and outside Parliament.

For this purpose it is necessary to put an end to the division which exists in the Trade Union Movement, and to invite the minorities to rejoin their national federations in order to restore the unity of the working classes.

Constant and energetic propaganda for Peace among the peoples and against militarist and imperialist forces must be organised.

This propaganda and this action have a double aim.

They must support all efforts tending to remove all factors which propagate the spirit of war.

They must serve to lead to real and actual disarmament and prevent all impending danger of war and direct the struggle against the influences which render war possible.

In order to realise these two aims the Labour Movement must organise the struggle for peace, must oppose all wars which may threaten to break out in the future with all the means at the disposal of the Labour Movement, and prevent the actual outbreak of such wars by proclaiming and carrying out a General International Strike.

By speech and written word the Labour Movement, if possible in collaboration with non-Labour organisations, must conduct propaganda for the idea of the brotherhood of peoples, and against everything which sustains and encourages existing antagonisms.

In particular the Labour Movement must devote its attention to the education of children and young people in an anti-militarist and anti-capitalist spirit, and, with this aim in view, must bring all its influence to bear on the present educational system.

It is of supreme importance that the Labour Movement should exercise a more rigorous supervision over the Press. The Labour Movement must devote its full attention and all its energy to establish and maintain its own Press in all countries and also to establish relations between the whole Labour Press.

Of equal, if not still greater importance are the propaganda and organisation against the possibility of war and for the action to prevent it.

It is with this aim in view that the Labour Movement must, on the basis of the Rome resolution, not only exercise supervision over the manufacture and transport of all war materials, but must also, by conscientious and energetic propaganda, by educating and instructing the workers themselves, and with the briefest possible delay, render the manufacture and transport of war materials impossible.

The Trade Union Organisations must combat all threats of war and demand recourse to arbitration in all differences that may arise between nations.

In this connection the International Federation of Trade Unions should undertake the responsibility to decide upon and put into effect the general strike and the economic boycott in accordance with the Rome resolution.

The Labour Movement must do all in its power to bring about the establishment of a real and true League of Peoples in which the workers can have confidence and to the jurisdiction of which all differences between the nations must be submitted.

This propaganda for Peace must be conducted in collaboration with all who accept the Rome resolution as the basis for the struggle.

The preparations for all definite action shall be in the hands of the Committee set up by the International Trade Union Congress at Rome, composed of the representatives of the International Federation of Trade Unions and of the International Secretariats of the workers in the Transport, Mining and Metal Industries.

The direction of all definite action shall be in the hands of the Management Committee of the International Federation of Trade Unions.

World Peace can only be finally established when the present system of capitalist production, which is based on the idea of personal gain, is replaced by a system of production which shall serve the needs and interests of mankind in general.

JOINT RESEARCH AND INFORMATION DEPARTMENT.

During the past year certain changes have been made in the composition of the Committee of the Department.

Mr. John Turner and Mr. J. W. Bowen were succeeded by Mr. J. N. Bell and Mr. A. A. H. Findlay. On the lamented death of Mr. Bell, Mr. J. W. Bowen again became a member of the Committee, which now consists of the following members:—

Labour Party:	*Trades Union Congress:*
Mr. Sidney Webb, M.P. (*Chairman*),	Mr. J. W. Bowen,
Mr. F. Hodges,	Mr. A. A. H. Findlay,
Mr. W. H. Hutchinson,	Mr. A. B. Swales,
Miss A. S. Lawrence, L.C.C.,	Mr. A. G. Walkden,

Arthur Greenwood, M.P. (*Secretary*).

The day to day inquiries from Trade Union bodies, local Labour Parties, Labour members of public bodies, etc., have steadily increased.

A Labour Speakers' Handbook was prepared, and subsequently revised for a second edition. A large amount of material was collected and prepared for the Labour Year Book; but unfortunately its publication had to be abandoned for the present year. Arrangements are, however, being made to resume the publication of the Year Book, and an issue will appear for 1924.

During the year the Department has contributed articles and reviews to the *Labour Magazine,* the *Labour Press Service,* and the *Labour Woman.*

By arrangement with the Fabian Society a Summer School was held during the first week in August at Ilkley. The students who assembled regarded the school as a success, and it was hoped that a summer school would be held during the present year, but this has not been found possible.

The General Election of 1922 threw a good deal of additional work on the Department in the way of the preparation of leaflets, notes for speakers, and replies to queries and requests for information.

The voting records of Members of Parliament, prepared by the Department were widely used at the Election. The records have been made more detailed in order to increase their usefulness. Records are now being prepared for Members of the new Parliament. The voting records are a source of revenue.

The Department has carried out work for the National Joint Council. The Secretary of the Department is Secretary of the National Joint Council's Special Committee of Enquiry into Production, etc., and the Department has been responsible for the preparation of a number of elaborate memoranda for the Committee and for carrying out the various investigations required by the Committee. The Committee has presented an Interim Report on Hours of Labour, which has been published (price 3d., post free 4d.). It was thought advisable to submit a report on this subject in view of the attempts which have been made to increase working hours.

The Secretary of the Department acted as Secretary of the Joint Sub-Committee of the National Joint Council and Unions administering the State Unemployment Insurance Scheme. A statement of the work of this Joint Sub-Committee will be found in the Report of the National Joint Council.

Memoranda have been prepared for the National Joint Council on various subjects. Among the more important may be mentioned memoranda dealing with the Trade Union Act (1913) Amendment Bill, the amalgamation of Health and Unemployment Insurance, and Foreign Eight Hours Legislation. The Department drew the attention of the Council to the non-appearance of certain reports of the Ministry of Labour, and efforts have been made to secure resumed publication of these documents. What is known as the McCurdy Scheme of Insurance was examined by the Department, and a memorandum was prepared for the National Joint Council.

Statements have been prepared for the Labour Party Executive on Trades Councils and on Local Labour Groups. In consequence of a request from certain Labour groups on local governing bodies, the Executive arranged a Local Government Conference at Derby, for which the Department prepared a memorandum which served as an Agenda for the Conference. It is hoped that ways will be found by which the Joint Research and Information Department can be of more systematic use to local Labour representatives, Local Labour Parties and Trades Councils.

The growth of the Parliamentary Labour Party and its position as the official Opposition has increased the work of the Department. With a view to giving the Parliamentary Party all possible help, one of the Labour Whips' Rooms has been placed at the disposal of the Department. Material has been prepared for important debates on industrial, social and political questions, e.g., unemployment, unemployment insurance, widows' pensions, old age pensions, the minimum wage, dockyards, war pensions, and subjects arising on the various Estimates. During the past year memoranda have been submitted to the Parliamentary Party on night work in the glass industry, the unemployment schemes of local authorities, the Kerr v. Bryde decision regarding rents, and the Housing Bill. As is pointed out below, the Advisory Committees have been strengthened by the addition of new Labour Members to various Committees.

At the last Trades Union Congress a resolution was passed instructing the General Council to report on "the extent of Trade Unionism in the country, the present organisation of the Trade Union Movement, the number of amalgamations which have taken place in recent years, the number of Federations in existence, and the powers they possess, and any other information likely to be of use to the Congress in shaping a policy for the closer unification of Trade Union forces."

The General Council had already instructed the Joint Research Department to investigate the question, and the work has been continued on the lines of the foregoing resolution.

Questionnaires applicable to Trade Unions and to Federations have been prepared, and circulated to Trade Union bodies. A large number of forms have been returned, many of them containing valuable information; but the Department has not yet got as complete returns as are necessary to make an adequate survey of the Trade Union Movement. After careful consideration it was decided that reports should be presented in sections, the general conclusions being set forth in a final report. As, however, there has been considerable delay in sending in the completed forms, it has only been possible to complete the report dealing with the Wool Textile and Allied Unions. Reports are now almost completed for the Printing, Transport and Mining industries. Reports on other industries are in hand, whilst other reports cannot be commenced until the returns are received from the Unions concerned.

The Southport Trades Union Congress adopted the report of the Joint Defence Sub-Committee of the Trades Union Congress General Council, which recommended that the General Council should obtain a Quarterly Report of the state of industry from the Joint Research Department. A scheme was prepared dealing with the course of wages, prices, profits, unemployment, etc., and the Joint Research Department prepared a first issue of the Quarterly Industrial Report for submission to the General Council; but owing to the financial position the Council was unable to proceed with its publication.

At the last Trades Union Congress a resolution was carried at the instance of the National Union of Shop Assistants, Warehousemen and Clerks, instructing the General Council to make inquiry of affiliated Societies as to the feeling of their members respecting an earlier pay-day than Saturday, with a view to securing Saturday afternoon as the general holiday for shop assistants. The Joint Research Department was asked to make the necessary inquiries, and a report has been submitted to the General Council on the subject.

The General Council instructed the Department to investigate the subject of Unemployment and Sick Insurance with a view to ascertaining what influence they had upon the recruitment of members by Trade Unions, and the extent to which employers were using the State schemes as a counter-attraction for their employees. A report was prepared and submitted to the General Council under the title of "Social Insurance."

The General Council has requested the Department to prepare reports on the following subjects, which are to be discussed at the next International Labour Conference:—

(1) The general principles of the organisation of factory inspection and its bearing upon the safety of the workers in the factory;
(2) Night work in bakeries, and the steps taken in this country to deal with its suppression;
(3) Anthrax and the methods which the workers propose in order to safeguard them from this disease.

These reports are now being prepared.

The Department prepared a statement for the Joint International Committee on British Labour and the Eight-hour Day, and a memorandum on the Relativity of Wages for the Joint Research Committee.

During the past year it has completed a report on the operation of the Fair Wages Clause for the General Council, and a report on the operation of the Blind Persons Act, 1920, for the National Joint Council.

It has also produced the report of its inquiry into Unemployment Insurance by Industry, a memorandum on Unemployment Relief, a memorandum on the administration of the Unemployment Insurance Acts, an examination of the attack upon Trade Unionism, and in conjunction with the Trade Boards Department of the General Council, an analysis and examination of the Cave Report on Trade Boards.

The following documents prepared by the Research Department have been published during the year:

Industrial Negotiations and Agreements.
Unemployment Insurance by Industry.
The Blind Persons Act, 1920.
The Fair Wages Clause.
The Attack upon Trade Unionism.
Unemployment Relief.
The Administration of the Unemployment Insurance Acts.

After the General Election the Advisory Committees attached to the Department were re-cast, and the Committees were enlarged to secure the better representation of the greatly increased Labour Party in the House of Commons.

The Committees are as follows:—

Agricultural and Rural Problems	... *Chair:* Mr. G. Dallas. *Vice-Chair:* Mr. N. Buxton, M.P. *Secretary:* Mrs. Barbara Wootton.
Army, Navy and Pensions Problems	... *Chair:* Mr. F. O. Roberts, M.P. *Vice-Chair:* Capt. E. Gill, M.C.* *Secretary:* Mr. J. F. Shillaker.
Education ...	... *Chair:* Mr. R. Richardson, M.P. *Vice-Chair:* Mr. R. H. Tawney. *Secretary:* Mr. G. S. M. Ellis.
Finance and Commerce	... *Chair:* Mr. P. Snowden, M.P. *Vice-Chair:* Ald. A. E. Davies, L.C.C. *Secretary:* Mrs. C. D. Corbett Fisher.
Home Office ...	... *Chair:* *Vice-Chair:* *Secretary:* Mr. R. Page Arnot.
Industrial Affairs ...	... *Chair:* *Vice-Chair:* Mr. W. H. Hutchinson. *Secretary:* Mr. A. S. Firth.
International Questions	... *Chair:* Mr. Tom Shaw, M.P. *Vice-Chair:* Mr. H. N. Brailsford. *Secretary:* Mr. L. S. Woolf.
Legal System and the Administration of Justice	... *Chair:* Mr. H. H. Slesser. *Secretary:* Mr. A. Henderson, jun.
Local Government	... *Chair:* Mr. G. Lansbury, M.P. *Vice-Chair:* Mr. John Scurr. *Secretary:* Mrs. W. Bolton.
Machinery of Government	... *Chair:* Mr. G. Middleton, M.P. *Vice-Chair:* *Secretary:* Mr. H. Shayler.
Motherhood and Child Endowment	... *Chair:* *Secretary:* Dr. Marion Phillips.
Public Health ...	... *Chair:* Mr. R. J. Davies, M.P. *Vice-Chair:* Dr. A. Bygott. *Secretary:* Mr. G. P. Blizard.

The lamented death of Mr. C. J. Mathew, K.C., M.P., deprived the Legal Advisory Committee of its Chairman, and other Advisory Committees of an active and valuable member.

During the year no less than 179 memoranda on a large variety of public questions have been prepared by the Advisory Committees. The Committees have tendered advice and suggestions to the National Executives and the Parliamentary Party from time to time.

Cordial thanks are due to the Chairmen, Vice-Chairmen, Secretaries and members of the Advisory Committees for their voluntary services during the past year.

* Died June 30, 1923.

JOINT PRESS AND PUBLICITY DEPARTMENT

The period covered by this review of the work of the Joint Press and Publicity Department is the first complete year in which the Department has worked under the scheme of co-ordination. The Committee of the Department for 1922-23 has been composed as follows :

Labour Party Executive.	*Trades Union Congress G.C.*
George Lansbury, M.P. (*Chairman*).	Ben Turner, M.P.
C. G. Ammon, M.P.	H. Skinner.
Mrs. Harrison Bell.	Miss Julia Varley.
Robert Williams.	J. W. Ogden.

W. W. Henderson (*Secretary*).

During the past twelve months the Labour Press development schemes formulated by the Department have been seriously affected by the financial stringency imposed upon the majority of local organisations in consequence of the world-wide industrial depression. Even more than in the previous two years, Press activities have been hindered by the widespread unemployment, the drastic reductions of wages, and the depletion of Trade Union funds—factors which have combined to render it much more difficult, if not actually impracticable, for local Labour Parties to undertake the publication of local Labour newspapers.

Moreover, the national campaign to increase the circulation of the *Daily Herald* and to establish it on a permanent basis has, very properly, become the most important newspaper consideration in the minds of the rank and file generally, and, accordingly, the Joint Press and Publicity Department has been concerned not to press forward its own schemes for the time being lest they should prove detrimental to the great efforts now being made by the movement, both by way of financial support and of local endeavour, to make the *Daily Herald* secure.

On balance, therefore, the position in respect of this scheme for localised Labour newspapers remains pretty much what it was a year ago. There have been additions, but at the same time there have been temporary suspensions of some localised editions, and in other cases plans for the publication of new editions have not been proceeded with. It might be mentioned that at the moment of writing this Report there appears to be a revival of interest locally in the scheme for localised papers. A number of requests for details of the scheme have come to hand in the last few weeks, and at least one new monthly Labour paper has been started. It is probable that a return of industrial prosperity will lead to an extended use locally of the Labour Press Service.

We are able to report on the first volume of the *Labour Magazine,* which was first published in May, 1922. In that period a steady circulation of practically 10,000 copies per month has been built up, and if we were content to leave the circulation at that figure it would be correct to say that this publication is self-supporting. Printing costs are now covered by circulation and advertisement revenue. The deficit shown in the balance-sheet for the first year of publication is accounted for mainly by initial production, advertising, and circularising costs due to the launching of a new journal, expenditure which has gone to creating the " goodwill " of the magazine. During the current year it is proposed not only to endeavour to maintain the existing circulation but to increase it.

During the period from July 1, 1922, to April 30, 1923, orders were received for no less than 15,108,000 leaflets, 204,695 posters, 200 Election parcels (which contain all the necessary forms required in a Parliamentary election), and 5,000 copies of " The Speaker's Handbook." The

first edition of this book was quickly disposed of, and a second edition is in stock, a substantial quantity of which has been sold. Since its publication in April, 1922, 2,826 copies of Mr. R. H. Tawney's book "Secondary Education for All" have been disposed of, and during the same period there has been a fair demand for the 62 separate or joint pamphlets of the Labour Party and the Trades Union Congress.

The period under review covers, of course, the General Election in November, 1922, when, in addition to the enormous quantity of literature dispatched direct from our various printers, our own Publications Department sent out over 5,300 separate parcels or packets.

We have also to report that the Department has undertaken its usual routine work, covering the issue of Press communiqués, reports, items of news, reports of speeches, resolutions, etc., the reception of Press correspondents, the supplying of information concerning Labour politics or industrial affairs, both national and international, the general editing and publishing of leaflets, pamphlets, booklets, etc., and the carrying on of the general publicity and propaganda of the National Executive of the Labour Party and the General Council of the Trades Union Congress.

The Labour Press Service.

The following newspapers have been produced based on the *Labour Press Service*:—

Weekly local Labour papers	5
Monthly local Labour papers	13
Special issues	32
Service in stereo form	6

Free copies of the Labour Press Service as produced by Headquarters are sent to members of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress, members of the National Executive of the Labour Party, Labour M.P.s, agents and organisers, etc., Labour newspapers at home and abroad, the daily and weekly newspapers, special Labour correspondents, etc.

The average weekly circulation of the *Labour Press Service*, exclusive of Municipal and General Election special editions, has been 14,500 copies. Ordinary newspaper standards of circulation do not apply to the Labour Press Service, as, in addition to the localised editions, its contents are widely reprinted in Labour and Trade Union journals, and in Labour and other features of the capitalist Press, daily and weekly.

Municipal Elections.

For the November Municipal Elections, two special editions of the *Labour Press Service* were issued additional to the regular weekly one. The combined special editions had a run of 146,000 and formed the basis of twenty localised editions. In the case of five of these papers owing to difficulties of local production the Press Department undertook the production of complete four-page papers, the local news being subedited in this department.

General Election.

Three General Election issues of the *Labour Press Service* were produced with a total circulation of more than half a million (530,000). These formed the basis of forty-seven local election sheets, of which three were entirely produced by the Press Department.

In order to help other constituencies who wished to have a complete paper ready for immediate distribution, a special 4pp. crown folio paper, *The Election News,* was produced and published in three editions, with a circulation of 125,000.

The Labour Press Service was also taken in stereo either complete or in part by twelve different constituencies, and it is certain that they reached a very large number of electors.

The Press and the General Election.

During the period of the Election the Joint Press and Publicity Department arranged to supply Labour notes daily for Press purposes. Thirty newspapers in London and the provinces used these notes, and in many cases set apart space varying from half a column to two columns for the presentation of Labour's point of view. These notes were issued every evening, and in some cases special articles were supplied and particular topics dealt with by request.

In addition interviews were given to Press representatives as required, the majority of newspapers making definite arrangements for their representatives to call daily to obtain general or special information.

Leaflets.

More than thirteen million leaflets were printed during the Election, covering new leaflets specially prepared by the Headquarters staff from day to day, and reprints of General Election leaflets already in stock. Six new posters were printed, and a number of the General Election posters already prepared were reprinted. Nearly 10,000,000 copies of the National Manifesto were printed and issued to the constituencies. There was, moreover, a good deal of miscellaneous work dealt with, such as the issue of picture blocks for election addresses, and of biographical data and portraits of candidates for the Press. Ninety-one pages of notes for speakers were prepared from day to day by the Headquarters staff, and issued to candidates, speakers, agents, etc.

Pamphlets.

During the year the Press Department, in conjunction with the Joint Research Department, has brought out a revised edition of The Speaker's Handbook.

Nineteen new pamphlets have been produced, and several of those which had already been published have been revised and reprinted. In addition to issuing the series of pamphlets prepared by the Joint Research Department, the following pamphlets also were published by the Joint Press and Publicity Department:—

The Labour Party: By F. W. Pethick Lawrence.
The Woman's Burden: By F. W. Pethick Lawrence.
The Engineering Trades Dispute—National Joint Council.
Labour Party and Agriculture: By Rt. Hon. Arthur Henderson.
Labour and the War Debt.
Labour and Foreign Affairs: By Rt. Hon. Arthur Henderson.
How to Get Houses: By George Hicks.
Sword Blades or Ploughshares: By F. H. Rose, M.P.
Report on Ruhr: By the Parliamentary Delegation.
The Rich Man's Budget: By Philip Snowden, M.P.
Labour as the Children's Champion: By Dr. Somerville Hastings.

The "Labour Magazine."

In April the *Labour Magazine* completed its first year of publication, and with the new volume a change of cover is being made from dark blue to yellow, which will have the effect of making the magazine more conspicuous on the bookstalls and increasing the advertising value of the cover.

The *Labour Magazine* is gradually increasing its advertisement revenue, and there is every indication that it has taken its place as the premier Labour periodical with an assured and growing circulation, both within the movement and among the general public.

Literature Finances.

The Statement of Financial Accounts discloses a deficit in Literature, which is more than covered by the stocks in hand, even after their value has been written down by 30 per cent. The debit balance under the various sections of publications, *i.e.*, the *Labour Press Service*, the *Labour Magazine*, and pamphlets, is largely accounted for by the fact that there is a large free circulation to members of the two National Committees, the Parliamentary Labour Party, Agents, Candidates, and the Press. In addition a free specimen copy of every pamphlet published is sent to each affiliated local Labour organisation, or each affiliated Trade Union, and occasionally to both Trade Unions and local Labour Parties. The cost of this free distribution, together with postage, is a substantial sum over a year, but it is an essential item of expenditure. No political party is able to make its propaganda yield a sufficient financial return to cover all costs. Money spent by a political and industrial movement on written propaganda is equivalent to the financial outlay incurred by a business firm which advertises its wares. The results accruing from the expenditure borne by the Labour Movement for propaganda during the period between 1918 and 1922 compare very favourably to those obtained by the other parties by enormously greater financial outlay. It is confidently claimed that the publicity work of the Joint Press Department has contributed very materially to the growth of Labour support in the constituencies, and to the increase of Labour representation in Parliament to its present strength.

Future Developments.

The work of the Joint Press and Publicity Department could be greatly extended had it adequate financial resources at its disposal. For the time being, however, it will scarcely be possible for it to do more than mark time. But it is to be hoped that this general restriction in its activities will be only a temporary one. The need for wide and varied publicity will become increasingly urgent in the near future, especially in the industrial sphere, to support the national "Back to the Unions" campaign, and later in support of efforts to improve the wages conditions of the workers and, on the political side, to keep the general public fully informed of the work of Labour as the Official Opposition in Parliament.

During the autumn the Joint Headquarters intend to commence the re-issue of "The Labour Year Book" and to regularise its annual publication. Other schemes, which the Joint Press and Publicity Department have formulated, are at present being held in abeyance; but it is desirable that as soon as it is practicable *Weekly Notes for Speakers* should be

issued; that a monthly service of industrial and parliamentary information should be made available for publication in Trade Union journals; and a more regular and systematic international exchange of news should be arranged between the British movement and other national Trade Union, Labour and Socialist movements.

On the business side, it is desired to link up all localised Labour newspapers and Trade Union journals for the purpose of increasing advertisement revenue under a pooling system; but, obviously, such a scheme cannot be carried out except by co-operation with Trade Unions and local Labour Parties. A good deal of extra work would be involved in giving effect to these schemes, and they cannot be proceeded with until ample financial resources are available.

FINANCE OF NATIONAL JOINT DEPARTMENTS.

It will be noticed on pages 95 to 99 that the accounts presented for the year 1922 have been unevenly divided into two periods ending July 31 and December 31.

The explanation is that the financial year of the Trades Union Congress ends on July 31, whilst that of the Labour Party ends December 31.

The books were closed on July 31 last year and an audited Statement submitted to Congress at Southport in September. An additional Statement, bringing the accounts down to December 31, is now submitted to Conference.

Turning to the figures themselves, it has to be remembered that the Joint Departments were set up in January, 1922. There appear, therefore, certain items of expenditure which will not recur in a normal year. It became necessary, owing to expansion, to take over the upper floors of No. 34, Eccleston Square, thus involving considerable outlay in redecorating, heating, lighting, alterations and furnishing. This work was carried out on a "costs" basis by the National Guild of Builders. Intercommunicating telephones had also to be installed. All departments housed in Nos. 32, 33 and 34, Eccleston Square, occupied by the General Council, the Labour Party and the Joint Departments, are now by this means in close touch. The system is automatic, needs no attendant, has been purchased outright, and can be removed if necessary to other premises.

As to literature: the excess of expenditure over income on pamphlets is accounted for by stocks in hand. These amounted, at the close of the year, to the sum of £408, after a deduction of 20 per cent. for depreciation. £744 11s. 7d. is shown as income from the sale of leaflets, whilst only £71 17s. 6d. is shown as being spent on printing them, an apparent profit of £702. Against this, however, must be set accounts amounting to £770 which were not paid until January, 1923. In addition, outstanding debts due to the Joint Department for literature sold came to £122 10s. 3d.; for Local Editions compiled from the *Labour News Service*, £778 16s.; and for the *Labour Magazine*, £370.

PARTY FINANCE.

The Statement of Accounts will be found on pages 89 to 93 of this Report.

An analysis of the figures there given shows the total income of the Party from all sources during the year to have been £51,721 13s. 6½d., whilst total expenditure during the same period amounted to £70,782 17s. 2½d.

Expenditure thus exceeded receipts by no less than £19,061 3s. 8d., reducing the balance of £23,033 3s. 6d. with which the year began to one of £3,971 19s. 10d. at its close.

This large difference in expenditure over income was due to two causes :—

(1) A falling off in receipts from affiliation fees owing to the effect of unemployment on Trade Union membership: as compared with the previous year there was a reduction in receipts from affiliation fees of £12,197 17s. 10d.

(2) An increase in expenditure over the previous year of £11,838 19s. 6½d. : grants, amounting to £12,500, to the *Daily Herald,* and the extra cost in printing, clerical assistance, postages, etc., occasioned by the General Election in November were the unavoidable causes of this increase.

As regards the deficit on the Literature Account of £5,362 3s. 5d., £2,479 15s. 2d. of this was due to the cost of the Special General Election Manifesto, Notes for Speakers and Candidates during the contest, etc., upon which, of course, there was no financial return. The remainder of the deficit, namely £2,882 8s. 3d., was more than covered by stocks of up-to-date literature in hand on December 31, and by sums outstanding and due to the Party from the sale of literature on the same date. Stocks, written down 30 per cent., were valued at £5,361, and sums due to us came to £730 12s. 11d.

MEMBERSHIP.

	Trade Unions.		Trades Councils and Local Labour Parties.	Socialist Societies, etc.		
	No.	Membership.	No.	No.	Membership.	*Total.
1900-1	41	353,070	7	3	22,861	375,931
1901-2	65	455,450	21	2	13,861	469,311
1902-3	127	847,315	49	2	13,835	861,150
1903-4	165	956,025	76	2	13,775	969,800
1904-5	158	855,270	73	2	14,730	900,000
1905-6	158	904,496	73	2	16,784	921,280
1906-7	176	975,182	83	2	20,885	998,338
1907	181	1,049,673	92	2	22,267	1,072,413
1908	176	1,127,035	133	2	27,465	1,158,565
1909	172	1,450,648	155	2	30,982	1,486,308
1910	151	1,394,402	148	2	31,377	1,430,539
1911	141	1,501,783	149	2	31,404	1,539,092
1912	130	1,858,178	146	2	31,237	1,895,498
1913	†	†	158	2	33,304	†
1914	101	1,572,391	179	2	33,230	1,612,147
1915	111	2,053,735	177	2	32,838	2,093,365
1916	119	2,170,782	199	3	42,190	2,219,764
1917	123	2,415,383	239	3	47,140	2,465,131
1918	131	2,960,409	389	4	52,720	3,013,129
1919	126	3,464,020	418	7	47,270	3,511,290
1920	122	4,317,537	492	5	42,270	4,359,807
1921	116	3,973,558	456	5	36,803	4,010,361
1922	102	3,279,276	482	5	31,760	3,311,036

* The totals to 1917 in this column include the membership of the Co-operative and Women's Labour League affiliations, in addition to those of the Trade Unions and Socialist Societies.

† Owing to the operation of the Osborne Judgment it was impossible to compile membership statistics for 1913.

NATIONAL AGENT'S REPORT.

THE PARTY'S GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT.

During the past year, which, by reason of the General Election results, has been one of the most remarkable in the Party's history, the general work of organisation and propaganda throughout the country has been well maintained and in many directions extended and developed. Prior to and since the General Election, there has been a series of by-elections which have absorbed a good deal of the energy and resources of the Party, and details of these contests are included in the later pages of this report. The growth of our local parties was continuous up to the General Election, and the success which the Party secured has given a further impetus to the establishment of local branches. There are now 2,653 divisional and local labour parties and trades councils throughout the country, showing an increase of 253 during the past year, and many further branches are in process of formation as a result of the work of our district organisers and women organisers. Out of the 603 constituencies in England, Scotland and Wales there are now only 6 in which some form of Labour Party organisation does not exist. The individual membership of the Party shows a continuous growth, and the increase on the women's side is remarkable. There are now 1,031 women's sections in connection with the local parties through the country, with a membership of 120,000.

Having recovered from the strain of the General Election, the constituency parties are now turning their attention seriously to the future, especially in the cases where our candidates were not successful at the last contest. Many selections have already been made, and in a large number of constituencies the procedure under the constitution for the selection of candidates is now being put into operation. Our affiliated Trade Unions and Societies have been appealed to to provide their lists of available candidates. In many cases the Unions are compelled by their political rules to take new ballots after a General Election, but it is highly desirable that this process should be facilitated in order that the names and addresses of their candidates may be circulated to the constituencies, many of which are now seeking candidates.

GENERAL SCHEME OF ORGANISATION.

The General Election came as a test to the general scheme of organisation which has now been in operation for the last three years, and the measure of success secured by the Party in November last can be regarded as a justification of the methods adopted by the National Executive and approved by Conference.

In District A, North Eastern, which contributed a large quota to our electoral successes, Councillor E. J. Gibbin, J.P., and Mrs. Anderson Fenn have continued their effective work throughout the year. In District B, North Western, Mr. J. H. Standring and Mrs. M. Anderson have maintained a continuous visitation of the constituencies, where an intensive interest in organisation has been developed. In District C, Midlands, Mr. H. Drinkwater and Mrs. Fawcett have devoted their attention to this wide area, with the result that considerable improvement in various parts of the area is now evident, particularly in the Birmingham, Wolverhampton and Staffordshire areas. In District D, Southern and Home Counties, Mr. G. R. Shepherd and Miss G. Tavener have kept in constant touch with the whole of the parties throughout this difficult

area, and considerable assistance has been given to the outlying and rural constituencies. In District E, London, Mr. R. T. Windle and Miss A. Somers have continued to concentrate the attention of the local parties upon effective organisation, and particularly in the East End the General Election gave evidence of the results of this work. In District F, South Western, Mr. J. H. Edwards and Mrs. A. Townley have continued their arduous work in one of the most difficult areas of the country. The officials in this area are compelled to combine propaganda with organising work, and much of the effort must still be regarded as of a pioneer character. In District G, Eastern, Mr. W. Holmes and Miss Francis have covered the East Anglian counties and Lincolnshire by a series of visitations. The widespread rural constituencies in this area present special difficulties, but the development of the Party is continuous. In District H, Wales and Monmouth, Mr. T. C. Morris and Mrs. E. Andrews have between them covered the various areas in the Principality, and special attention has been given to the development of the Party in West, Mid and North Wales with good results. In District J., Scotland, Mr. Ben Shaw, J.P., and Mrs. A. Hardie have had a heavy year of work, and in conjunction with the Executive Committee of the Scottish Council, they contributed by their service to the excellent results in Scotland at the General Election.

During the General Election the district organisers and women organisers rendered valuable service by advice, visitation and supervision, and in many cases gave considerable assistance on the platform. Their services were available for consultation by arrangement in the districts, and advantage was taken of this opportunity by many of the local agents.

SCOTLAND.

Under the new arrangement, the Annual Meeting of the Scottish Council of the Labour Party was held on the 24th February, 1923, instead of in the previous September. Mr. Robt. Williams and Mrs. F. Harrison Bell attended as the representatives of the National Executive. The report presented to the Conference covered a year of great activity, and the gathering was a large and representative assembly. A full report of the proceedings has been issued by the Scottish Council. The following were elected as the Executive Committee of the Scottish Council for the ensuing year :

Chairman—

C. Graham Hardy, M.A., B.Com. (Fabian Societies), 3, Brandon Terrace, Edinburgh.

Vice-Chairman—

W. Shaw, J.P. (Trades Councils and Labour Parties Groups), 95, Bath Street, Glasgow.

Representing the Trade Union Group—

J. R. Bell, J.P. (National Union of Railwaymen), 96, East Claremont Street, Edinburgh.

Bailie George Kerr (Workers' Union), 69, Ingram Street, Glasgow.

William B. Small (Scottish Mine Workers' Union), Cadzow Street, Hamilton.

Councillor W. G. Hunter, J.P. (Scottish Operative Bakers), 58, West Regent Street, Glasgow.

Parish Councillor H. Pilkington (Distributive and Allied Workers), 71, King Street, S.S., Glasgow.

William Leonard (Furnishing Trades' Association), 14, Tummell Street, Riddrie, Glasgow.

Representing the Trades Councils and Labour Parties Group—

Councillor James Balfour, 47, Belmont Street, Aberdeen.

Cameron Roberts, M.A., B.Sc., 88, Airth Drive, Mosspark, Glasgow, S.S.

Edward Young, 21, North Junction Street, Leith, Edinburgh.

Representing the Women's Sections—
Mrs. Sarah Auld, 151, Crossloan Road, Govan.
Mrs. Clarice McNab Shaw, 1, Portland Terrace, Troon.
Miss Mary Smillie, 29, Millar Street, Larkhall.
Mrs. Wallace, 12, Union Street, Kirkcaldy.

Representing the Scottish I.L.P. Council—
Parish Councillor Mrs. K. Beaton, 144, West Graham Street, Glasgow.
W. W. Reid, Bridgend House, Dalry.

Representing the S.D.F.—
T. E. McDonald, 21, Waverley Park, Edinburgh.

REGIONAL CONFERENCES.

Arrangements were made for a series of regional conferences and demonstrations throughout the country in the autumn of last year, on similar lines to the successful series in 1921. The programme included a series of morning conferences and afternoon demonstrations at the large centres throughout the whole country. The campaign was fixed to open on October 21, and would have run on into the next year, but the General Election intervened, and after the opening meetings at Liverpool, Plymouth, Southampton, Portsmouth, Newcastle, Northampton, Swansea, and Bristol, the further arrangements had to be cancelled. The National Executive feel that the method of holding district conferences with special sessions for agents, candidates and workers, dealing with the essential work of organisation, publicity, propaganda, etc., has proved so helpful during the last two years, and no doubt contributed to our success at the General Election, that they have given authority to the Head Office to arrange further series of such conferences when occasion requires.

PROPAGANDA.

The arrangements reported to the last Annual Conference whereby Capt. Edward Gill, M.C., Mr. W. F. Toynbee and Mr. J. W. Kneeshaw were engaged as propagandists for the Party expired at the date of the General Election. The reports upon their work throughout the constituencies were satisfactory and encouraging, and much appreciation of their services has been expressed by the local parties in the constituencies, and a continuous demand for help in this direction is received by the Head Office. In these circumstances, the National Executive decided to continue the appointment of these three propagandists, and having regard to the necessity for opening up the rural and scattered county divisions, the National Executive decided to appoint two further propagandists in the persons of Mr. J. E. Mills and Mr. Tom Myers.

Since the General Election the five propagandists have been touring the various areas of the country and have been giving series of week's meetings to each constituency. There is a great demand for their services, and even with the five propagandists continually at work it is impossible to satisfy the claims made upon us.

BY-ELECTIONS PRIOR TO THE GENERAL ELECTION.

From the date of the last Annual Report to the General Election in November there were eight by-elections, of which the Labour Party contested five. The statistical table which appears on another page brings the record of the by-elections from the General Election of 1918 to the General Election of 1922 up to date, and shows that the Labour poll in these constituencies was increased from 275,054 in 1918 to 554,504 at the by-elections.

The following three by-elections were not contested by Labour:— Berks: Newbury, June 10, 1922, when Brig.-Gen. Howard Clifton-Browne, Coalition-Unionist, was returned unopposed. The organisation and resources within this constituency did not justify a contest. Moray and Nairn, June 21, 1922: Mr. Thos. Maule Guthrie, Coalition Liberal, was returned unopposed. This constituency is one of the few areas in which an effective party organisation does not exist. Oxford: Banbury, June 22, 1922: Lt.-Col. Sir Rhys Williams, Coalition Liberal, was returned unopposed, the by-election being caused by his acceptance of the Recordership of Cardiff. Capt. E. N. Bennett was the Labour candidate before the constituency, but after consultation with the divisional party it was felt wiser to reserve the resources for the General Election.

NOTTINGHAM (EAST), June 29, 1922.

Houfton, J. P. (C.U.)	10,404
Jones, A. H. (Co.-op. Lab.)	5,431
Graham, T. G. (Ind. Lib.)	4,965
C.U. Majority	4,973

Previous result, General Election, 1918.

Rees, Sir J. D. (C.U.)	9,549
Proctor, Tom (Lab.)	2,817
Brookes, D. (Ind.)	2,166
C.U. Majority	6,732

This by-election was caused by the death of Sir John D. Rees, and by mutual arrangement between the local Co-operative Society and the Nottingham Labour Party it was agreed that the Co-operative Party should put forward a candidate with the full support of the Labour forces. There was a heavy increase in the poll, the Labour vote was nearly doubled, but the Coalition vote was also increased. The net result was the reduction of the Coalition majority from 6,732 to 4,973.

GLAM., GOWER, July 20, 1922.

Grenfell, David Rees (Lab.)	13,296
Williams, D. (Co. Lib.)	9,841
Labour Majority	3,455

Previous result, General Election, 1918.

Williams, J. (Lab.)	10,109
Williams, D. (I.Lib.)	8,353
Labour Majority	1,756

This contest was caused by the lamented death of Mr. J. Williams, who had sat for the constituency since 1906. The figures were highly encouraging as, despite a heavy increase in the poll, Labour not only retained the seat, but substantially strengthened the hold upon the constituency. The Labour vote was increased by 3,187, and the Coalition vote by 1,488 but the Labour majority was increased from 1,756 at the General Election of 1918 to 3,455 at the by-election.

GLAM., PONTYPRIDD, July 25, 1922.

Jones, T. I. Mardy (Lab.)	16,630
Lewis, T. A. (C.L.)...	12,550
Labour Majority	4,080

Previous result, General Election, 1918.

Lewis, T. A. (C.L.)	13,327
Davies, D. L. (Lab.)	10,152
Seaton, A. (U.)	260
Co. Lib. Majority	3,175

The sudden appointment of Mr. T. A. Lewis to the position of Whip caused an unexpected by-election, but Labour decided to contest, and the Miners' Federation of Great Britain put forward Mr. T. I. Mardy Jones as candidate, with the result that a severe defeat was inflicted on the Government. The Labour vote was increased by 6,478, and a Coalition majority of 3,175 was converted into a Labour majority of 4,080.

LONDON : HACKNEY (SOUTH), August 18, 1922.

Bolst, Capt. C. E. (C.U.)	9,118
Knight, J. Holford (Lab.)...	9,046
Coalition Majority	72

Previous result, General Election, 1918.

Bottomley, H. (Ind.)	11,145
Henri, Arthur (C.L.)	2,830
Ind. Majority	8,315

This by-election was caused by the expulsion of Mr. Horatio Bottomley from Parliament. The constituency had not previously been fought by Labour, and as the constituency had been under the personal domination of Mr. Bottomley for many years, the result for a first attempt was truly remarkable.

MON., NEWPORT, October 18, 1922.

Clarry, R. (Con.)	13,515
Bowen, J. W. (Lab.)	11,425
Moore (Lib.)	8,841
Con. Majority	2,090

Previous result, General Election, 1918.

Haslam, L. (C.L.)...	14,080
Bowen, J. W. (Lab.)	10,234
Thomas, B. P. (Ind.)	647
Co. Majority	3,846

This by-election was caused by the death of Mr. L. Haslam, and the Union of Post Office Workers agreed that their General Secretary should again stand as candidate. An excellent campaign was conducted, but while the Labour vote was increased by 1,191, the Coalition vote was also increased so that their majority was only decreased from 3,846 to 2,090.

GENERAL ELECTION, NOVEMBER 15, 1922.

The break-up of the Coalition as a result of the historic meeting at the Carlton Club, precipitated the long-talked-of General Election, which was ultimately fixed for Wednesday, November 15, 1922. The Labour Party immediately took up the challenge, and as a result of the preparatory work of the last four years the Party was able to put 414 candidates in the field, as against 361 at the Election of 1918. Labour thus fought over two-thirds of the seats in England, Scotland and Wales, and this extended front taxed the resources of the Party to the utmost. The result was the most satisfactory yet achieved by the Party as the following summary will show.

Unopposed returns	4
Other seats retained	52
New seats gained	86
Total number M.P.s returned ...	142
Seats lost	19
Unsuccessful candidates	253
Total	414

The total vote secured by Labour throughout the country was 4,235,457, as compared with 2,244,945 at the General Election of 1918. The schedules to this report give the comparative figures in the various types of constituency. Schedule 1 gives the unopposed constituencies in which four Labour Members were returned. Schedule 2 gives the results of straight fights contested by Labour. Schedule 3 gives the results of three-cornered fights in which Labour took part. Schedule 4 gives the results of contests in which there were four candidates, and in which Labour fought. Schedule 5 gives the result of the one five-cornered fight contested by Labour. Schedule 6 gives the results in the double-membered constituencies in which Labour took part. Schedule 7 gives the results of the University constituencies contested by Labour. Schedule 8 gives the remainder of the results in the constituencies not contested by Labour. Schedule 9 gives the list of constituencies unsuccessfully contested, with the Labour candidates who fought them.

The affiliated Unions and Societies of the Party were all well represented in the list of candidates, and it is also worthy of mention that there were 10 women candidates among the Party's nominees. Miss Margaret Bondfield, although unsuccessful at Northampton, increased her vote to 14,490, which was the highest poll recorded for any woman candidate in the country. Miss Susan Lawrence (East Ham, North), Dr. E. Bentham (East Islington), Miss Picton-Turbervill (North Islington), Mrs. Ayrton Gould (North Lambeth), Miss M. Richardson (Acton), Mrs. E. R. Pease (East Surrey), Mrs. E. Barton (King's Norton), Miss Olive Wheeler (Welsh University), and Mrs. E. Rackham (Chelmsford), all secured encouraging polls.

The Co-operative Party put forward eleven candidates, including their sitting Member, Mr. A. Waterson (Kettering). These candidates were all included in the approved list of the Labour Party, and while the loss of Mr. Waterson's seat is to be regretted, our Co-operative colleagues are to be congratulated upon their successes with Mr. A. Barnes in East Ham (South), Mr. R. C. Morrison in Tottenham (North), Mr. A. V. Alexander in Hillsborough (Sheffield), and Mr. Thomas Henderson in Tradeston (Glasgow).

In four constituencies, owing to the serious illness of the Labour candidates who were unable to take part in the contests, the Head Office was called upon to provide deputy candidates and other assistance. Mr. W. F. Toynbee deputised for Mr. R. H. Tawney in South Tottenham, Mr. Owen T. Rattenbury served in a similar capacity at Newcastle East, in lieu of the late Mr. J. N. Bell, Mr. J. W. Kneeshaw acted in the Leigh division of Lancashire as deputy for Mr. Harry Twist, and Mr. J. H. Greenwood deputised for Mr. L. A. Goldie, the candidate for the Sevenoaks division. Additional help had also to be provided for Miss Picton-Turbervill in the North Islington constituency by reason of her illness, and in Newcastle West Mr. David Adams, M.P., broke down on the Friday prior to the election.

Seats Retained.

At the Dissolution Labour held 75 seats, and in all cases except five the retiring Members sought re-election. Mr. Eldred Hallas (Duddeston), Mr. A. Wilkie (Dundee), Mr. Robinson Graham (Nelson and Colne), Mr. Robert Tootill (Bolton), and Mr. S. Finney (Burslem), after valuable service to the Party in the House, decided not to seek re-election, and their places in the respective constituencies were taken by Mr. M. Brothers, Mr. E. D. Morel, Mr. Arthur Greenwood, Mr. S. Lomax, and Mr. A. McLaren. Three of these seats were retained and two were lost. The following six Members have retained their seats continuously since 1906, when they were first elected :—Rt. Hon. C. W. Bowerman (Deptford), Rt. Hon. John Hodge (Gorton), Rt. Hon. Stephen Walsh (Ince), Mr. Jas. O'Grady (East Leeds), Rt. Hon. J. R. Clynes (Platting), Mr. Will Thorne (Plaistow). In most cases the Members who retained their seats increased both their vote and their majority. In the 75 constituencies where Labour already held the seats there were 56 wins and 19 losses.

Labour Gains.

The results showed 86 Labour gains, which, with the 56 Members who retained their seats, raised the number of the Parliamentary Labour Party from 75 to 142. The gains far outweighed the 19 losses, and a special feature was the return of Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald, now the Chairman of the Parliamentary Party, for Aberavon, and the return of Mr. Philip Snowden for Colne Valley. Two other former Members, in the persons of Mr. F. W. Jowett (Bradford, East) and Mr. George Lansbury (Bow and Bromley) were successful in regaining their old seats. There was a decided swing in various parts of the country in favour of Labour, and Scotland, Durham, Northumberland, South Wales, Yorkshire, and the East-End of London all contributed strong quotas to the increased ranks of the Parliamentary Party.

Labour Losses.

Of the 19 losses sustained 8 were in constituencies that were won at the General Election of 1918, and 11 were seats that were gained in the series of by-elections betwen 1918 and 1922. Of the 8 former seats lost Duddeston was never won by Labour but reverted to us when Mr. Eldred Hallas joined the Party. In several other cases the losses were sustained by small majorities and must be regarded as the fortunes of war. The 11 losses among the seats gained at the by-elections deserve special comment. Between the General Elections of 1918 and 1922 Labour contested 54 by-elections, and 20 Members were returned as a result, 14 of these being gains. Of these 11 suffered defeat at the General Election. It is clear that the polls at the by-elections were not

entirely Labour votes, but all the discontent against the Coalition Government registered itself in support of Labour. With the break-up of the Coalition and the emergence of the Conservative, National Liberal and Free Liberal Parties, as separate competing factors, the conditions were entirely changed. Further, at the by-elections the Party was able to support the candidates with intensive platform campaigns which were impossible at the General Election, and in regard to organisation the district organisers and the women organisers were drafted into the constituencies at the by-elections and supervised and controlled the organisation, but at the General Election the constituencies were left to their own resources, and in some cases the organisation had not been effectively maintained. In several of these constituencies our opponents, profiting by the lesson of the by-election, had concentrated their forces and intensified their machinery, and this was particularly the case at Widnes, where the Rt. Hon. Arthur Henderson, Secretary of the Party, lost his seat. The same remark applies to Spen Valley, Penistone, Dartford and Heywood & Radcliffe. An inquiry has been made in the case of each loss, and reports have been received from the candidate, the district organiser, and the agent in each constituency. There is every reason to hope that these losses will be retrieved at the earliest opportunity.

Unsuccessful Candidates.

There were 253 other constituencies in which our candidates were unsuccessful, but in almost every case a poll creditable alike to the candidate and the Party was secured. Fighting on such an extended front it was inevitable that there would be a large proportion of casualties, but each General Election shows that this is a decreasing quantity. The National Executive has expressed to the candidates who were unsuccessful their appreciation of the services rendered by them as the Party's standard-bearers at the poll. The strength of Labour in the House of Commons is measured, not by the actual number of M.P.s, but by the Labour vote throughout the country. Our unsuccessful candidates contributed to the remarkable advance made by the Party by polling such creditable votes in their constituencies and thus adding to the great national demonstration of Labour's strength. Further, by engaging the forces of the enemy on such a wide front they helped to make the victories in other constituencies possible.

General Survey.

The experience at the General Election revealed the necessity for strengthening the electoral law in connection with corrupt and illegal practices, especially in relation to intimidation and the use of vehicles. Evidence was also obtained of the necessity for greater facilities for polling, especially in the outlying districts. Resolutions on electoral reform passed at the last Annual Conference of the Party, and similar resolutions passed by the last Trades Union Congress, were referred to the Machinery of Government Advisory Committee for report. At the request of this Committee a Memorandum on the present state of the electoral law and the need for consolidation and co-ordination of the various statutes, together with the necessary reforms to make the electoral machinery of the country effective, was prepared by the National Agent, and on the recommendation of the Advisory Committee the National Joint Council have agreed that a comprehensive Reform Bill shall be drafted on behalf of the Party.

A list of the present Members of the Parliamentary Labour Party, with their addresses, will be found in Appendix I.

The figures in this report and the Schedules thereto include the 602 constituencies in England, Scotland and Wales, but the 13 constituencies in Northern Ireland are excluded.

The total vote cast at the General Election, November, 1922, was as follows :—

Conservative	5,383,896
Free Liberal	2,507,204
National Liberal	1,678,088
Labour	4,236,733
Others	375,510

The electoral progress of the Party, which was founded in 1900, can be seen from the following table :—

General Election.	Seats contested.	Members returned.	Labour vote.
1900	15	2	62,698
1906	50	29	323,195
1910 (Jan.)	78	40	505,690
*1910 (Dec.)	56	42	370,802
1918	361	57	2,244,945
1922	414	142	4,236,733

** Being the second election in one year, fewer candidates were run by all parties, whose polls were all reduced.*

In the North-East Derbyshire constituency, after several recounts, Mr. Frank Lee was returned as the Labour Member by a majority of 5 votes. A petition was lodged against his return, and after an exhaustive scrutiny by the Court his majority was increased to 15. The verdict of the Court was against the petitioner, with costs so far as Mr. Lee's expenses were concerned; but the Returning Officer, who was also made a party to the petition, was mulcted in his own costs. The verdict was a great triumph for Mr. Lee, against whom no charges whatever were preferred, and so far as the verdict was against the Returning Officer it will have a good effect in view of the many instances of laxity on the part of officials in charge of elections.

BY ELECTIONS SINCE THE GENERAL ELECTION.

Owing to the law which now allows nine months' grace after a General Election during which Members appointed to an office of profit under the Crown do not require to seek re-election, there have only been a few by-elections since November, 1922, although some of these were caused by attempts on the part of the Government to secure the return of Ministers defeated at the General Election. There have been ten by-elections since November, 1922, and of these Labour has contested eight.

The two cases in which Labour did not contest were Portsmouth, South, on December 13, 1922, when Lt.-Col. Wilson, the Government's Chief Whip, was opposed by an Independent Conservative. The local party were not prepared to contest this division, which is regarded as a Conservative stronghold, but preferred to husband their resources for the other two divisions of the Borough. Willesden, East, was the other vacancy, caused by the resignation of Mr. Mallaby Deeley, and the election took place on March 3, 1923. Although this constituency was fought by Labour in 1918, the organisation had been allowed to lapse, and after full consideration the local party decided not to contest the by-election, which resulted in a Government defeat and a gain for the Independent Liberal.

NORTHUMBERLAND : NEWCASTLE (EAST), January 17, 1923.

Henderson, Rt. Hon. A. (Lab.)	11,066
Barnes, Major H. (I.L.)	6,682
Gee, Capt. (Con.)	6,480
Labour Majority	4,384

Previous result, General Election, 1922.

Bell, J. N. (Lab.)	10,084
Barnes, Major H. (I.L.)	6,999
Stone, Gilbert (N.L.)	6,273
Labour Majority	3,085

The illness of the late Mr. J. N. Bell, General Secretary of the National Amalgamated Union of Labour, an old and valued worker in both the industrial and political side of the movement, not only prevented him from taking part in the General Election campaign, but also prevented him taking his seat in the House of Commons, and, to the deep regret of the whole movement, terminated fatally in December last. The divisional Labour Party and the Newcastle Borough Labour Party consulted with the Head Office, and decided that the opportunity should be used for securing the return to the House of Commons of the Chief Whip of the Party, Mr. Arthur Henderson, Secretary.

The constituency responded to the call and a great platform campaign, backed by effective organisation, resulted in Mr. Henderson increasing the Labour majority from 3,085 to 4,384.

LONDON : STEPNEY (WHITECHAPEL), February 8, 1923.

Gosling, Harry (Lab.)	8,398
Kiley, J. D. (Lib.)	6,198
Holden, S. M. (Pro.)	130
Labour Majority	2,200

Previous result, General Election, 1922.

Mathew, C. J., K.C. (Lab.)	6,267
Kiley, J. D. (Lib.)	5,839
Instone, Capt. (Con.)	3,502
Labour Majority	428

Before the Newcastle election was over the hand of death also removed from our ranks the late Mr. C. J. Mathew, K.C., whose sudden demise came as a great shock to the constituency and to the movement. In view of his old associations with this constituency a unanimous invitation was given to Mr. Harry Gosling, L.C.C., to become the candidate, and the National Union of Transport Workers accepted responsibility. The constituency has special features which have made it a difficult division in the past, but after a strenuous campaign Mr. Gosling was returned at the head of the poll with a largely increased vote, and the Labour majority of 428 was converted into a majority of 2,200.

DURHAM: DARLINGTON, February 28, 1923.

Pease, Ald. W. E. (Con.)	... 14,684
Sherwood, W. (Lab.)	... 11,271
Con. Majority	... 3,413

Previous result, General Election, 1922.

Pike Pease, Rt. Hon. H. (Con.) ...	... 13,286
Sherwood, W. (Lab.)	... 9,048
Crooks, T. (I.L.)	... 4,420
Con. Majority	... 4,238

The Peerage conferred on Mr. Pike Pease caused a vacancy in this Borough. Councillor W. Sherwood, J.P., who fought at the General Election, was again the candidate on the responsibility of the National Union of General Workers. There was a decrease in the total poll as compared with the General Election. The Labour vote was increased by 2,023, but the Conservative vote was increased by 1,398. The contest in November last was three-cornered, but at the by-election it was a straight fight between Labour and the Conservative. The Government majority was reduced from 4,238 to 3,413.

SURREY: MITCHAM, March 3, 1923.

Ede, J. Chuter (Lab.)	... 8,029
Boscawen, Sir A. G. (Con.) ...	... 7,196
Brown, E. (I. Lib.)	... 3,214
Catterall, J. T. (I.C.)	... 2,684
Labour Majority ...	... 833

Previous result, General Election, 1922.

Worsfold, Dr. T. C. (Con.) ..	... 10,934
Bennetts, A. E. (F. Lib.)	... 5,898
Con. Majority	... 5,036

Sir A. Griffith Boscawen, Minister of Health, who was defeated at Taunton at the General Election, endeavoured to secure re-entry to the House of Commons at this by-election. In consultation with the Head Office the divisional party adopted Mr. J. Chuter Ede as their candidate. The fight was a four-cornered one, and in addition to the Government nominee there was a Free Liberal and an Independent Conservative. The local movement, with assistance from the surrounding constituencies, rallied to the call, and Mr. Chuter Ede brought off a great victory, which was also a severe blow to the Government, and was the more remarkable as this was the first time the constituency had been contested by Labour.

LANCS: LIVERPOOL (EDGE HILL), March 6, 1923.

Hayes, J. H. (Lab.)	... 10,300
Hills, Major (Con.)	... 9,250
Lab. Majority	... 1,150

Previous result, General Election, 1922.

Rutherford, Sir W. W. (Con.) ...	... 14,186
Hayes, J. H. (Lab.)	... 9,520
Con. Majority	... 4,666

Advantage was taken by the Government of this vacancy to endeavour to secure the return of Major Hills, another Minister, who had been defeated at Durham at the General Election. Mr. J. H. Hayes, of the National Union of Police and Prison Officers, who fought the constituency at the General Election, was again selected as the candidate, and a remarkable campaign finished with his return to the House of Commons by a majority of 1,050. The victory is the first breach which the Party has been able to make in the walls of this Conservative stronghold.

WALES : ANGLESEY, April 7, 1923.

Thomas, Sir R. J. (Lib.)	11,116
John, E. T. (Lab.)	6,368
Roberts, R. O. (Con).	3,385
Lib. Majority	4,748

Previous result, General Election, 1922.

Thomas, Sir Owen (Ind.)	11,929
Thomas, Sir R. (N.Lib.)	10,067
Ind. Majority	1,862

The sudden death of General Sir Owen Thomas, who for some time was a member of the Parliamentary Labour Party, but who withdrew about two years ago, placed the Party in a difficult position in the constituency. The vote recorded by Sir Owen Thomas at the last two General Elections was largely a personal one, and very little real Labour propaganda had been done in the constituency. Eventually, Mr. E. T. John, who fought Brecon and Radnor at the General Election, was invited to contest the seat, and he bravely stepped into the breach. There was little organisation in the division, but a strong campaign was arranged. The constituency, however, reverted to its old Liberal allegiance.

SALOP : LUDLOW, April 19, 1923.

Windsor-Clive, Lt.-Col. G. (Con.)	...9,956
Pryce, Capt. E. C. (Lib.)	6,740
Pollard, P. F. (Lab.)	1,420
Con. Majority	3,216

Previous result, General Election, 1922.

Windsor, Capt. Vis. (Con.)	11,787
Pryce, E. C. (Nat. Lib.)	5,978
Con. Majority	5,809

This rural constituency of strong Conservative tradition had not been previously fought by Labour, and there was very little, if any, organisation in the constituency. Some difficulty was experienced in securing a candidate, but eventually the I.L.P. put forward Mr. P. F. Pollard, who was accepted by the local forces. The time, however, was too short, and the area too wide, for an effective campaign, but the contest has probably opened up the constituency for future development.

NORTHUMBERLAND : BERWICK-ON-TWEED, May 31, 1923.

Philipson, Mrs. Hilton (Con.) . .	... 12,000
Robson, Capt. Harold (Lib.) ...	... 5,858
Oliver, Gilbert (Lab.)	... 3,966
Con. Majority	... 6,142

Previous result, General Election, 1922.

Philipson, Capt. H. (N. Lib.) ...	... 11,933
Runciman, Rt. Hon. W. (I. Lib.)...	... 7,354
N. Lib. Majority	... 4,579

This vacancy was caused by the unseating of Capt. Philipson on petition. The newly-formed Divisional Labour Party were anxious to fight, and Councillor Gilbert Oliver, of Newcastle-on-Tyne, accepted their invitation to contest. There was little organisation in the constituency, but a good campaign was conducted. The whole effort must be regarded as breaking new ground and preparing the way for future progress.

NORTHUMBERLAND : MORPETH, General Election, 1922.

Cairns, John (Lab.)	... 15,026
Thornborough, F. C. (I. Lib.) ...	... 10,007
Shortt, C. L. (Con.)...	... 6,045
Labour Majority	... 5,019

The sudden and lamented death of Mr. J. Cairns, M.P., who has held this seat for Labour since 1918, has caused an unexpected by-election in this constituency. The Morpeth Labour Party have unanimously invited Mr. Robert Smillie to become the candidate. Mr. Smillie has accepted the invitation, the campaign is now in progress, and every effort is being made to secure an increased majority and to retain this seat for Labour.

SUMMARY.

Since the General Election of 1922 Labour has fought eight out of ten by-elections, retaining the two Labour seats challenged and gaining two fresh seats at Mitcham and Edge Hill, thus bringing the present total of the Parliamentary Labour Party up to 144.

PARTY AGENTS

The full list of agents appointed under the Party scheme in respect of which grants-in-aid are paid will be found in Appendix III., together with a list of other agents appointed by our affiliated organisations. There have been many changes arising out of the altered conditions following on the General Election, and it is a matter for regret that the continuity of organisation in some constituencies should be seriously disturbed by these changes. The prevailing economic conditions throughout the country have, however, seriously affected both the local parties and the Trade Unions concerned, and in consequence some of the appointments in operation before the General Election have lapsed.

RESULTS: GENERAL ELECTION, 1918.

BY-ELECTIONS, JUNE, 1922—NOVEMBER, 1922

Constituency	Coalition Union.	Coalition Lib.	N.D.P.	I.U.	D.S. & S.	I.L.	Ind.	N.P.	Labour	Date	Coalition Union.	Coalition Lib.	N.D.P.	N.P.	I.U.	Ind.	Bottomley	Sinn Fein	I.L.	Com.	Anti-Waste	Labour
Figures Bt. Fd. from previous Reports—	421,012	195,715	7,201	16,232	10,404	139,658	33,438	7 158	241,742	1922	436,761	223,492	19,023	3,765	51,486	4,514	47,348	2,336	260,850	2,592	13,550	498,676
Berks: Newbury ...	Unop.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10th June	Unop.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Scotland: Moray and Nairn	...	Unop.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	21st ,,	...	Unop.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Oxford: Banbury ...	...	Unop.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	22nd ,,	...	Unop.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Nottingham (East)...	9,549	...	...	...	...	...	2,166	...	2,817	29th ,,	10,404	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4,965	...	...	5,431
Glam.: Gower... ...	...	...	...	...	...	8,353	...	...	10,109	20th July	...	9,841	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	13,296
,, Pontypridd...	...	13,327	...	260	...	...	...	...	10,152	25th ,,	...	12,550	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	16,630
London: Hackney (South)	...	2,830	...	...	...	...	*	...	...	18th Aug.	9,118	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	9,046
Mon.: Newport ...	...	14,080	...	...	...	...	647	...	10,234	18th Oct.	...	...	...	...	13,515	...	...	...	8,841	...	...	11,425
Total...	430,561	225,952	7,201	16,492	10,404	148,011	36,251	7,158	275,054		456,283	245,883	19,023	3,765	65,001	4,514	47,348	2,336	274,656	2,592	13,550	554,504

* 11,145 (This was H. Bottomley's poll)

RESULTS: GENERAL ELECTION, 1922.

BY-ELECTIONS, DECEMBER, 1922—JUNE, 1923.

Constituency	Con.	I.L.	L.G. Lib.	Ind.	Labour	Date	Con.	I.L.	I.C.	Pro.	Labour
Hants: Portsmouth (South)	19,960	9,080	...	...	...	13th December, 1922	14,301	...	8,434	...	...
Northumberland Newcastle (East)	...	6 999	6,273	...	10,084	17th January, 1923	6,480	6,682	...	...	11,066
London: Whitechapel	3,502	5,839	...	...	6,267	8th February ,,	...	6,198	...	130	8,398
Durham: Darlington	13,286	4,420	...	...	9,048	28th ,, ,,	14,684	...	...	...	11,271
Middlesex: Willesden (East)	12,525	11,211	...	...	...	3rd March ,,	9,648	14,824	...	...	...
Surrey: Mitcham	10,934	5,898	...	...	...	3rd ,, ,,	7,196	3,214	2,684	...	8,029
Lancashire: Liverpool, Edge Hill	14,186	...	...	...	9,520	6th ,, ,,	9,250	...	...	...	10,300
Wales: Anglesey	...	...	10,067	11,929	...	7th April ,,	3,385	11,116	...	...	6,368
Salop: Ludlow	11,787	...	5,978	...	...	19th ,, ,,	9,956	6,740	...	...	1,420
Northumberland: Berwick-on-Tweed	...	7,354	11,933	...	...	31st May ,,	12,000	5.858	...	...	3,966
Totals	86,180	50,801	34,251	11,929	34,919		86,900	54,632	11,118	130	60,818

THE ADJUSTMENTS BOARD.

The Adjustments Board, formed in pursuance of resolution of the Conference, has held two meetings during the year, under the chairmanship of Mr. Sidney Webb, at which it has dealt with numerous difficulties connected with the conditions of service of the various agents in the employ of the constituency organisations. The proceedings have been uniformly marked by mutual good feeling and a cordial desire to arrive at the arrangements most conducive to the success of the Party. Considerable difficulties have occurred in various constituencies, especially in connection with the abrupt termination of many appointments after the General Election. The Board has continued to strive for the universal adoption of a written agreement of service between the constituency organisation and the agent, including, in particular, a definite period of notice by either party before termination of the appointment.

The question of the standard rate of salary as a minimum for all agents whose appointment is to be recognised by the Party Executive has been carefully considered. At the last meeting of the Board at the end of May, a proposal was put forward on behalf of the Agents' Association for a revised standard, adjusted in view of the fall in the cost of living and the financial difficulties of many of the constituency organisations. This proposal, which was accompanied by a revision of the standard conditions for recognition by the Party Executive, was approved by the Board, as calculated to facilitate the engagement of agents by constituency organisations struggling with financial difficulties, and to place the appointments on a sound footing.

The following are the revised terms so agreed to:—

1. That, apart from the provisions hereinafter set forth, the regulations for the recognition of agents by the Executive continue as at present.
2. That the Standard Minimum Rate and incremental scale agreed to at the meeting of the Board on May 31, 1923, be substituted for the previous Standard Minimum Rate.
3. That existing salaries remain unaffected.
4. That it remain open to local organisations and their agents to agree upon an increase of salary on the grounds of long service or special responsibilities.
5. That where a local organisation and an agent submit an application for any departure from the commencing salary now prescribed, this will be accepted by the Board only where the application is made on the concurrent grounds of (1) exceptional need, (2) a low stage of development in the organisation, from which it is expected to rise, and (3) coupled with provision for gradual increase up to the Standard Minimum Rate by successive increments.
6. That any proposal for a reduction of the salary now paid to an agent must be submitted to the Board for confirmation, supported by the reasons which have led to the request.
7. That it be a condition of every appointment as agent that is hereafter submitted for confirmation that the terms shall be embodied in an agreement in writing between the constituency organisation and the agent and that the agreement shall provide for a definite period of notice by either party before termination of the appointment: notice which it is strongly recommended should not be less than three months.

8. That in view of the common advantage of there being a complete organisation which can be represented on the Adjustments Board, it is desirable that every agent should become a member of the Agents' Association.

The National Executive submits these proposals to the Annual Conference for approval.

The Board has also had under its consideration at various times the difficulties in which constituency organisations have sometimes been placed by the varying conditions on which contributions to their funds have been made by Trade Unions and other bodies or persons, wholly or mainly with the object of providing salaries for agents. The Board regrets that these arrangements are sometimes made in ways and under conditions which make it difficult for the constituency organisations to make the most effective use of their funds, and also renders the position of the agent unduly precarious. The Board proposes to urge upon all such organisations and persons the importance of

1. Having all such arrangements made with the constituency organisation itself, and definitely expressed in writing;
2. Making them continuous until terminated by notice in writing, at least three months, and preferably six months in length;
3. Providing in all cases against any sudden termination after an election.

In some cases these arrangements, which the Board regards as indispensable to the maintenance of a sound and effective organisation in the constituency, will require an alteration of rules, as to which it may be desirable to make suggestions as opportunity presents itself.

ORGANISATION OF WOMEN.

One of the most significant features of the development of the Party has been the remarkable growth of the women's side of the movement. In 1918, after the enfranchisement of women, it was felt that a good deal of apathy existed among the new element in the electorate, and considerable uncertainty was felt as to how the women's vote was cast. There has been increasing evidence during the past year of the awakening interest of the women electors, and the by-elections and the General Election undoubtedly showed that the political consciousness of women was expressing itself largely in support of the Labour Party. This result is in a great measure due to the effective work of Dr. Marion Phillips, Chief Woman Organiser, and the women organisers in the various districts throughout the country, together with the devoted voluntary service of the officials of the women's sections. Despite many efforts to organise women politically on the sex basis, and also specious attempts to appeal to them by so-called "non-political" but "Anti-Labour" organisations, the growth of the women's membership and the women's sections has been phenomenal, and the following report by Dr. Marion Phillips gives a summary of the past year's progress :—

The year has been one of great growth both in numbers and in enthusiasm. The results of the General Election and the admirable work done by women in the constituencies have greatly encouraged the development of their organisation, and its effects have been much felt during 1923. The number of Women's Sections, not including Ward Sections, is now over 1,000, an increase of 200 during the year, while the membership is estimated at over 120,000. The following examples

give an interesting indication of progress, and Woolwich is to be congratulated upon being the first to reach four figures :—

Woolwich	1,008	Newport	300
Barrow	900	North Norfolk	280
Blackburn	500	Heywood and Radcliffe.	280
Watford	500	Wood Green	270
York	500	Colchester	220
Gloucester	400	Rugby	210

In single Boroughs, Ward Sections with a Central Committee representing them all, have proved very useful, and in the Divided Boroughs and County Divisions, Central Committees representing the Sections in each Parliamentary constituency, or in the county areas representing the Sections in the villages and towns, are being formed in greater numbers. Glasgow, Leeds, Liverpool, have all very successful Central Committees, and Accrington, Clitheroe, Chester-le-Street, Morpeth, and others are developing the county work.

Labour Women's Advisory Councils.

The Labour Women's Advisory Councils have increased in number, and it is especially welcome to have these established in what are mainly rural areas, such as Cornwall, Dorset, and West Surrey.

North - Eastern District : Cleveland and Tees-side, Durham, Northumberland, West Riding of Yorkshire.

North-Western District : Blackburn and District, South Cheshire, North-West Lancashire, South-East Lancashire, Liverpool and District.

Midland District : Birmingham, Derby, Gloucester, Northampton, Nottingham, Shropshire, South Staffordshire, Warwickshire, Worcester.

Southern and Home Counties District : Bedford, West Kent, North and East Middlesex, West Surrey.

South-Western District : Cornwall, Devonshire, Dorsetshire, Somerset and Bristol, Wiltshire.

Eastern District : Cambridge and Huntingdon, Essex, Norfolk, Suffolk.

Wales : East Glamorganshire, Monmouthshire, West Wales.

London : Women's Advisory Committee of the London Labour Party.

The Councils have met frequently, and have held fifty conferences during the year. They have also organised summer rallies in several areas, and some of them have established Speakers' Classes. The attendance of delegates at the conferences has reached 250 in some cases, and, including visitors, has often been more than 400. In the month of September, at least 2,000 women attended such conferences, and during the whole year the number of women thus gathered together was at least 10,000. Women members of the Executive, the Chief Woman Officer, and the District Women Organisers have attended and spoken at these conferences, as well as a large number of other Labour men and women. At the majority of them, the subject taken has been the Report on " Motherhood and Child Endowment " adopted at Leamington last year.

Election Work.

The Executive Committee were so strongly impressed by the important work done by women in the General Election that they issued in March a circular to all Local Labour Parties urging upon them the importance of developing still further the organisation of women. In the by-elections since last November the Opposition Press has given great attention to the work done by our women organisers and helpers, and have urged the other Parties to follow our methods.

Women's Day.

The Executive Committee in the Circular mentioned above asked all Labour Parties in the constituencies to arrange for a special Women's Day on June 9 or 10. It proposed " that all the Parties, in conjunction with the Women's Sections and the Labour Women's Advisory Councils, should make a special effort to arrange for an indoor or outdoor rally of women and men, to be addressed by men and women speakers on subjects which specially concern women and children. In most cases we believe that an outdoor demonstration, accompanied, if possible, by processions with bands and banners, will be the most effective procedure. In Rural County Divisions we would suggest that arrangements be made for a series of meetings in villages, announced by poster beforehand, the speaker being conveyed from one place to the other by motor, as has been done during by-elections. We suggest that where such demonstrations are undertaken, each village shall be informed of the time of arrival of the speakers, and all arrangements be in readiness, with Labour colours and badges shown on all sides. We suggest further that the special subjects to be dealt with on Women's Day should be the following: Peace, Unemployed Women, Widows' Pensions, Old Age Pensions, Abolition of Sweating and Extension of Trade Boards, Housing and Rents, Extension of Education, and Promotion of Child Welfare."

This proposition was taken up with great interest, but, as the date has not yet come, we can give no report on the results.

Speakers' Classes.

These have been much interrupted by the General Election. About thirty classes have been held, and they are now established as a very important part of the organising work of the Women's Sections, and we hope that the new handbook on Women's Work in the Labour Party, which is just published, will enable many sections, who cannot get an experienced teacher, to keep them going. This handbook, with its charts and forms of membership cards, account-keeping, etc., is a new departure in organising literature.

The following correspondence between the Chief Woman Officer of the Labour Party and the Chief Agent of the Unionist Party shows that our former handbook (still on sale) has been appreciated even outside our own ranks :—

Vice-Admiral Sir Reginald Hall, K.C.M.G., C.B., M.P.,
National Unionist Organisation,
Palace Chambers, Bridge Street, S.W.1.
April 18, 1923.

Sir,

I have just obtained a publication issued from your offices dealing with Women's Unionist organisation, under the title of " Handbook for Organisers and Workers." This pamphlet follows the same general plan as the Handbook for Officers and Members of Women's Sections (a copy of which I enclose) issued by the Labour Party a few years ago, and still in circulation, but not only is the method of organisation recommended similar in kind but a great part of the pamphlet itself is word for word the same as the Labour Party publication.

While we recognise the very sincere form of flattery displayed by this imitation, we are surprised to find that whole pages as well as paragraphs here and there, and even parts of sentences, are reprinted without any acknowledgment whatever from the Labour Party's publication. Pages 14, 15, 17, 18, and 19 are taken almost exactly from our Handbook, while the subsequent pages (22 and 24) show a very close similarity. In other places here and there a sentence has been slightly modified to fit the peculiarities of Unionist organisation. For example, a recommendation made in the Labour Party's Handbook that tea should be served at afternoon meetings at a small charge has the interesting addition that this will go " far towards combating (*sic*) class hatred."

The Labour Party can, of course, make no complaint that its methods of organisation should be followed by other political parties, but the incorporation of considerable portions of its own pamphlet without acknowledgment is a different practice, and we shall be glad to hear what action you propose to take in regard to it.

I am, Yours faithfully,
(Signed) MARION PHILLIPS, Chief Woman Officer.

This was acknowledged during Sir Reginald Hall's absence from London.

On April 24 the following letter was received :—

UNIONIST CENTRAL OFFICE,
Palace Chambers, Bridge Street.
Westminster, S.W.1.
April 24, 1923.

Madam,

In continuation of the letter sent you on the 20th inst., I have now had the advantage of reading your letter, and inquiring into the subject matter. So far as this office is concerned this is the first time our attention has been called to it.

I understand that representatives of the Women's Unionist Organisation had the pleasure of calling on you yesterday afternoon, and that they gave you a full explanation. The pamphlet by the Women's Unionist Organisation has now been issued for some 14 months, but I do not feel that this lapse of time should in this case affect my action, and I, therefore, on behalf of the Central Office tender you apologies and confirm the arrangement made at the interview yesterday, that the portion referred to in your letter should be withdrawn.

Yours faithfully,
(Signed) W. R. HALL.

Dr. Marion Phillips.

ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF LABOUR WOMEN.

The Annual Conference of Labour Women took place at York on May 8 and 9. Admirable arrangements were made for the comfort and entertainment of delegates by the York Women's Section and Labour Party, and Labour's most successful public meeting in York was held on the first night of the Conference.

The private business Conference for delegates of Women's Sections and Labour Parties was presided over on the morning of Tuesday, May 8, by Dr. Marion Phillips. There were present 383 delegates. During the morning a ballot vote was taken for four additional representatives of the Labour Party on the Standing Joint Committee of Industrial Women's Organisations, and the following were elected :—

Scotland, North-Eastern and North-Western : Mrs. Gilliland.
Midland and Eastern Counties : Mrs. Rackham, J.P.
Wales and South-Western: Mrs. Rose Davies, J.P.
London and Home Counties : Miss Lilian Dawson.

The chief subject of discussion in the morning was organisation in rural areas. There were a very large number of speakers, and many suggestions put forward.

Other subjects discussed were the work of Women's Advisory Councils and of the Standing Joint Committee of Industrial Women's Organisations. On each there was an opening address, questions and discussions.

In the afternoon the public Conference opened, and there were present :

320 delegates from 210 Women's Sections.
114 delegates from 78 Labour Parties and Trades Councils.
49 delegates from Trade Unions, and
35 delegates from Socialist Societies and other organisations—
a total of 518.

Mrs. Harrison Bell, Chairman of the Standing Joint Committee of Industrial Women's Organisations, was in the chair. The Conference sat the following day, but was not able to finish the whole of the agenda, the last resolutions being referred to the S.J.C. to consider and report upon.

The Conference adopted the report presented by the Chief Woman Officer on the work of the Labour Party in women's interests at home and abroad, 1922-23, on the Education of Children in the Ideas of Peace and of the Labour Movement, presented by Miss Madeleine Symons; on Penal Reform and the Work of Women Magistrates, presented by Mrs. Lowe; and the Second Interim Report on Motherhood and Child Endowment, by the Advisory Committee of the Joint Research Department, which was presented by Dr. Marion Phillips, its Secretary.

The Conference adopted resolutions in favour of Complete Adult Suffrage, against the Dismissal of Married Women Teachers, against the Two Shift System for Women and Girls, against the policy of economies in Education, and against Capital Punishment. Two resolutions dealt with International Policy and a long series with Unemployment, with special relation to women and juveniles. The Conference advocated larger grants for the training for women in Home-makers' Classes and training schemes other than those for domestic service, and in dealing with the question of juveniles, protested against emigration schemes for young boys and girls. A long composite resolution on Housing advocated the extension of the Rent Restrictions Acts and a higher standard in the planning of houses, and the garden city system. A resolution on Birth Control was referred for consideration to the Standing Joint Committee of Industrial Women's Organisations after a short discussion, together with all the other resolutions on the agenda, for which there was not sufficient time for full discussion. A resolution against the Government's proposed Bill on Trade Boards was passed with one dissentient, and other emergency resolutions were an appeal to the Co-operative Wholesale Society to settle the dispute between themselves and their employees by arbitration, and a demand for the better treatment of rural workers and their families, and a further declaration of Labour policy for the countryside.

Those who were present felt that the Conference showed remarkable enthusiasm amongst the rank and file, and undoubtedly the speeches of the delegates and the businesslike way in which the agenda was dealt with by them showed a high level of competence in public life. A full report of the Conference was published in the *Labour Woman* for June.

"The Labour Woman."

In the last eight months the circulation of *The Labour Woman* has steadily improved. From the beginning of 1923 we have increased the number with each issue, but in spite of that we have four times sold out completely and been unable to supply all orders after the first two weeks have passed. This improvement in circulation has enabled us to turn the former deficit into a present profit, and by the end of this year we should be able to make substantial improvements in the journal and to

make *The Labour Woman* more than pay its way. The Young People's Page, with its monthly competitions, has been a marked success. The present position shows that a serious political journal devoted to the interests of working women is both needed and appreciated in the Labour movement. Of the special Election number in November we printed double the quantity of our ordinary issue at that time, and we have been able to maintain a substantial part of the increase. The sale is almost entirely organised through the Women's Sections, so that we have no returns and a very low expenditure on distribution.

ENDORSED CANDIDATES.

The names and addresses of candidates selected in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution by various Constituency parties, and endorsed by the National Executive since the General Election, will be found in Appendix V.

ORGANISATION OF YOUTH.

During the past year the National Executive has been approached by various local parties and by the Young Labour League with regard to the organisation of the youth of the country in Labour principles. The matter has also been before the International Federation of Working Women, and the Standing Joint Committee of Industrial Women's organisations, which acts as an Advisory Committee to the National Executive, has also considered the question. At the National Conference of Labour Women at York, the following resolution was passed: " That this Conference registers its satisfaction at the recognition, both national and international, of the sentiments embodied in its resolution adopted at Leamington in 1922, and urges the Labour Party to encourage the formation of Young People's sections, giving prominence to the pleasures of an outdoor life and to anti-militarist teaching." The Organisation Sub-Committee of the National Executive felt that the organisation of young people within each Labour Party should be encouraged, but that it was essentially work for the local parties, and that junior sections should be an integral part of the local organisation. The National Executive were of opinion that any departure on these lines required serious and careful consideration, and a small sub-committee has been appointed to inquire into what is being done in this connection by local labour parties, to consider any suggestions based on this experience, and to report fully to the National Executive upon the whole matter.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

The activity of the Party during the past year has been well maintained in relation to local government elections throughout the country. Local Authorities where Labour is not represented are rapidly becoming a vanishing quantity. From the Parish Councils in the rural areas, to the County Borough Councils in the large centres, there is a continuous assault being waged by Labour to secure the control of local administration. Despite the tyranny of the countryside which has been revived during the past two years many brave fights in the rural districts are made to secure representation on the Parish Councils and the Boards of Guardians. The Party did well at the Municipal Elections in November last, and in the Board of Guardians and Rural District Council elections in the spring, but past successes have built up such a large measure of representation on our local authorities that rapid

advance is now more difficult. The chief feature of the local government elections during the past year was the triennial elections for the Metropolitan Borough Councils in November last. In 1919 Labour in the London Boroughs secured a phenomenal success, but the conditions were abnormal, and it was felt that this position could not be maintained. The reactionary parties rallied their forces, and concentrated on these elections, with the result that the Labour Parties in several of the Boroughs lost their majorities. Despite the loss of many seats, the most significant feature was the fact that the total Labour vote in 1922 showed a substantial increase over the vote in 1919.

The resolutions of the National Conference on Local Government, held at Derby on January 20, 1923, were considered by the National Executive at their meeting on February 13, and after full consideration the Executive were of the opinion that a Local Government Conference should be held, say, in the autumn of 1924, but that if any matter of urgent importance in relation to local government rendered it necessary a special conference should be called in the interval. The Executive felt that the proposal for a Conference on the day preceding the Annual Conference of the Party was not satisfactory, and would not produce a representative gathering, and further that the expense of securing a separate national conference of local government representatives for the whole country annually would be prohibitive.

BADGES.

For some time past the Head Office has received many requests for a Labour Party badge, and at the National Conference of Labour Women in 1922 a similar desire was expressed. The matter has received the attention of the Executive Committee, and after several efforts to secure a satisfactory badge it has been decided to offer a prize for a suitable design. The competition has been advertised in the Labour press, and a number of designs have been submitted. When the designs have been adjudicated on, it is hoped that a suitable badge will be secured, and particulars as to price, etc., will be circulated to our local parties in due course.

EGERTON P. WAKE,

National Agent.

SCHEDULE 1.—NATIONAL AGENT'S REPORT

GENERAL ELECTION, NOVEMBER, 1922

Constituencies Unopposed: Four Labour Seats

Eddisbury (Cons.)
Northern Cornwall (N.Lib.)
Chesterfield (F. Lib.)
South Molton (F. Lib.)
New Forest and Christchurch (Cons.)
Hythe (Cons.)
Liverpool, Kirkdale (Cons.)
Liverpool, Scotland (Nat.)
Liverpool, Walton (Cons.)
Salford, South (Cons.)
Chorley (Cons.)
Fylde (Cons.)
Loughborough (N. Lib.)
City of London (D.M.B.) (2 Cons.)
St. Marylebone (Cons.)
Twickenham (Cons.)
Burton (Cons.)
Bury St. Edmunds (Cons.)
Croydon, North (Cons.)
Reigate (Cons.)
Horsham and Worthing (Cons.)
Birmingham, Edgbaston (Cons.)
Birmingham, Erdington (Cons.)
Birmingham, Moseley (Cons.)
Tamworth (Cons.)
Warwick and Leamington (Cons.)
Westmorland (Cons.)
Halifax (F. Lib.)
Sheffield, Central (Cons).
Sheffield, Ecclesall (Cons.)
North Riding, Richmond (Cons.)
Thirsk and Malton (Cons.)
Barkston Ash (Cons.)
Ripon (Cons.)
Rother Valley (Lab.)
Wentworth (Lab.)
Carnarvon (N. Lib.)
Abertillery (Lab.)
Monmouth (Cons.)
Montgomery (F. Lib.)
Banff (N. Lib.)
Western Fife (Lab.)
Kinross & Western Perth (N. Lib.)

Unopposed University Seats

SCOTLAND COMBINED (3 seats).

(Cons.) (Cons.) (N. Lib.)

SCHEDULE 2.—NATIONAL AGENT'S REPORT

GENERAL ELECTION, NOVEMBER, 1922

Results of Straight Fights Contested by Labour

In these Schedules, in the column "Other," where not otherwise stated, the candidate was independent.

Constituency.	*Cons.*	*F. Libs.*	*N. Libs.*	*Lab.*	*Other.*
Birkenhead, West	12,176	—	—	10,371	—
Crewe	—	—	14,756	15,311	—
Northwich	15,454	—	—	13,066	—
Workington	12,064	—	—	14,546	—
Belper	—	—	12,494	7,942	—
Western Dorset	11,649	—	—	7,101	—
Barnard Castle	8,271	—	—	8,052	—
Bishop Auckland	—	—	12,019	13,946	—
Chester Le Street	9,335	—	—	20,296	—
Durham	11,396	—	—	14,068	—
West Ham, Plaistow	7,140	—	—	12,321	—
West Ham, Silvertown	4,361	—	—	11,874	—
Colchester	13,142	—	—	10,045	—
Romford	—	—	14,070	9,967	—
South-Eastern Essex	13,522	—	—	11,459	—
Bristol, Central	15,568	—	—	12,303	—
Bristol, East	—	—	13,910	13,759	—
Bristol, North	—	—	17,495	9,567	—
Bristol, South	—	—	16,199	12,650	—
Cirencester & Tewkesbury	16,463	—	—	9,195	—
Fareham	17,008	—	—	6,245	—
Petersfield	12,600	—	—	7,036	—
Winchester	14,173	—	—	7,555	—
Hereford	13,138	—	—	4,094	—
Hemel Hempstead	11,847	—	—	5,726	—

Constituency.	*Cons.*	*F. Libs.*	*N. Libs.*	*Lab.*	*Other.*
Hitchin	13,124	—	—	8,049	—
St. Albans	14,594	—	—	10,662	—
Rochester, Gillingham	12,425	—	—	8,944	—
Ashford	15,638	—	—	6,977	—
Canterbury	13,954	—	—	5,639	—
Faversham	13,675	—	—	11,096	—
Sevenoaks	12,945	—	—	6,849	—
Ashton-under-Lyne	12,006	—	—	8,834	—
Barrow-in-Furness	16,478	—	—	14,551	—
Eccles	13,551	—	—	14,354	—
Liverpool, Edge Hill	14,186	—	—	9,520	—
Liverpool, Everton	11,667	—	—	7,600	—
Liverpool, Fairfield	14,316	—	—	5,478	—
Liverpool, Wavertree	14,372	—	—	8,941	—
Liverpool, West Derby	16,179	—	—	6,785	—
Liverpool, West Toxteth	15,030	—	—	10,209	—
Manchester, Ardwick	12,777	—	—	14,031	—
Manchester, Clayton	14,800	—	—	14,789	—
Manchester, Gorton	13,057	—	—	15,058	—
St. Helens	14,587	—	—	20,731	—
Warrington	15,394	—	—	13,570	—
Wigan	15,436	—	—	20,079	—
Clitheroe	15,586	—	—	12,911	—
Heywood and Radcliffe	—	—	19,016	15,334	—
Ince	8,257	—	—	17,332	—
Lancaster	19,571	—	—	9,043	—
Middleton and Prestwich	—	—	14,832	10,505	—
Ormskirk	11,921	—	—	8,374	—
Stretford	—	—	19,185	8,733	—
Westhoughton	—	—	11,927	14,846	—
Widnes	14,679	—	—	12,897	—
Leicester, East	—	—	15,164	13,850	—
Grimsby	23,726	—	—	14,227	—
Lincoln	15,780	—	—	10,951	—
Lindsey, Brigg	15,463	—	—	9,185	—
Battersea, South	17,685	—	—	11,050	—
Camberwell, North	8,066	—	—	8,320	—
Chelsea	13,437	—	—	4,513	—
Deptford	16,687	—	—	18,512	—
Fulham, West	14,875	—	—	8,210	—
Greenwich	16,933	—	—	10,861	—
Hackney, South	14,017	—	—	9,276	—
Hammersmith, South	10,877	—	—	6,397	—
Bow and Bromley	8,626	—	—	15,402	—
Poplar, South	—	—	10,146	14,484	—
Southwark, Central	—	—	10,522	5,522	—
Southwark, North	—	—	7,435	6,323	—
Southwark, South-East	—	—	10,014	7,734	—
Limehouse	—	—	7,789	9,688	—
Wandsworth, Central	12,470	—	—	5,420	—
Woolwich, East	11,714	—	—	15,620	—
Woolwich, West	14,453	—	—	9,550	—
Willesden, West	13,328	—	—	12,529	—
Enfield	11,725	—	—	9,820	—
Spelthorne	12,849	—	—	7,015	—
Wood Green	21,937	—	—	9,411	—
Norfolk, Northern	—	—	—	12,004	10,975 (I.C.)
Norfolk, Southern	12,734	—	—	10,159	—
Norfolk, South-West	—	—	10,432	8,655	—
Daventry	13,055	—	—	8,850	—
Kettering	14,333	—	—	14,204	—
Wellingborough	—	—	14,995	11,057	—
Bassetlaw	12,944	—	—	10,502	—
Broxtowe	—	—	11,328	11,699	—
Mansfield	—	—	16,192	14,917	—
Newark	15,423	—	—	8,378	—
Rushcliffe	14,822	—	—	11,261	—
The Wrekin	11,652	—	—	10,603	—
Frome	15,017	—	—	14,311	—

Constituency.	*Cons.*	*F. Libs.*	*N. Libs.*	*Lab.*	*Other.*
Yeovil	15,468	—	—	9,581	—
Dudley	12,876	—	—	8,522	—
Newcastle-under-Lyme	—	—	9,573	14,503	—
Smethwick	12,759	—	—	13,141	—
Stoke-on-Trent, Burslem	—	—	11,669	11,872	—
Stoke-on-Trent, Stoke	—	—	16,685	10,522	—
Wednesbury	15,982	—	—	16,087	—
Wolverhampton, Bilston	12,297	—	—	10,392	—
Wolverhampton, West	17,738	—	—	15,190	—
Kingswinford	14,313	—	—	15,232	—
Leek	12,473	—	—	12,857	—
Lichfield	—	—	10,594	9,316	—
Stafford	10,990	—	—	7,672	—
Ipswich	17,134	—	—	14,924	—
Woodbridge	12,396	—	—	9,476	—
Eastern Surrey	12,498	—	—	3,667	—
Epsom	16,249	—	—	6,571	—
Farnham	14,557	—	—	5,312	—
Guildford	18,045	—	—	7,514	—
Hastings	13,991	—	—	6,492	—
East Grinstead	15,981	—	—	6,527	—
Lewes	11,345	—	—	5,328	—
Chichester	19,494	—	—	6,752	—
Birmingham, Aston	15,913	—	—	10,279	—
Birmingham, Duddeston	13,091	—	—	8,331	—
Birmingham, Ladywood	13,032	—	—	10,589	—
Birmingham, West	15,405	—	—	9,599	—
Birmingham, Yardley	15,586	—	—	11,234	—
Swindon	14,886	—	—	11,502	—
Evesham	11,502	—	—	7,715	—
Kidderminster	19,711	—	—	9,203	—
Barnsley	—	—	12,011	14,728	—
Leeds, South	—	—	11,380	13,210	—
Leeds, S.E.	—	—	9,554	13,676	—
Leeds, West	—	—	13,391	12,487	—
Rotherham	17,093	—	—	16,449	—
Sheffield, Attercliffe	—	—	7,562	16,206	—
Sheffield, Brightside	—	—	10,949	16,692	—
Sheffield, Hillsborough	—	—	11,812	15,130	—
Sheffield, Park	—	—	11,542	10,578	—
Wakefield	10,416	—	—	9,798	—
Hemsworth	—	—	8,317	14,295	—
Normanton	—	—	5,855	16,040	—
Rothwell	10,580	—	—	17,831	—
Brecon and Radnor	—	—	20,405	9,850	—
Llanelly	—	—	15,947	23,213	—
Carnarvonshire	—	—	12,407	14,016	—
Aberdare	—	—	15,487	20,704	—
Merthyr	—	—	15,552	17,516	—
Rhondda, East	—	—	14,025	17,146	—
					Un. Lab.
Rhondda, West	—	—	—	18,001	10,990
Swansea, East	—	—	10,926	11,333	—
Caerphilly	12,057	—	—	16,082	—
Gower	—	11,302	—	13,388	—
Neath	—	—	13,130	19,564	—
Merioneth	—	9,903	—	7,071	—
Newport	19,019	—	—	16,000	—
Bedwellty	10,132	—	—	17,270	—
Ebbw Vale	8,951	—	—	16,947	—
Pembroke	—	—	21,569	9,703	—
Bute and Northern Ayr	14,368	—	—	9,323	—
Kilmarnock	—	—	12,991	10,752	—
South Ayrshire	—	—	9,180	11,511	—
Dumbarton and Clydebank	—	—	9,107	16,397	—
Dumbartonshire	13,407	—	—	13,216	—
Dunfermline Burghs	—	—	11,451	11,615	—
Kirkcaldy	—	—	12,762	12,089	—
Montrose Burghs	—	—	8,407	7,044	—

Constituency.	*Cons.*	*F. Libs.*	*N. Libs.*	*Lab.*	*Other.*
Glasgow, Bridgeton	—	—	10,198	17,890	—
Glasgow, Govan	—	—	9,336	15,441	—
Glasgow, Springburn	10,311	—	—	15,771	—
Bothwell	10,484	—	—	13,872	—
Hamilton	9,089	—	—	12,365	—
Lanark	12,005	—	—	9,812	—
Rutherglen	—	—	11,440	14,029	—
Edinburgh, Central	—	—	9,371	12,876	—
Paisley	—	15,005	—	14,689	—
Western Renfrew	—	—	10,051	11,787	—
Stirling and Falkirk	—	—	9,717	11,073	—
Western Stirling	8,104	—	—	8,919	—

SCHEDULE 3.—NATIONAL AGENT'S REPORT

GENERAL ELECTION, NOVEMBER, 1922

Results of Three-cornered Fights Contested by Labour

Constituency.	*Cons.*	*F. Libs.*	*N. Libs.*	*Lab.*	*Other.*
Luton	13,301	—	10,137	7,107	—
Reading	16,082	7,212	—	14,322	—
Buckingham	13,751	6,789	—	7,343	—
Wycombe	15,627	11,154	—	4,403	—
Cambridge	11,238	7,075	—	4,810	—
Cambridgeshire	9,846	6,942	—	9,167	—
Altrincham	19,361	11,692	—	4,930	—
City of Chester	11,938	4,688	—	5,414	—
Macclesfield	15,825	10,477	—	6,584	—
Stalybridge and Hyde	17,216	10,265	—	7,578	—
Wirral	12,888	8,014	—	4,363	—
Camborne	—	7,922	8,191	4,512	—
Carlisle	6,569	—	6,526	7,870	—
Whitehaven	8,956	4,209	—	10,935	—
Clay Cross	—	6,294	3,294	13,206	—
High Peak	14,892	5,802	—	7,698	—
Ilkeston	5,841	—	8,348	9,432	—
Derby, North East	8,879	9,352	—	9,357	—
Derby, Southern	14,664	—	9,585	10,201	—
Plymouth, Drake	11,698	6,594	—	8,359	—
Plymouth, Devonport	10,459	8,538	—	5,742	—
Plymouth, Sutton	13,924	—	—	10,831	4,643
Tiverton	10,304	10,230	—	1,457	—
Eastern Dorset	12,513	—	6,061	6,913	—
Southern Dorset	12,121	4,657	—	4,394	—
Darlington	13,286	4,420	—	9,048	—
Gateshead	13,424	10,679	—	18,795	—
South Shields	—	15,760	8,121	15,735	—
Stockton-on-Tees	—	9,041	12,396	11,183	—
Blaydon	7,963	—	4,606	14,722	—
Consett	6,745	9,870	—	14,469	—
Houghton-le-Spring	7,555	5,958	—	14,611	—
Jarrow	10,166	4,522	—	17,208	—
Seaham	8,315	5,247	—	20,203	—
Sedgefield	9,067	3,561	—	9,796	—
Spennymoor	7,567	6,046	—	13,766	—
East Ham, South	—	6,567	4,793	10,566	—
Leyton, West	11,157	7,021	—	5,673	—
Walthamstow, East	9,178	4,043	—	6,382	—
Walthamstow, West	—	5,228	6,253	8,758	—
West Ham, Stratford	8,641	2,704	—	10,017	—
West Ham, Upton	10,196	4,692	—	7,268	—
Chelmsford	11,267	6,380	—	3,767	—
Maldon	10,337	5,470	—	6,085	—

Constituency.	*Cons.*	*F. Libs.*	*N. Libs.*	*Lab.*	*Other.*
Gloucester	7,922	6,050	—	7,871	—
Forest of Dean	—	—	3,861	10,820	5,965
Stroud	14,723	9,041	—	5,081	—
Thornbury	10,682	10,578	—	5,749	—
Portsmouth, North	14,168	4,368	—	6,808	—
Basingstoke	12,514	6,780	—	3,035	—
Watford	12,040	3,896	—	8,561	—
Huntingdon	10,079	5,123	—	4,697	—
Isle of Ely	13,552	—	7,359	5,688	—
Bromley	16,803	9,128	—	4,735	—
Dartford	—	2,175	16,662	14,744	—
Gravesend	8,166	—	—	7,180	4,796
Maidstone	8,928	—	—	8,004	8,895
Tonbridge	14,797	5,472	—	7,665	—
Accrington	11,408	9,359	—	16,462	—
Burnley	14,731	12,339	—	17,385	—
Bury	10,830	5,795	—	9,643	—
Leigh	11,279	7,012	—	15,006	—
Manchester, Blackley	9,023	6,219	—	5,580	—
Manchester, Moss Side	11,932	6,743	—	4,641	—
Manchester, Platting	14,814	—	1,847	15,683	—
Manchester, Rusholme	11,765	6,421	—	6,397	—
Nelson and Colne	7,286	11,542	—	17,714	—
Rochdale	13,006	11,894	—	15,774	—
Rossendale	12,881	6,327	—	11,029	—
Salford, North	11,349	—	4,660	11,368	—
Salford, West	12,130	—	6,174	8,724	—
Darwen	12,218	11,944	—	4,528	—
Farnworth	10,037	5,927	—	13,391	—
Lonsdale	12,030	5,799	—	4,024	—
Newton	8,214	—	—	12,312	1,618
Royton	12,388	11,295	—	5,776	—
Leicester, West	—	7,631	8,137	12,929	—
Bosworth	11,251	—	7,513	8,740	—
Harborough	9,356	6,427	—	6,205	—
Holland with Boston	11,898	7,535	—	12,489	—
Kesteven, Grantham	11,298	11,723	—	5,332	—
Rutland and Stamford	10,278	—	—	7,236	4,471
Lindsey, Gainsborough	9,015	7,216	—	4,884	—
Battersea, North	—	1,756	9,290	11,311	—
Bermondsey, Rotherhithe	6,749	5,034	—	6,703	—
Camberwell, North-West	—	3,270	8,339	5,182	—
Fulham, East	13,282	2,907	—	5,393	—
Hackney, Central	—	6,825	9,795	4,507	—
Hammersmith, North	8,253	4,278	—	5,350	—
Islington, East	11,954	8,107	—	5,900	—
Islington, North	13,520	7,256	—	7,993	—
Islington, South	7,877	7,352	—	6,634	—
Islington, West	7,335	6,643	—	4,856	—
Kensington, North	12,328	4,666	—	6,225	—
Lambeth, Kennington	10,081	—	3,522	7,670	—
Lambeth, North	7,362	8,132	—	3,353	—
Lambeth, Norwood	16,121	6,253	—	4,180	—
Lewisham, East	16,726	3,906	—	8,402	—
St. Pancras, North	9,176	6,979	—	8,165	—
St. Pancras, South-East	8,753	4,053	—	5,609	—
St. Pancras, South-West	8,289	5,533	—	2,947	—
Shoreditch	—	6,273	9,084	8,834	—
Stepney, Mile End	6,014	3,457	—	5,219	—
Stepney, Whitechapel	3,502	5,839	—	6,267	—
Wandsworth, Clapham	13,285	4,444	—	4,919	—
Westminster Abbey	13,620	—	—	2,444	1,950
Ealing	14,507	—	—	6,128	719
Edmonton	6,698	3,522	—	8,407	—
Tottenham, South	9,903	4,081	—	8,241	—
Acton	10,208	4,877	—	5,342	—
Hendon	14,702	5,650	—	4,669	—
Uxbridge	12,901	—	3,844	7,292	—
Great Yarmouth	8,917	9,836	—	2,574	—

Constituency.	*Cons.*	*F. Libs.*	*N. Libs.*	*Lab.*	*Other.*
Eastern Norfolk	9,270	8,962	—	4,361	—
King's Lynn	9,862	7,970	—	8,683	—
Northampton	—	3,753	19,974	14,498	—
Peterborough	13,560	6,290	—	8,668	—
Morpeth	6,045	10,007	—	15,026	—
Newcastle, Central	8,639	2,923	—	13,709	—
Newcastle, East	—	6,999	6,273	10,084	—
Newcastle, West	—	3,367	11,499	11,654	—
Tynemouth	11,244	6,787	—	5,362	—
Hexham	9,369	6,486	—	5,050	—
Nottingham, West	6,050	5,163	—	10,787	—
Banbury	12,491	7,885	—	6,463	—
Oswestry	12,837	6,660	—	6,150	—
Bath	13,666	8,699	—	4,849	—
Bridgwater	11,240	11,121	—	1,598	—
Wells	10,210	7,156	—	4,048	—
Stoke-on-Trent, Hanley	—	4,942	6,312	10,742	—
Walsall	14,349	14,674	—	8,946	—
West Bromwich	11,263	2,622	—	14,210	—
Cannock	—	7,928	9,116	9,889	—
Lowestoft	14,154	—	6,205	4,511	—
Croydon, South	15,356	8,183	—	8,942	—
Birmingham, Deritend	11,700	5,331	—	6,892	—
Birmingham, King's Norton	8,870	5,474	—	7,017	—
Birmingham, Sparkbrook	13,236	7,283	—	6,310	—
Coventry	20,986	11,986	—	16,289	—
Nuneaton	12,765	9,730	—	10,842	—
Rugby	11,934	8,196	—	4,940	—
Chippenham	10,006	10,494	—	1,098	—
Westbury	9,262	9,903	—	4,572	—
Batley and Morley	8,054	9,443	—	15,005	—
Bradford, Central	11,891	7,083	—	13,937	—
Bradford, East	—	6,411	9,926	13,573	—
Bradford, North	10,260	9,008	—	8,869	—
Bradford, South	9,334	13,257	—	12,350	—
Dewsbury	6,744	8,065	—	8,821	—
Huddersfield	—	15,879	15,212	15,673	—
Kingston-on-Hull, East	11,248	8,711	—	6,934	—
Leeds, Central	14,137	—	6,260	7,844	—
Leeds, North	13,771	—	7,230	5,836	—
Leeds, North-East	12,343	7,891	—	6,525	—
Middlesbrough, East	8,885	6,295	—	7,607	—
York	15,163	8,830	—	10,106	—
Cleveland	13,369	11,668	—	10,483	—
Colne Valley	11,332	—	8,042	12,614	—
Doncaster	8,279	—	7,161	13,437	—
Don Valley	—	5,332	5,797	9,903	—
Elland	8,039	—	10,160	10,590	—
Keighley	6,955	9,262	—	13,918	—
Penistone	7,600	8,924	—	8,382	—
Pontefract	8,495	—	5,879	9,111	—
Pudsey and Otley	12,396	—	8,439	5,818	—
Shipley	—	6,674	12,201	11,160	—
Skipton	13,251	10,228	—	8,229	—
Spen Valley	8,104	13,306	—	12,519	—
Wrexham	10,508	—	10,842	11,940	—
Flint	15,080	—	16,854	6,163	—
Cardiff, Central	13,895	5,732	—	8,169	—
Cardiff, East	8,804	—	7,622	7,506	—
Cardiff, South	7,929	6,996	—	6,831	—
Swansea, West	8,476	—	9,278	8,401	—
Aberavon	11,111	—	5,328	14,315	—
Llandaff and Barry	13,129	7,577	—	9,031	—
Ogmore	6,577	—	7,498	17,321	—
Pontypridd	7,994	—	8,667	14,884	—
Pontypool	8,480	7,630	—	10,778	—
Aberdeen, North	—	2,113	6,615	10,958	—
Ayr Burghs	11,179	7,402	—	6,533	—
Glasgow, Camlachie	11,459	1,896	—	15,181	—

Constituency.	*Cons.*	*F. Libs.*	*N. Libs.*	*Lab.*	*Other.*
Glasgow, Cathcart	8,661	—	9,104	9,137	—
Glasgow, Central	15,437	2,518	—	12,923	—
Glasgow, Maryhill	10,951	3,617	—	13,058	—
Glasgow, Pollok	14,920	2,658	—	5,759	—
Glasgow, St. Rollox	10,343	2,025	—	16,114	—
Glasgow, Shettleston	—	—	9,704	14,695	470
Glasgow, Tradeston	9,977	1,310	—	14,190	—
Coatbridge	9,724	2,802	—	12,038	—
North Lanark	7,957	3,569	—	10,349	—
Linlithgow	8,993	5,605	—	12,625	—
Leith	7,372	13,971	—	6,567	—
North Midlothian	7,416	3,770	—	6,942	—
Peebles and Southern	5,992	4,377	—	6,394	—
Eastern Renfrewshire	9,158	—	4,013	9,708	—
Clackmannan and East Stirling	6,888	7,379	—	10,312	—

SCHEDULE 4.—NATIONAL AGENT'S REPORT

GENERAL ELECTION, NOVEMBER, 1922

Results of Four-cornered Fights Contested by Labour

Constituency.	*Cons.*	*F. Libs.*	*N. Libs.*	*Lab.*	*Other.*
Bedford	13,460	2,075	5,714	5,477	—
Penryn and Falmouth	11,566	8,879	2,129	4,482	—
Ilford	14,071	7,625	—	5,414	4,610 (I.C.)
Leyton, East	7,866	1,650	4,568	6,300	—
Saffron Walden	9,844	2,853	3,097	6,797	—
Portsmouth, Central	7,666	7,129	7,659	6,126	—
Isle of Wight	10,620	12,202	—	3,756	7,061 (I.C.)
Bermondsey, West	—	5,225	2,814	7,550	1,328 (I.C.)
Camberwell, Peckham	11,218	1,329	6,739	5,964	—
Finsbury	9,382	6,384	—	4,903	349
Tottenham, North	8,392	—	4,181	10,250	395 (I.C.)
Wallsend-on-Tyne	11,425	2,908	1,804	14,248	—
Wansbeck	11,149	3,134	5,192	16,032	—
Wolverhampton, East	9,410	11,577	1,169	3,076	—
Kingston-on-Hull, South-West	9,597	10,460	692	4,859	—
Sowerby	11,710	8,144	2,023	7,496	—
Berwick and Haddington	—	4,422	6,342	5,842	—
			3,300		
Glasgow, Gorbals	—	1,456	8,276	16,479	4,027 (Com.)
Perth	11,387	5,874	2,689	4,651	—

SCHEDULE 5.—NATIONAL AGENT'S REPORT

GENERAL ELECTION, NOVEMBER, 1922

Result of Five-cornered Fight Contested by Labour

Constituency.	*Cons.*	*F. Libs.*	*N. Libs.*	*Lab.*	*Other.*
East Ham, North	7,215	1,504	4,775	6,747	4,021

SCHEDULE 6.—NATIONAL AGENT'S REPORT

GENERAL ELECTION, NOVEMBER, 1922.

Results of Double-membered Constituencies Contested by Labour

Constituency.	*Cons.*	*F. Libs.*	*N. Libs.*	*Lab.*	*Other.*
Stockport	33,842	—	35,421	17,059	—
	—	—	—	16,126	—
Derby	22,240	24,068	—	25,215	—
	—	—	—	21,677	—
Sunderland	28,001	13,036	19,058	13,490	—
	24,591	—	—	13,683	—
Southampton	22,054	—	11,576	14,868	14,192
	20,351	—	9,318	—	—
Blackburn	28,280	8,141	27,071	24,049	—
	—	—	—	23,402	—
Bolton	37,480	18,523	30,995	20,559	—
	—	—	—	20,145	—
Oldham	23,200	6,186	24,762	24,434	—
	—	9,812	—	—	—
Preston	22,574	24,798	—	26,259	—
	20,410	—	—	—	—
Norwich	—	—	31,151	15,609	31,167
	—	—	—	14,490	—
Dundee	—	6,681	20,466	30,292	5,906 (Com.)
	—	—	22,244	—	32,578 (Pro.)

SCHEDULE —NATIONAL AGENT'S REPORT

GENERAL ELECTION, NOVEMBER, 1922

Results of Universities Contested by Labour

University.	*Cons.*	*F. Libs.*	*N. Libs.*	*Lab.*	*Other.*
Combined	1,093	—	1,009	366	813
	206	—	—	—	90 (I.C.)
London	3,633	2,180	—	1,427	—
Wales	—	451	479	309	—

SCHEDULE 8.—NATIONAL AGENT'S REPORT

GENERAL ELECTION, NOVEMBER, 1922

Results of Constituencies not Contested by Labour

Constituency.	*Cons.*	*F. Libs.*	*N. Libs.*	*Other.*
Mid Bedford	9,137	11,874	—	—
Abingdon	10,507	—	9,967	—
Newbury	12,322	9,144	—	—
Windsor	17,504	7,087	—	—
Aylesbury	13,406	12,835	—	—
Birkenhead, East	10,745	14,690	—	—
Wallasey	17,508	9,984	—	—
Knutsford	15,650	11,388	—	—
Bodmin	12,467	14,292	—	—
St. Ives	10,388	—	9,016	—

Constituency.	*Cons.*	*F. Libs.*	*N. Libs.*	*Other.*
Northern Cumberland	8,815	8,544	—	—
Penrith and Cockermouth	8,736	9,114	—	—
Western Derby	12,971	13,061	—	—
Exeter	14,326	10,550	—	—
Barnstaple	13,793	—	13,619	—
Honiton	12,972	10,404	—	—
Tavistock	9,757	11,708	—	—
Torquay	14,676	13,425	—	—
Totnes	16,532	15,032	—	—
Dorset, N.	9,869	10,805	—	—
Hartlepool	17,685	18,252	—	—
Southend-on-Sea	17,920	11,039	—	—
Epping	15,300	10,228	—	—
Harwich	9,792	10,566	—	—
Bristol, West	13,124	11,100	—	—
Cheltenham	11,383	8,237	—	—
Bournemouth	15,690	10,181	—	4,134 (I.C.)
Portsmouth, S.	13,960	9,080	—	—
Aldershot	10,952	5,296	—	—
Leominster	10,978	9,698	—	—
Hertford	11,406	6,534	—	—
Rochester, Chatham	11,335	10,682	—	—
Chislehurst	11,801	6,256	—	—
Dover	18,151	2,985	—	8,054
Isle of Thanet	16,116	10,226	—	—
Blackpool	18,206	18,040	—	—
Bootle	9,867	13,276	—	425
Liverpool, East Toxteth	15,149	—	—	9,984
Liverpool, Exchange	15,650	—	—	12,614
Manchester, Exchange	13,919	10,148	—	—
Manchester, Hulme	15,692	11,639	—	—
Manchester, Withington	11,678	11,008	—	—
Southport	13,733	12,068	—	—
Mossley	—	11,376	—	15,753
Waterloo	12,967	6,300	—	—
Leicester, South	12,534	12,425	—	—
Melton	13,341	11,550	—	—
Lindsey, Horncastle	9,158	10,797	—	—
Lindsey, Louth	10,726	11,609	—	—
Bethnal Green, North-East	2,806	5,774	1,780	5,659 (Com.)
Bethnal Green, South-West	3,474	5,152	—	4,034 (Com.)
Camberwell, Dulwich	14,046	6,733	—	—
Hackney, North	13,882	8,387	—	—
Hampstead	14,596	4,282	5,582	—
Holborn	8,996	3,757	—	—
Kensington, South	15,760	—	4,964	—
Lambeth, Brixton	11,284	9,316	—	—
Lewisham, West	16,216	8,469	—	—
Paddington, North	10,792	6,444	—	—
Paddington, South	9,699	—	—	4,764 (A.W.)
Stoke Newington	9,753	5,737	—	—
Balham and Tooting	17,239	8,044	—	—
Putney and Southfields	9,739	5,317	—	5,556 (I.C.)
Streatham	12,282	5,483	—	—
Westminster, St. George's	7,559	1,303	—	11,252 (I.C.)
Hornsey	18,462	16,239	—	—
Willesden, East	12,525	11,211	—	—
Brentford and Chiswick	10,150	—	—	7,804
Finchley	11,883	10,440	—	—
Harrow	7,868	—	—	15,290
Newcastle, North	14,931	8,017	—	1,435 (I. Lab.)
Berwick-on-Tweed	—	7,354	11,933	—
Nottingham, Central	11,459	11,480	—	—
Nottingham, East	12,082	8,170	—	—
Nottingham, South	15,158	—	—	4,708 (I. Lab.)
Oxford	8,683	12,489	—	—
Henley	11,545	10,204	—	—
Ludlow	11,787	—	5,978	—
Shrewsbury	10,999	9,401	—	—

Constituency.	*Cons.*	*F. Libs.*	*N. Libs.*	*Other.*
Taunton	10,185	13,095	—	—
Weston-super-Mare	15,552	12,678	—	—
Stone	7,742	7,198	—	5,243
East Suffolk, Eye	—	10,556	7,025	—
Sudbury	7,298	2,813	5,410	—
Kingston-on-Thames	15,136	—	—	7,563 (I.C.)
Richmond	6,032	5,765	—	12,075 (I.C.)
Wimbledon, Merton, and Morden	16,751	6,627	—	—
Chertsey	14,081	9,228	—	—
Mitcham	10,934	5,898	—	—
Brighton (D.M.B.)	28,549	—	—	—
	26,844	22,059	—	11,913 (A.W.)
Eastbourne	14,601	9,550	—	—
Rye	10,122	7,485	—	—
Birmingham, Handsworth	18,859	—	—	12,790
Devizes	9,598	6,576	—	—
Salisbury	11,882	11,559	—	—
Worcester	9,370	10,143	—	—
Bewdley	11,192	5,748	—	—
Stourbridge	18,200	16,949	—	—
Kingston-on-Hull, Central	12,347	15,374	—	—
Kingston-on-Hull, North West	14,904	11,204	—	—
Middlesbrough, West	—	16,811	7,422	—
Sheffield, Hallam	13,405	9,173	—	—
Buckrose	12,012	11,411	—	—
Holderness	10,200	11,479	—	—
Howdenshire	10,748	—	—	7,021 (Agr.)
Scarborough and Whitby	16,358	13,262	—	—
Anglesey	—	—	10,067	11,929
Cardigan	—	12,310	12,825	—
Carmarthen	8,805	3,847	12,530	4,775
Denbigh	9,138	1,974	12,975	—
Aberdeen, South	13,208	9,573	—	—
Aberdeen and Kincardine Central	6,481	9,779	—	—
Aberdeen and Kincardine Eastern	—	8,018	5,227	—
Aberdeen and Kincardine Western	—	6,224	3,767	—
Argyle	—	6,897	9,848	—
Caithness and Sutherland	—	5,803	7,715	—
Dumfries	11,055	13,296	—	—
Eastern Fife	9,987	12,697	—	—
Forfar	7,071	8,567	—	—
Galloway	10,557	12,406	—	—
Inverness	—	8,785	9,796	—
Ross and Cromarty	—	4,521	5,923	—
Western Isles	—	5,238	6,177	—
Glasgow, Hillhead	12,272	7,313	—	—
Glasgow, Kelvingrove	13,442	11,094	—	—
Glasgow, Partick	—	6,282	11,754	—
Motherwell	—	5,359	3,966	7,214 (Orange)
				8,262 (Com.)
Edinburgh, East	—	10,551	7,088	—
Edinburgh, North	14,805	9,165	—	—
Edinburgh, South	14,843	7,408	—	—
Edinburgh, West	11,689	12,355	—	—
Moray and Nairn	—	5,832	6,263	—
Orkney and Shetland	—	4,814	4,189	—
Greenock	8,404	10,520	—	9,776 (Com.)
Roxburgh and Selkirk	—	9,698	10,356	—
UNIVERSITIES:				
Cambridge (2 seats)	4,192	—	—	—
	1,018	—	—	3,453
Oxford (2 seats)	3,185	—	—	—
	2,170	1,594	—	—

SCHEDULE 9.—NATIONAL AGENT'S REPORT

LIST OF UNSUCCESSFUL CANDIDATES: GENERAL ELECTION NOVEMBER, 1922.

Constituencies.	*Candidates.*
BEDFORD	
Bedford	Mr. A. Sells
Luton	Mr. Percy Alden
BERKS	
Reading	Mr. Derwent Hall Caine
BUCKS	
Buckingham	Mr. O. Connellan
Wycombe	Mr. S. Stennett
CAMBRIDGE	
Cambridge	Mr. A. S. Firth
Cambridgeshire	Mr. A. E. Stubbs
CHESTER	
Birkenhead (W.)	Cllr. W. Egan.
Stockport	Mr. S. F. Perry
	Mr. J. C. H. Robinson
Altrincham	Mr. G. Benson
City of Chester.	Mr. G. Muff
Macclesfield	Mr. J. Penston, M.A.
Northwich	Mr. J. Williams
Stalybridge and Hyde	Mr. P. H. Ward
Wirral	Cllr. J. E. C. Grant
CORNWALL	
Camborne	Mr. T. Proctor
Penryn and Falmouth	Mr. J. Harris
DERBY	
Derby	Mr. W. R. Raynes
Belper	Mr. O. W. Wright
High Peak	Mr. F. Anderson
Southern	Mr. S Truman
DEVON	
Plymouth (Drake)	Mr. J. Gorman
Plymouth (Devonport)	Com. R. Bates, R.N.
Plymouth (Sutton)	Capt. G. Wolfe-Brennan
Tiverton	Mr. F. Brown
DORSET	
Eastern	Mr. F. J. Hopkins
Southern	Cllr. H. Paveley
Western	Mr. T. Dukes
DURHAM	
Darlington	Mr. W. Sherwood
South Shields	Mr. W. Lawther
Stockton-on-Tees	Mr. F. F. Riley
Sunderland	Dr. Rutherford
	Mr. D. Lawley
Barnard Castle	Mr. J. E. Swan
ESSEX	
East Ham (N.)	Miss Susan Lawrence
Ilford	Mr. A. West
Leyton (East)	Mr. W. Carter
Leyton (West)	Mr. A. Smith
Walthamstow (East)	Mr. W. B. Steer
West Ham (Upton)	Cllr. B. Gardner
Chelmsford	Mrs. E. Rackham
Colchester	Capt. R. L. Reiss
Maldon	Mr. G. Dallas
Romford	Ald. Emil Davies
Saffron Walden	Mr. W. Cash
South Eastern	Mr. P. C. Hoffman
GLOUCESTER	
Bristol (Central)	Brig.-Gen. C. B. Thomson
Bristol (East)	Mr. Luke Bateman
Bristol (North)	Cllr. W. H. Ayles
Bristol (South)	Mr. D. J. Vaughan
Cirencester & Tewkesbury	Mr. W. H. Robins
Gloucester	Mr. M. Phillips Price
Stroud	Mr. S. E. Walters
Thornbury	Mr. J. H. Alpass
HANTS	
Portsmouth (Central)	Mr. A. G. Gourd
Portsmouth (North)	Mr. Arthur Henderson, Jr.
Southampton	Cllr. T. Lewis
Basingstoke	Mr. S. Ledbury
Fareham	Lt.-Col. C. H. Hoare.
Petersfield	Major Leigh Aman
Winchester	Mr. A. W. Haycock
HEREFORD	
Hereford	Mr. J. J. Dodd
HERTS	
Hemel Hempstead	Mr. J. H. Clynes
Hitchin	Mr. B. Skene Mackay
St. Albans	Mr. J. W. Brown
Watford	Mr. J. J. Mallon
HUNTS	
Huntingdon	Major Freyer
ISLE OF ELY	
Isle of Ely	Capt. W. G. Hall
ISLE OF WIGHT	
Isle of Wight	Mr. H. Shearman
KENT	
Bromley	Mr. F. P. Hodes
Rochester (Gillingham)	Col. M. Spencer
Ashford	Mr. B. Noble
Canterbury	Lt.-Col. Lang Sims
Dartford	Mr. J. E. Mills
Faversham	Rev. S. Morgan
Gravesend	Mr. G. Isaacs
Maidstone	Mr. H. Dalton, M.A.
Sevenoaks	Mr. L. A. Goldie
Tonbridge	Mr. J. T. Davis
LANCASHIRE	
Ashton-under-Lyne	Mr. T. Gillinder
Barrow-in-Furness	Mr. J. Bromley
Blackburn	Mr. J. P. Davies
	Cllr. E. Porter
Bolton	Mr. S. Lomax
	Mr. W. Abraham
Bury	Mr. H. Wright Wallace

Constituencies.	*Candidates.*
Liverpool (Edge Hill)	Mr. J. H. Hayes
Liverpool (Everton)	Mr. J. Toole, J.P.
Liverpool (Fairfield)	Mr. Geo. Porter
Liverpool (Wavertree)	Mr. J. Vint Laughland
Liverpool (West Derby)	Mr. D. R. Williams
Liverpool (West Toxteth)	Mr. J. Gibbins
Manchester (Blackley)	Mr. A. E. Townend
Manchester (Clayton)	Mr. J. E. Sutton
Manchester (Moss Side)	Mr. T. W. Mercer
Manchester (Rusholme)	Mr. A. E. Wood, K.C.
Rossendale	Mr. G. W. Jones
Salford (West)	Mr. A. Law
Warrington	Mr. J. Gregory
Clitheroe	Mr. A. Davies
Darwen	Mr. John McGurk
Heywood and Radcliffe	Mr. W. Halls
Lancaster	Mr. Fenner Brockway
Lonsdale	Mr. T. Marshall Scott
Middleton and Prestwich	Ald. M. B. Farr
Ormskirk	Mr. J. Bell
Royton	Mr. J. Battle
Stretford	Cllr. A. H. Turner
Widnes	Rt. Hon. A. Henderson
Leicester	
Leicester (East)	Ald. G. Banton
Bosworth	Mr. Clem. J. Bundock
Harborough	Mr. W. J. Baker
Lincoln and Rutland	
Grimsby	Mr. C. Franklin
Lincoln	Mr. R. A. Taylor
Kesteven (Grantham)	Mr. J. H. Tones
Kesteven (Rutland and Stamford)	Mr. Fleming Eccles
Lindsey (Brigg)	Mr. D. Quibell
Lindsey (Gainsborough)	Mr. J. Read
London	
Battersea (S.)	Mr. A. J. Winfield
Bermondsey (Rotherhithe)	Mr. Charles Diamond
Camberwell (North-West)	Dr. H. B. Morgan
Camberwell (Peckham)	Mr. W. A. Chambers
Chelsea	Mr. Bertrand Russell
Finsbury	Mr. G. M. Gillett
Fulham (E.)	Mr. J. Palmer
Fulham (W.)	Mr. R. M. Gentry
Greenwich	Mr. E. T. Palmer
Hackney (Cent.)	Col. A. Lynch
Hackney (South)	Mr. Holford Knight
Hammersmith (North)	Mr. J. Gardner
Hammersmith (South)	Cllr. Wyndham Albery
Islington (E.)	Dr. Ethel Bentham
Islington (N.)	Miss Picton-Turbervill
Islington (S.)	Mr. F. W. Pethick Lawrence
Islington (W.)	Mr. W. J. Lewington
Kensington (N.)	Mr. W. J. Jarrett
Lambeth (Kennington)	Mr. Harry Gosling
Lambeth (North)	Mrs. Ayrton Gould
Lambeth (Norwood)	Mr. W. Hodgson
Lewisham (East)	Mr. E. Wilton
St. Pancras (North)	Mr. J. Gilbert Dale
St. Pancras (South-East)	Mr. H. G. Romeril
St. Pancras (South-West)	Mr. Geo. Horne
Shoreditch	Mr. Ernest Thurtle
Southwark (Central)	Mr. G. D. Bell
Southwark (North)	Dr. Haden Guest
Southwark (South-East)	Mr. T. E. Naylor
Stepney (Mile End)	Mr. John Scurr
Wandsworth (Central)	Mr. L. Silkin
Wandsworth (Clapham)	Mr. Leopold Spero
Westminster (Abbey)	Mr. J. G. Butler
Woolwich (West)	Mr. J. T. Sheppard
Middlesex	
Ealing	Mr. A. H. Chilton
Tottenham (South)	Mr. R. H. Tawney
Willesden (West)	Mr. S. P. Viant
Acton	Miss Richardson
Enfield	Mr. G. Lathan
Hendon	Mr. C. L. Latham
Spelthorne	Major Church
Uxbridge	Mr. W. J. Brown
Wood Green	Mr. H. Tudor Rhys
Norfolk	
Great Yarmouth	Mr. A. Whiting
Norwich	Cllr. H. E. Witard, J.P.
	Mr. G. F. Johnson
Eastern	Mr. G. E. Hewitt
King's Lynn	Mr. R. B. Walker
Southern	Mr. George Edwards
South West	Mr. W. B. Taylor
Northampton	
Northampton	Miss Bondfield
Daventry	Mr. W. Rogers
Kettering	Mr. A. E. Waterson
Peterborough	Mr. J. Mansfield
Wellingborough	Mr. W. R. Smith
Northumberland	
Tynemouth	Mr. G. H. Humphrey
Hexham	Mr. G. Shield
Nottingham	
Bassetlaw	Mr. H. J. O'Dell
Mansfield	Mr. W. Carter
Newark	Mr. H. Nixon
Rushcliffe	Mr. Norman Angell

Constituencies.	*Candidates.*
OXFORD	
Banbury	Capt. E. N. Bennett
SALOP	
Oswestry	Mr. T. Morris
The Wrekin	Mr. R. E. Jones
SOMERSET	
Bath	Mr. H. H. Elvin
Bridgwater	Colonel Beauchamp Williams
Frome	Capt. E. Gill
Wells	Mr. L. Smith
Yeovil	Mr. W. T. Kelly
STAFFORD	
Dudley	Mr. J. Wilson
Stoke-on-Trent (Stoke)	Mr. J. Watts
Walsall	Mr. R. Dennison
Wolverhampton (Bilston)	Mr. J. Baker
Wolverhampton (East)	Mr. W. T. A. Foot
Wolverhampton (West)	Mr. A. G. Walkden
Lichfield	Mr. W. J. French
Stafford	Mr. W. Holmes
SUFFOLK	
Ipswich	Cllr. R. F. Jackson
Suffolk (East, Lowestoft)	Mr. R. Mellanby
Suffolk (East, Woodbridge)	Mr. E. J. C. Neep
SURREY	
Croydon (South)	Mr. H. T. Muggeridge
Eastern	Mrs. E. R. Pease
Epsom	Dr. Somerville Hastings
Farnham	Mr. T. H. Marshall
Guildford	Mr. W. Bennett
SUSSEX	
Hastings	Mr. R. Davies
Sussex (East, East Grinstead)	Mr. T. Crawford
Sussex (East, Lewes)	Cllr. Milner Black
Sussex (West, Chichester)	Com. R. Hope
WARWICK	
Birmingham (Aston)	Mr. J. Cotter
Birmingham (Deritend)	Mr. F. Longden
Birmingham (Duddeston)	Mr. M. Brothers
Birmingham (Kings Norton)	Mrs. E. Barton
Birmingham (Ladywood)	Dr. R. Dunstan
Birmingham (Sparkbrook)	Mr. E. W. Hampton
Birmingham (West)	Mr. Frank Smith
Birmingham (Yardley)	Mr. A. G. Gossling
Coventry	Mr. Robert Williams
Nuneaton	Mr. J. Stevenson
Rugby	Capt. T. H. Holt Hughes
WILTS	
Chippenham	Mr. R. Roberts
Swindon	Mr. J. Compton
Westbury	Mr. George Ward
WORCESTER	
Evesham	Mr. R. Aldington, J.P.
Kidderminster	Mr. J. Bruce
YORKSHIRE	
Bradford (North)	Mr. J. H. Palin
Bradford (South)	Mr. W. Hirst
Huddersfield	Mr. J. H. Hudson
Kingston-on-Hull (East)	Cllr. A. Starks
Kingston-on-Hull (S.-West)	Mr. J. Arnott
Leeds (Central)	Mr. H. H. Slesser
Leeds (North)	Mr. D. Stewart, M.A.
Leeds (North-East)	Mr. J. Badlay
Leeds (West)	Cllr. Stamford
Middlesbrough (East)	Mr. M. Connolly
Rotherham	Mr. J. Walker
Sheffield (Park)	Ald. R. Morley
Wakefield	Mr. A. Bellamy
York	Mr. J. H. Gill
North Riding (Cleveland)	Mr. Harry Dack
West Riding (Penistone)	Mr. W. Gillis
West Riding (Pudsey & Otley)	Mr. Percival Myers
West Riding (Shipley)	Mr. Wm. Mackinder
West Riding (Skipton)	Mr. T. Snowden
West Riding (Sowerby)	Mr. J. W. Ogden
West Riding (Spen Valley)	Mr. T. Myers

WALES.

Constituencies.	*Candidates.*
BRECON AND RADNOR	
Brecon and Radnor	Mr. E. T. John
FLINT	
Flint	Rev. D. Gwynfryn Jones, C.C.
GLAMORGAN	
Cardiff (Cent.)	Mr. J. Edmunds
Cardiff (East)	Mr. A. J. Williams
Cardiff (South)	Major Graham Pole
Swansea (West)	Mr. H. W. Samuel
Llandaff and Barry	Mr. J. A. Lovat Fraser
MERIONETH	
Merioneth	Mr. J. Jones Roberts, B.A.
MONMOUTH	
Newport	Mr. J. Bowen
PEMBROKE	
Pembroke	Mr. W. Jenkins

SCOTLAND.

Constituencies.	*Candidates.*
Ayr and Bute	
Ayr Burghs	Mr. J. M. Airlie
Bute and Northern Ayr	Mr. John Paton
Kilmarnock	Mr. R. Climie
Berwick and Haddington	Mr. R. Spence
Dumbarton	
Dumbarton	Mr. W. Martin
Fife	
Kirkcaldy	Mr. T. Kennedy
Forfar	
Montrose Burghs	Mr. J. Carnegie
Lanark	
Glasgow (Cent.)	Mr. C. Rosslyn Mitchell, M.A., LL.B.
Glasgow (Pollok)	Mr. A. B. Mackay
Lanark	Mr. T. Dickson
Midlothian and Peebles	
Leith	Mr. R. W. Wilson
Northern Midlothian	Mr. A. Clarke
Perth and Kinross	
Perth	Mr. W. Westwood
Renfrew	
Paisley	Mr. J. M. Biggar

UNIVERSITIES.

(Combined) Durham, Manchester, Liverpool, Leeds, Sheffield, Birmingham and Bristol	Mr. L. Woolf
London	Mr. H. G. Wells
Wales	Dr. Olive Wheeler, M.A.

THE STANDING JOINT COMMITTEE OF INDUSTRIAL WOMEN'S ORGANISATIONS.

The new constitution was adopted in July, 1922. The number of representatives allowed to the organisations has been altered, and the Labour Party is now entitled to eight delegates. The Executive Committee decided that four of these should be the four women members of that body, and that the other four should be elected by the delegates of Women's Sections and Local Labour Parties at the Business Conference held each year before the National Conference of Labour Women. For this purpose the country was divided into four areas, nominations invited for each, and arrangements made for an election by ballot at the Conference.

A large number of nominations were received, and the election took place at York on May 8. The following were elected as the representatives of the four areas :—

(a) Scotland, North-Eastern, and North-Western Districts—Mrs. Gilliland.
(b) Wales and South-Western Districts—Mrs. Rose Davies, J.P.
(c) Midland and Eastern Districts—Mrs. Rackham, J.P.
(d) London and Home Counties—Miss Lilian Dawson.

The Committee now consists of the following :—

Labour Party.
General Council of the Trades Union Congress.
Co-operative Union.
Women's Co-operative Guild.
Railway Women's Guild.
Workers' Union.
National Union of General Workers.
Railway Clerks' Association.
National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers.
Transport and General Workers' Union.
Association of Women Clerks and Secretaries.
National Union of Clerks and Administrative Workers.
National Amalgamated Union of Shop Assistants.
Fabian Society.
The Union of Post Office Workers.
National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives.
Association of Civil Service Sorting Assistants.
The Tailors' and Garment Workers' Trade Union.
National Society of Pottery Workers.
The Actors' Association.
Power Framework Knitters' Society.
Municipal Employees' Association.
Independent Labour Party.

The Committee has representatives serving on the following national bodies :—

Overseas Settlement Committee (Colonial Office) : Mrs. Harrison Bell.

Council for the Overseas Settlement of British Women : Mrs. Hobbs.

National Council for the Unmarried Mother and Her Child: Mrs. Baker, Mrs. Hobbs, Miss Michelmore.

Women's Section of the Garden Cities Association: Dr. Phillips, Mrs. Hobbs.

Labour-Saving Devices Sub-Committee of the above: Mrs. Harrison Bell.

Consultative Council on General Health Matters, Ministry of Health. (For England): Mrs. Aspinall, Mrs. Burke, Mrs. Clarke, Mrs. Lowe, Mrs. Hood. (For Wales): Mrs. Andrews, Mrs. Davies.

Consultative Council of the Ministry of Health.

We regret, however, to say that the Consultative Council for England has not met during the whole period. The Welsh Council, however, has met several times, and a very useful Report of their recommendations has been published.

Special Work of the Committee.

The Standing Joint Committee sent a strong protest to the London County Council against the proposal that in making future appointments of women teachers it should be a condition that they should resign on marriage. It also protested against the scheme for introducing untrained young women as teachers in the infant departments after an apprenticeship of a few months. Labour was, however, defeated on both these matters.

The Committee has also assisted the Women Sanitary Inspectors and Health Visitors' Association in protesting against the low salaries now offered by many local authorities to these officers, but they have reason to fear that the amount of unemployment amongst such women due to the economy campaign in public health has made this protest unavailing.

A very interesting inquiry was made with regard to methods of admission of women to lying-in hospitals in London in September, 1922. The results were published in the *Labour Woman*, and the Women's Sections are to be asked to make further inquiry in their own districts as to the inadequacy of the provisions made there for dealing with maternity cases requiring hospital treatment.

The Committee also drew attention to the conditions for the performers behind the stage in theatres and music halls, and a report with suggestions for action is to be sent by the Labour Party to the local parties.

The question of Education economies and the reduction of the grants for feeding school children has been continually before them, and they have taken what action was possible to arouse public feeling upon these subjects. Special Reports have been prepared on Penal Reform and the Work of Women Magistrates, and the Education of Children in the Ideas of the Labour Movement and of Peace. Both were adopted by the National Conference of Labour Women.

Unemployment of Women.

The terrible conditions due to the unemployment of women has received much attention, and material was brought together which was supplied to the *Daily Herald* for their series of articles upon the subject, and protests on the "gap" and the administration of the Unemployment Acts were made to the Minister of Labour.

Parliamentary Work.

The Standing Joint Committee has advised the Labour Party Executive and prepared information on the following Bills before Parliament :—

Legitimisation Bill, now the Bastardy Bill.
Married Persons Summary Jurisdiction Bill.
Guardianship of Infants Bill.
Housing Bill.
Criminal Justices Bill.

WOMEN IN THE INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT.

The International Federation of Working Women, of which Dr. Marion Phillips is Secretary, and which has its Bureau in Great Britain, took part in the Peace Congress held at The Hague in December, 1922, under the auspices of the International Federation of Trade Unions. It was represented by the Secretary, Dr. Marion Phillips, and the French Vice-President, Mlle. Bouvier.

A pamphlet prepared by the Federation on Women and Children in the Textile Industry has been published by the International Federation of Trade Unions. A Monthly Supplement on Women's Work, prepared by the I.F.W.W., has also been published by the I.F.T.U. with their Press Reports.

The Federation has taken the lead in setting on foot the three-fold alliance between organised working women, educationalists, and young workers' organisations, for the education of young people in the ideas of the Labour Movement and of Peace. Socialist and Co-operative Women both joined in the Conference at which this proposal was outlined at The Hague in December, and it has since received the endorsement of Socialist women at their Conference at Hamburg.

It has been decided that the Biennial Congress of the Federation will be held on August 14th—18th at the Castle of Schönbrun, near Vienna, where the Summer School of the International Federation of Trade Unions is being held. The agenda for the Congress includes the discussion of international labour legislation affecting women and open Conferences on methods of organising women in Trade Unions, wage regulation for home-workers and the payment of family allowances in addition to wages. The Federation has stated that its object in holding these Conferences is not to adopt resolutions binding upon the Trade Union organisations represented, but to gather information and promote discussion amongst those concerned in dealing with these problems.

An International Conference of Labour and Socialist Women was held at Hamburg on May 20th. The British delegates were Dr. Ethel Bentham, Mrs. Sidney Webb, Miss Susan Lawrence, and Dr. Marion Phillips, who also attended as a fraternal delegate of the International Federation of Working Women. The Conference passed resolutions dealing with the necessity to press for women's suffrage in countries where it had not yet been obtained, the advisability of having an International Women's Day, the promotion of Education and Peace (including the endorsement of the three-fold alliance mentioned above), and a programme for the Care of Motherhood and Children similar to

that adopted at the Labour Women's Conference in Great Britain. It also passed unanimously the following resolution :—

> "That this Conference records its grateful thanks to the Austrian and other comrades who have taken the initiative in calling it together. It declares that in order to bring success to the Socialist cause, it is essential that the women in the Socialist and Labour Movement in all countries should be brought together in closer co-operation so that they may consider together the problems which specially concern the welfare of women. The Conference therefore declares that there should be at least one woman representative upon the Executive Committee of the International Labour and Socialist Congress."

It was decided that the presidents appointed for the Conference should see how far the last resolution could be put into operation or by what other methods special propaganda for women could be set on foot by the new International Labour and Socialist Congress. The presidents are as follows :—

Frau Adelheid Popp, Austria.
Frau Bang, Denmark.
Frau Juchacz, Germany.
Mrs. Tilanus, Holland.
Dr. Marion Phillips, Great Britain.

The Conference was attended by 80 delegates representing 21 countries and including a large number of women Members of Parliament and Councils.

NEW RULE.

The National Executive, during the past year, have been called on by various local parties for advice as to the application of the New Rule, and for an interpretation of the terms of the rule which is now Clause 9 in the Constitution of the Party.

The Clause, as it stands, is as follows :—

CONDITION OF ELIGIBILITY OF DELEGATES FROM CONSTITUENT BODIES TO EITHER LOCAL LABOUR PARTIES OR TO ANY NATIONAL OR LOCAL CONFERENCE OF THE LABOUR PARTY.

(*a*) *Every person nominated to serve as a delegate shall individually accept the Constitution and principles of the Labour Party.*

(*b*) *No person shall be eligible as a delegate who is a member of any organisation having for one of its objects the return to Parliament or to any Local Governing Authority of a candidate or candidates other than such as have been endorsed by the Labour Party, or have been approved as running in association with the Labour Party.**

The National Executive felt that they could only interpret the rule in the light of the decisions of the last two Annual Conferences. These decisions declared that the Communist Party and its branches were ineligible for affiliation to the Labour Party nationally or locally because of a fundamental difference in the basis of the Communist Party and the Labour Party, and that therefore members of the Communist Party could not consistently subscribe to the constitution and programme of the Labour Party as required by the constitution. The National Executive therefore decided that in their opinion members of the Communist Party are not eligible to serve as delegates to or to become individual members of the local affiliated organisations of the Party, and further, that if this interpretation is not satisfactory the matter can only be dealt with at a future Annual Conference.

* In response to a subsequent recommendation by the Executive Committee the Annual Conference agreed to the deletion of paragraph (b).

THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

On February 26, 1923, a letter from Mr. Thomas Bell, Political Secretary of the Communist Party of Great Britain, was received applying to the Executive Committee to accept the Communist Party of Great Britain as an affiliated body to the Labour Party. This letter was considered by the National Executive at their meeting on March 29, when the following resolution was passed: "That in the opinion of this Executive Committee they cannot recede from the position taken up by the Annual Conference of the Party in Edinburgh in June, 1922, and that the renewed application for affiliation cannot therefore be entertained."

It was further resolved by the National Executive that the application for affiliation from the Communist Party be reported to the London Conference, with a recommendation from the National Executive that the application be not accepted.

SOUTH SHIELDS CANDIDATURE.

The reference from the last Annual Conference on the above matter, in relation to the New Rule, was taken up by the National Executive, who were also approached by the National Sailors' and Firemen's Union as to their position under the New Rule. At the request of that Union a deputation consisting of Mr. E. Cathery, General Secretary, and six other members of their Executive, was received at the House of Commons on Thursday, March 8, by representatives of the National Executive, the Secretary, Mr. Arthur Henderson, M.P., presiding. A statement was made by Mr. E. Cathery with regard to the operation of the New Rule, and also raising the position of the Labour Party in relation to the candidature of Mr. J. Havelock Wilson, the President of their Union, at South Shields. Mr. Arthur Henderson, M.P., replied on behalf of the National Executive, and stated that the differences of the Sailors' and Firemen's Union with other industrial organisations must be settled by the Trades Union Congress, and was not a matter for the Executive of the Party. Mr. Henderson pointed out that their Union brought them under the operation of the New Rule by their financial support of Mr. J. Havelock Wilson as a candidate under the auspices of a party other than the Labour Party. The whole crux of the position was the attitude of the Union with regard to Mr. J. Havelock Wilson, their President. If Mr. Wilson was not financed by their Union, he could continue his Parliamentary career under whatever auspices he choose. He had, however, consistently refused to join the Labour Party, and yet his elections were financed by one of our affiliated organisations. Exceptions to the constitution could not be made in the case of individuals, or in the case of particular Unions, and as soon as the Sailors' and Firemen's Union regularised the position with regard to their President or any other candidate there would be no difficulty with regard to the New Rule or the constitution of the Party. After some further discussion the deputation expressed themselves as gratified at the way in which they had been received and the clear statement of the position, and it was agreed that the statement by Mr. Henderson should be submitted to their Union in writing. A letter containing the statement was sent to Mr. Cathery on March 28, and was acknowledged by him with the statement that the letter would be laid before his Executive Council at their next meeting. So far no further reply has been received.

PROPOSED REDUCTION OF INTEREST PAYABLE ON WAR LOAN STOCK.

It will be remembered that resolutions on this subject, submitted to the Edinburgh Conference, were referred to the Party Executive with a view to a report being presented to the forthcoming Conference. The whole question has been thoroughly considered by an Advisory Committee, which presented a memorandum to the Party Executive. This was subsequently approved and appears as Appendix VII. to the present Report.

DEPUTATIONS, ETC.

During the year Mr. Sidney Webb, M.P., attended the Southport Trades Union Congress as fraternal delegate on behalf of the Party; Mr. Arthur Henderson, M.P., represented the Executive at the Conference of the National Labour Housing Association, also held at Southport; Mr. R. J. Davies, M.P., represented the Party at the Peace Congress held in London in July; and Mr. F. B. Farr conveyed the Party's good wishes to the Annual Conference of the Trade Union Approved Societies held in Manchester in March.

Mr. Sidney Webb, M.P., gave evidence on behalf of the Party before the Royal Commission on Exchequer Grants and the Royal Commission on London Government, and also formed part of a deputation to the Home Secretary with respect to the legal position of Unmarried Mothers and their Children.

Dr. Ethel Bentham and the Secretary were members of a deputation which waited upon the late Prime Minister for the purpose of urging legislation on Equal Citizenship.

LABOUR MAGISTRATES.

Considerable correspondence has passed between the Head Office and the Lord Chancellor's Office with respect to the various proposals for appointments of Labour Magistrates put forward by Local Labour organisations throughout the country. A certain measure of success has been achieved, though it cannot be claimed that working-class representation, either on the Advisory Committees responsible for recommending appointments or on the Borough and County Benches, is at all adequate to existing necessities.

In accordance with a resolution adopted at the Edinburgh Conference, Mr. Sidney Webb, M.P., Miss A. Susan Lawrence, L.C.C., Mr. F. O. Roberts, M.P., and Dr. Marion Phillips, with J. S. Middleton (Assistant Secretary), waited upon the Lord Chancellor (Viscount Cave) for the purpose of stressing the case for more adequate representation of Labour on Advisory Committees, and the appointment of an increased number of Labour Magistrates. A memorandum dealing with some of the worst cases of delay was presented, and representations are being continued.

LABOUR AND THE DRINK PROBLEM.

It will be remembered that at the Edinburgh Conference a series of resolutions dealing with Labour policy on the Drink Question was referred to the Executive, with a view to a report on the subject being presented to the forthcoming Conference. The Executive appointed a Special Committee, which received evidence from representatives of various interests concerned with the trade and its reform, and its report and recommendations presented to the Executive at its meeting in June have been issued as a separate document and circulated to affiliated organisations.*

* "Labour and the Liquor Trade," 3d., post free 4d.

DEATHS.

The past year witnessed the death of Frederic Harrison, one of the pioneering friends of Trade Unionism, who rendered great service to that group of workmen familiarly known as "The Junta," of whom only Robert Applegarth now remains to mark the harvest that has followed their labours. In the late sixties and early seventies of last century they wrought arduously and successfully for the legal recognition of Trade Unionism. In these days, when Labour finds friends in all ranks, it is difficult fully to realise the value that the association of an accomplished publicist like Frederic Harrison meant to the working-class movement in its early struggles. His later life was spent in other fields —the companionship of his books affording him his main delight. He was a great Victorian, exceptional in his association with the Trade Unions' unpopular cause at the very peak of its unpopularity, and, although he had little or no sympathy with organised Labour's direct entry into politics, new and old Trade Unionists alike held him in the highest regard.

The rejoicings that greeted our Parliamentary successes at the General Election were echoed by regrets for the death of two of our victorious Members—J. N. Bell (Newcastle West) and C. J. Mathew (Whitechapel, St. George's). J. N. Bell was a devoted supporter of the Independent Labour Party and the Labour Representation Committee in the days before the Labour Party came to be, and although his work lay very largely in the industrial field in connection with the National Amalgamated Union of Labour, which he fostered and brought to success, he was a steady propagandist for our cause. His wise, thoughtful counsel will be missed in Trade Union circles, and it is a regret to all his friends that after winning a Parliamentary seat while lying on a sick bed, he was not spared to bring the influence of that same quiet thoughtfulness and deliberate utterance into the discussions of the Parliamentary Party or the debates in the House of Commons.

C. J. Mathew, K.C., was a much more recent supporter of our Party, but one who brought a keen, well-informed mind and a mellow genial spirit to the tasks he had made his own. When he died, the London poor and the Service pensioner lost a good friend, and Labour a most assiduous worker and adviser.

Within the last few weeks the Parliamentary Party has suffered a further loss by the sudden death of John Cairns, who, following his colleague, the late Thomas Burt, in the representation of Morpeth, brought to the Commons a similar knowledge of mining and Trade Union affairs and an industrious interest in his political work, as well as a kindly personality that won him hosts of friends.

Within recent months our comrades of the Social Democratic Party have lost two of their early pioneers—Herbert Burrows and Hunter Watts. Their more active years were almost spent when our Party had taken shape; but, linking our days with William Morris and his circle, they lived to see some promise of their work fulfilled. More tragic than their passing, full of years, however, is that of Mrs. Rosalind Travers Hyndman. After comforting the later years of the oldest and most active of the Social Democrats, she found life lonely when he died, and went out quite calmly, leaving with her friends regretful memories of a gracious lady whose personal devotion made her lot too grievous to be borne.

Another lady whose life meant much to women, though lived in quiet ways, was Clementina Black. Though not directly active in connection with our political work, she helped to lay the foundations of the Women's

Trade Union Movement, and her years of social investigation and patient recording of women's industrial conditions have been great gain to those who have sought to raise womanhood to the full height of citizenship.

More than one section of our Movement will mourn the death of Will Johnson, in recent years best known as the President of the National Union of Theatrical Employees, and formerly its Secretary. Associated with the Shop Assistants' Union in its early days, he was an active Socialist from his youth up, and was elected to the first National Administrative Council of the Independent Labour Party, under Keir Hardie's chairmanship, at the Bradford Conference in 1893.

John Williams, M.P., gained a place of his own in the South Wales Miners' Movement, and held the Gower constituency as an impregnable stronghold for Labour from 1910 until his death.

T. H. Otley, for many years Secretary of the Plasterers' Union, met with a tragic death by drowning while on holiday last summer, and in addition to the loss sustained by his organisation, the London Trade Union Movement generally has been deprived of a keen worker.

The same tribute can also be paid to Louis Leckie, late secretary of the Upholsterers' Union, who passed away after a painful illness.

Locally as well as nationally our Movement has suffered the loss of some of the more active and brighter spirits—in Bradford, Tom Brown; in Leicester, J. W. Murby; in West London, Harry Springfield—to mention but a few—and of all, like so many of the elders in our ranks for whom "the Movement" has been the dominating influence in their lives, it can be said that their work has smoothed the way and made straighter the path for the younger generations of to-day and to-morrow.

Sidney Webb (*Chairman*).
J. Ramsay MacDonald (*Vice-Chairman and Treasurer*).

C. G. Ammon.	F. W. Jowett.
F. H. Bell.	Geo. Lansbury.
Ethel Bentham.	A. Susan Lawrence.
A. G. Cameron.	Herbert Morrison.
J. R. Clynes.	F. O. Roberts.
C. T. Cramp.	J. Sexton.
R. J. Davies.	Ben C. Spoor.
M. B. Farr.	M. J. Symons.
Frank Hodges.	F. B. Varley.
W. H. Hutchinson.	Robert Williams.
Morgan Jones.	Arthur Henderson (*Secretary*).

THE LABOUR PARTY

Statement of Accounts

for year ending December 31st, 1922.

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS

GENERAL

RECEIPTS.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Balance brought forward, January 1, 1922		23033 3 6
AFFILIATION FEES :—		
Labour Parties and Trades Councils	829 9 10	
Trades Unions and Socialist Societies	41841 9 2	
		42670 19 0
DONATIONS to Party Funds		19 0 0
Memorial of Freedom and Peace. (Refund by Trades Union Congress General Council on closing Account)		82 6 3
Sale of Waste Paper		42 4 4
Repayment of £150 " A " Woolwich Equitable Building Society Shares matured		231 0 0
DIVIDENDS :—		
Woolwich Equitable Building Society	9 15 0	
Co-operative Printing Society, Ltd.	6 0 0	
		15 15 0
Co-operative Wholesale Society Bank :—		
Interest on Current Account	220 13 11	
Less Commission charged on same	27 18 1	
		192 15 10

Carried forward £66287 3 11

Year Ending December 31st, 1922

ACCOUNT

PAYMENTS.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
ORGANISATION :—			
NATIONAL ORGANISERS :—			
Salaries and Expenses		10738 6 7	
PROPAGANDISTS :—			
Salaries and Expenses		1847 19 6	
General Organisation Expenses		829 10 11	
Grants to Local Labour Parties re Agents' Salaries		5520 5 4	
SCOTTISH ORGANISATION :—			
Council Expenses	57 4 4		
General Organisation Expenses	565 5 1		
		622 9 5	
			19558 11 9
ANNUAL CONFERENCES :—			
Edinburgh	1930 18 10		
Less Delegates' Fees received	201 5 0		
		1729 13 10	
Leamington (Women's Conference) ...	167 8 0		
Less Delegates' Fees received	47 11 0		
		119 17 0	
			1849 10 10
Executive Committee Members' Expenses			646 1 4
Grants to the *Daily Herald*			12500 0 0
Grants to National Departments Account (Controlled jointly by the Trades Union Congress and the Labour Party)			6000 0 0
Government of Greater London Conference			138 18 0
INTERNATIONAL :—			
Affiliation Fees, Second International (1921)		240 0 0	
World Peace Conference, The Hague. Delegates' Expenses		136 8 8	
Fraternal Delegates to various Continental Parties ...		138 0 6	
			514 9 2
Legal Retainer (Fee)			55 0 0
Parliamentary Party Office Expenses			114 8 10
Repairs and Alterations (including redecorating premises)...			738 8 10
OFFICE FURNITURE :—			
Addressograph Machine, Typewriters, Rotary Duplicator, &c.			469 9 1
Carried forward ...			£42584 17 10

Statement of Accounts

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	66287	3	11

	£66287 3 11

LITERATURE

RECEIPTS.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
ORGANISATION :—						
Application Forms	22	18	9			
Canvass Cards	192	10	6			
Constitution and Rules	13	2	10			
Election Forms Parcels	283	14	4			
Polling District Committees	1	3	9			
Posters	1875	8	3			
Secretary's Box	37	8	0			
Street Boxes and Trap Timers	20	15	0			
				2447	1	5
PROPAGANDA :—						
Leaflets	3515	12	0			
Pamphlets	517	2	4½			
				4032	14	4½
REPORTS :—						
Southport Conference (1919)	1	8	6			
Scarborough ,, (1920)	1	10	0			
Brighton ,, (1921)	95	2	5			
Edinburgh ,, (1922)	205	0	1			
Irish (Nos. 1 and 2)	7	1	1			
Russian Delegation	10	1	6			
				320	3	7
Local Government Handbook				45	12	5
Bulletin				0	19	6
"Labour News Service" (1921)				169	10	7
"Labour Woman"				1034	0	9
Labour Year Book (1916)				1	4	8
Secondary Education				65	3	3
Speaker's Handbook				338	19	1
Voting Records (1921)				3	0	0
Subscriptions for Literature				9	3	6
				8467	13	1½
*DEBIT BALANCE carried to General Account				5362	3	5
				£13829	16	6½

Year Ending December 31st, 1922 (Continued)

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Brought forward ...				42584	17	10
GENERAL OFFICE EXPENSES :—						
Addressograph	32	11	4			
Auditors' Expenses	31	11	8			
Cheque Stamps	12	18	4			
Heating	366	0	6			
Insurance :—						
Employers' Liability, Fire, Burglary	124	8	0			
Employers' Contribution Staff Health and Unemployment	55	7	1½			
Lighting	59	14	1			
Postages	853	6	4½			
Rent, Rates, Taxes	486	19	2			
Salaries, Wages, Overtime	11007	9	1½			
Stationery	535	5	3			
Telegrams	73	19	6½			
Telephone	135	11	6			
Miscellaneous—Printing, Departmental Expenses and Office Sundries	593	0	10			
				14368	2	10
*Debit Balance from Literature Account				5362	3	5
Balance at Co-operative Wholesale Society Bank ...				3971	19	10
				£66287	3	11

ACCOUNT

PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
ORGANISATION :—						
Application Forms	20	11	6			
Constitution and Rules	12	0	0			
Posters	2263	4	4			
Secretary's Box	4	2	3			
				2299	18	1
PROPAGANDA :—						
Leaflets	5121	12	0			
Pamphlets	756	4	6½			
Special, General Election Manifesto, etc.	2479	15	2			
				8357	11	8½
REPORTS, ETC. :—						
Edinburgh (1922)				520	7	10
Local Government Handbook				11	7	6
"Labour News Service" (1921)				188	11	11
"Labour Woman"				1276	12	1
Labour Year Book (1916)				10	0	3
"Secondary Education"				284	14	9
Speaker's Handbook				340	1	9
Cost of Advertising Literature				23	8	9
Carriage and Packing Literature				517	1	11

* The excess of expenditure over receipts on Literature Account (amounting to £5,362 3s. 5d.) is explained as follows: the cost of the Manifesto, Notes for Speakers, etc., during the General Election was £2,479 15s. 2d., whilst the balance (£2,882 8s. 3d.) is more than covered by stocks of current literature in hand on December 31, 1922. These, written down 30 per cent., equalled £5,361. In addition, outstanding accounts on the same date for literature sold amounted to £730 12s. 11d.

£13829 16 6½

INVESTMENTS.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
WOOLWICH EQUITABLE BUILDING SOCIETY. (Late Miss Mary Chambers' bequest.)						
3 £50 "C" Shares fully paid				150	0	0
LEICESTER CO-OPERATIVE PRINTING SOCIETY LTD.						
20 £1 Shares	20	0	0			
Loan Account (Accumulated Dividends and Interest)	194	18	2			
				214	18	2
				£364	18	2

AUDITORS' REPORT.

We have examined the Books and Vouchers and verified balances in connection with the 1922 Accounts. We have, also, examined the Deeds and Documents relating to the Leases of Nos. 33 and 34, Eccleston Square, London, S.W. We hereby certify that they are correct and that the Financial Statement as printed in this Report shows the position of the Party on 31st December, 1922.

ROBERT YOUNG.
WM. B. SMALL. } *Auditors.*

March 29, 1923.

TRADES UNION CONGRESS
AND
THE LABOUR PARTY

National Joint Departments

Statement of Accounts
for year ending December 31st, 1922

TRADES UNION CONGRESS & THE LABOUR PARTY

Statement of Accounts

RECEIPTS.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
To grants from National Bodies—		
General Council, Trades Union Congress	4000 0 0	
Executive Committee, Labour Party	4000 0 0	
		8000 0 0
,, Parliamentary Voting Records Supplied		35 4 8
,, Literature Sales—		
"Labour Magazine"	325 5 8	
"Labour News Service" (for local editions) ...	398 2 0	
Pamphlets	20 15 5	
		744 3 1
,, Interest on Co-operative Bank Account	11 17 11	
Less Commission charged by Bank	4 8 8	
		7 9 3
		£8786 17 0

NATIONAL JOINT COUNCIL

RECEIPTS.	£ s. d.
To Grant from the General Council of the Trades Union Congress ...	100 0 0
,, Grant from the Executive Committee of the Labour Party	100 0 0
,, Delegates' Fees received, Unemployment Conference, Memorial Hall, December 8, 1921	32 7 6
	£232 7 6

NATIONAL JOINT DEPARTMENTS

January 1st to July 31st, 1922

EXPENDITURE.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
By Departmental Expenses—		
International—		
Salaries, Wages, Overtime, and Miscellaneous ...	559 13 2	
Sub-Committee Members	25 3 6	
Conferences, Delegation Abroad, etc.	504 4 11	
		1089 1 7
,, Press and Publicity—		
Salaries, Wages, Overtime, and Miscellaneous ...	969 18 0	
Sub-Committee Members	54 14 3	
		1024 12 3
,, Research and Information—		
Salaries, Wages, Overtime, and Miscellaneous ...	1935 13 5	
Sub-Committee Members	39 14 9	
		1975 8 2
,, General Expenses—		
Furnishing (all Departments)	372 13 2	
Miscellaneous Printing	48 2 9	
Stationery	138 7 11	
Postages	314 4 4	
Staff, Health and Unemployment Insurance Stamps	12 1 11½	
Office Sundries	66 6 11½	
Cheque Stamps	5 12 6	
		957 9 7
,, Literature—		
"Labour Magazine"	536 7 0	
"Labour News Service"	1073 4 3	
Pamphlets	183 9 3	
		1793 0 6
,, Balance at Co-operative Bank		1947 4 11
		£8786 17 0

Audited and found correct, August 9, 1922.

D. R. GRENFELL
ROBERT YOUNG } Auditors.

Statement of Accounts, period ending July 31st, 1922

PAYMENTS.	£ s. d.
By Expenses of Unemployment Conference, Memorial Hall, December 8, 1921	50 12 8
,, Hire of Committee Rooms, Central Hall, January, 1922	4 18 6
,, Miscellaneous Printing	33 2 0
,, Council Members' Fares and Expenses	118 2 10
,, Balance at Bank	25 11 6
	£232 7 6

Audited and found correct, August 9, 1922.

D. R. GRENFELL
ROBERT YOUNG } Auditors.

TRADES UNION CONGRESS & THE LABOUR PARTY

Statement of Accounts

RECEIPTS.

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
To Balance brought forward August 1, 1922		1947 4 11
„ Grants from :		
General Council, Trades Union Congress	2000 0 0	
Executive Committee, Labour Party	2000 0 0	
		4000 0 0
„ National Joint Council :		
Bank account closed and balance transferred to National Joint Departments' account		25 11 6
„ Sales of Literature, etc.		
Pamphlets		103 10 8
Leaflets		774 11 7
"The Labour Magazine"		441 5 6
"The Labour Press Service" for Local Editions ...		1165 14 1
Parliamentary Voting Records Supplied		125 15 6
„ Interest allowed by Co-operative Wholesale Society Bank	13 4 1	
Less Commission charged	6 3 10	
		7 0 3
		£8590 14 0

NATIONAL JOINT DEPARTMENTS

August 1st to December 31st, 1922

EXPENDITURE.

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
By Departmental Expenses :—		
International :		
Salaries, Wages, Overtime	454 6 9	
Sub-Committee Members' Expenses	25 0 6	
Sundry Departmental Expenses	20 2 9	
		499 10 0
,, Press and Publicity :		
Salaries, Wages, Overtime	942 17 11	
Sub-Committee Members' Expenses	4 5 0	
Newspapers, Periodicals and Sundries	58 0 1	
		1005 3 0
,, Research and Information :		
Salaries, Wages, Overtime	1543 9 3½	
Sub-Committee Members' Expenses	67 17 1	
Newspapers, Periodicals and Sundries	118 6 2	
		1729 12 6½
,, General Expenses :		
Auditors' Expenses	7 1 0	
Insurance (Employers' Contribution—Health and Unemployment)	27 1 8	
Postages	238 5 7	
Stationery	35 4 6	
Telegrams and Cables	16 10 11½	
Miscellaneous Printing, Carriage and Sundries...	37 14 4	
		361 18 0½
,, Repairs, Alterations, Redecorating and Furnishing Joint Departments' Offices		494 12 8
,, Purchase and Installation of Departmental Intercommunicating Telephones		590 12 6
,, National Joint Council :		
"Daily Herald" (Expenses Incurred when Movement assumed control)	62 19 3	
Cables to Dominions	16 3 2	
Council Members' Expenses	28 18 6	
Miscellaneous Printing	7 15 8	
		115 16 7
,, Literature, Etc. :		
Pamphlets		564 12 0
Leaflets		71 17 6
"The Labour Magazine"		957 19 4
"The Labour Press Service"		799 18 4
,, Balance at Co-operative Wholesale Society Bank ...		1399 1 6
		£8590 14 0

Audited and found correct, May 29, 1923.

H. H. ELVIN
ROBERT YOUNG } Auditors.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE ATTENDANCES.

The Executive Committee met on 22 occasions between June, 1922, and June, 1923. The following were the attendances of the various members:—

Sidney Webb, M.P. (*Chairman*)	22
J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P. ... ... (*Vice-Chairman & Treasurer*)	13
C. G. Ammon, M.P.	17
Mrs. F. H. Bell	21
Dr. Ethel Bentham	16
A. G. Cameron	10
J. R. Clynes, M.P.	17
C. T. Cramp	14
R. J. Davies, M.P.	17
M. B. Farr	17
Frank Hodges	9
W. H. Hutchinson	20
Morgan Jones, M.P.	18
F. W. Jowett, M.P.	19
Geo. Lansbury, M.P.	22
Miss A. Susan Lawrence, L.C.C.	17
Herbert Morrison	19
F. O. Roberts, M.P.	20
J. Sexton, M.P.	18
*Ben C. Spoor, M.P.	7
Miss M. J. Symons	11
F. B. Varley	10
Robert Williams	13

* Absent through illness.

PARLIAMENTARY REPORT.

Session 1922.

At the beginning of the new Parliament on November 23, 1922, the Party met for the election of officers and for the consideration of policy in the newly elected House.

Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald was elected Chairman and Leader; Mr. J. R. Clynes, Deputy Leader; Messrs. Stephen Walsh and J. C. Wedgwood, Vice-Chairmen; Mr. Arthur Henderson, Chief Whip, and Mr. Ben Spoor, Acting Chief Whip; and Messrs F. Hall, C. G. Ammon, W. Lunn, Neil McLean, J. Robertson, T. Griffiths, and Morgan Jones, Junior Whips.

Although Mr. Arthur Henderson was defeated at the General Election the Party unanimously decided to elect him Chief Whip, in the hope that before long he would secure re-election—a hope that was realised shortly afterwards.

The Party made an early claim to be regarded as the Opposition, carrying with it the exclusive occupation of the Front Opposition Bench. The Speaker, however, ruled that he must take into account the existence of other parties in opposition, and it was ultimately decided that the major portion of the Front Bench should be allocated to the Labour Party, which should be regarded as the chief Opposition.

Mr. J. T. Walton Newbold, the successful Communist candidate for Motherwell, applied to receive the Party whips, but the Party decided that, in view of the Conference decision with respect to the Communist Party, Mr. Newbold's request could not be conceded.

THE KING'S SPEECH.

The King's Speech referred to the new constitution of the Irish Free State, and the legislation necessary for giving effect to it. Mention was made of the state of trade and employment, and the fact that the ameliorative measures prepared by the late Government were being examined afresh. Reference was also made to the Lausanne Conference, and the hope expressed that its labours would result in a settlement of the difficulties in the Near East.

On the first day, the Chairman referred to the questions mentioned in the Speech, and strongly criticised the inadequate reference to unemployment, and this was followed by thirteen further speeches from the Labour Benches, mainly on this question.

Later the following official Party Amendment was moved :—

> "But regret that, in face of unexampled unemployment, largely the result of four years of mistaken policy, for which the Government as the dominant part in the late Coalition is responsible, there is no proposal for an adequate or equitable treatment of the victims of that policy, including full recognition of what is entirely a national obligation, nor any indication of a change to enable our European customers to buy our goods again and so restore international trade and stabilise international exchange."

Labour speakers emphasised the need for drastic changes in foreign and home policies in order to cope with the problem of unemployment, and urged the necessity for the State accepting full responsibility instead of throwing the main burden on the Local Authorities in whose area unemployment was acute.

The Government's reply announced nothing new in the way of policy. Further money was to be voted for roads, etc.; the Trade

Facilities Act was to be continued for another year, and that was practically all. The Amendment was accordingly pressed to a division after two days' debate, and it received 174 votes as against 303. This was the first division in the new Parliament.

The Party also tabled Amendments on Housing, Workmen's Compensation, etc., but no time was available for their discussion.

The Party supported an Independent Liberal Amendment in favour of the repeal of the Safeguarding of Industries Act and of all other protective measures which are raising prices, hampering trade and limiting employment; and also supported a National Liberal Amendment on Agriculture which, in calling for an inquiry, referred to the low wages paid to the agricultural labourer.

IRISH FREE STATE (CONSTITUTION) BILL.

In the following week this Bill was taken and speedily passed, the spokesmen of the Party expressing the hope that the measure would bring a spirit of happiness and co-operation between the two countries.

TRADE FACILITIES AND LOANS GUARANTEE BILL.

This Bill was introduced as part of the Government's proposals on unemployment. It provided for the continuance of the original Act for another year, and increased the total amount which might be guaranteed by another 25 millions. It also contained a provision for a loan to Austria. The Party supported the Bill for what it was worth, but moved Amendments to secure adequate Parliamentary supervision over the administration of the Act as regards the granting of guarantees, and to provide that the Advisory Committee should state in its Report the reasons for rejecting any application for a guarantee. The opinion was expressed that the Advisory Committee kept too much in view the question of security for the guarantee instead of giving first importance to the possibilities of providing employment. The Amendments were defeated and the Bill was passed.

UNEMPLOYMENT ESTIMATE.

A Supplementary Estimate in respect of relief arising out of unemployment amounting to £1,070,000 was introduced, and the Party moved an Amendment to reduce this amount, this being the only way of censuring the Government's lack of policy. A full and keen debate took place, and the Government's reply being unsatisfactory the Amendment was divided upon. It received 125 votes as against 213.

Other supplementary estimates were introduced, and on every possible occasion the Party raised the question of unemployment, and protested vigorously against the Government's decision to prorogue Parliament from December 15 to February 13, 1923, resulting in an all-night sitting, the House rising at seven o'clock in the morning.

IMPORTATION OF ANIMALS BILL.

This Bill to remove the embargo on the importation of cattle was introduced and passed with the support of the Party.

MINING INDUSTRY.

On the Second Reading of the Consolidated Fund Bill the Party initiated a debate on the state of the mining industry and the poverty and distress existing amongst miners and their families, and pressed for a full inquiry. The Prime Minister's reply was to the effect that at the moment he could not grant the inquiry desired, but that if conditions did not improve he would be willing to consider the matter again.

GENERAL.

Debates took place on reparations and inter-Allied debts, the detention of ex-Service men in Lunatic Asylums, etc., and altogether the first Session of the new Parliament was a very busy three weeks and won much credit for the Party.

Session 1923.

KING'S SPEECH.

The King's Speech referred to the occupation of the Ruhr—an operation which the Government "while feeling unable either to concur or participate in were acting in such a way as not to add to the difficulties of the Allies"; regret was expressed at the temporary failure of the Lausanne Conference on the Near East; the state of unemployment continued to cause the deepest concern, but the increase in overseas trade gave grounds for confidence in the future; some of the difficulties confronting the agricultural industry were to be alleviated by granting credit facilities; the anomalies and inequalities of the present system of local taxation called for reform; and measures dealing with unemployment insurance, housing, Trade Boards, industrial assurance, rent and legal procedure were promised.

The Leader of the Party took the earliest opportunity on the first day of raising such questions as unemployment, housing and rent, foreign affairs and the occupation of the Ruhr, and several other Labour speeches followed. The following was the first official Party Amendment to the Address in answer :—

> "But, recognising the present grave and dangerous condition of affairs in Europe and the Near East to be a certain source of future wars and a serious aggravation of unemployment and reduced wages in Great Britain, regret the absence of any indication of policy upon these affairs which will check the progressive economic ruin of Europe, which contemplates an all-round cancellation of international war-debts as an essential part of a workable general settlement, which will make the League of Nations representative of all peoples and employ it both for conciliation and arbitration in pressing and critical matters like the occupation of the Ruhr, and also for reconsideration at the earliest moment of the clauses, especially the economic ones, of the Peace Treaties which, whilst they operate, will defy the efforts of all Governments for economic reconstruction and peace."

After a debate lasting two days, the Amendment was pressed to a division, the figures being 180 for and 277 against :—

The following Amendment was also moved :—

> "But regret that, in view of the widespread dissatisfaction which exists among ex-Service men and the dependants of those who died as the result of War Service regarding the provisions of the Royal Warrant and the War Pensions Acts, the unsympathetic administration of the Pensions Ministry and the curtailment of the responsibilities of Local Committees, no reference is made to the institution of a thorough inquiry by a Select Committee to consider what action is necessary to secure the full discharge of the solemn obligations entered into with those who suffered injury or death in the service of the country during the Great War."

In the division 176 supported the Amendment, and 307 opposed.

Further Amendments were tabled on the following subjects, but could not be moved :—

The position of education resulting from a policy of false economy; failure of the Government to honour the Washington Convention on hours of labour; equality in the franchise; workmen's compensation; rating of land values; recolonisation of Scotland; and the Party supported a Liberal Amendment deprecating the occupation of the Ruhr, and declaring that the question of reparations should be referred to the League of Nations, and that the United States should be invited to participate.

RENT RESTRICTIONS (NOTICES OF INCREASE) BILL.

The first Bill introduced by the Government was one arising out of the decision of the Courts with respect to the invalidity of increases in rent where no notice to quit was served. The Bill proposed that as from December 1, 1922, any sum received by way of increase in rent, although no notice to quit was served, should be legal, and also that any sums paid in such circumstances by a tenant before that date should not be recoverable.

The Party vigorously opposed the Bill in all its stages. In Committee numerous amendments were moved and the proceedings were prolonged. Attempts were made to remove the retrospective application of the Bill, to alter the operative date, and to make all sorts of exceptions in favour of the tenant, but the Government majority was kept intact, and the Bill passed without any substantial alteration.

On the Third Reading the Party moved :—

> "That this House cannot assent to the Third Reading of a Bill which is a specially objectionable example of retrospective legislation, is inequitable both in its relief and its penalties, and is calculated to undermine public confidence."

And in the division 169 voted for this, and 286 for the Bill.

RENT CONTROL.

The Government have had very great difficulty in deciding upon a policy with regard to rents. In the course of the by-election at Mitcham, at which the then Minister of Health was the Government candidate, various and conflicting announcements were made, contributing materially to the success of the Labour candidate.

The Government have just produced their Bill to continue the Rent Act, and in order to give Parliament more time to discuss it, a small measure to continue the Act until July 31 has been passed. The Party intend to examine the Government's Bill very thoroughly, and to exercise every pressure in the interests of tenants, believing that the control of rents must be maintained until the shortage in housing accommodation has been removed.

SECURITY AND REPARATIONS.

On February 26, after very careful consideration of the menacing situation in the Ruhr, the Party placed the following Motion on the Paper, and asked for time for its discussion :—

> "That this House, believing that the peoples of Europe wish to maintain peace and pursue a policy which will secure it, agrees to invite in the first instance the Chambers of France and Belgium each to appoint a representative Committee from all political sections, in order to exchange information and views with a similar committee appointed by this House regarding the occupation of the Ruhr in relation to the problems of security and reparations."

It was moved on March 6, but the Government did not regard it with favour. In the hope, however, that some change in circumstances

might induce the Government to reconsider their attitude the Motion was not pressed to a division, as a hostile vote would have had a prejudicial effect.

Failing for the time being in getting representatives of the respective Parliaments together, the Party then invited the Labour and Socialist Parliamentary Parties of France, Belgium, and Italy to join in a Conference to discuss policy. This Conference was eventually held in Paris on March 20, and the following Resolution was carried :—

"That this Conference of representatives of the Labour and Socialist Parties in the Parliaments of France, Great Britain, Belgium and Italy declares :—

1. That a solution of the problems of reparations and national security is necessary in order that a peaceful policy of European reconstruction may be pursued, but that behind that solution there must be no concealed intention of a political character like territorial annexation or the artificial creation of buffer States;
2. That the present policy in the Ruhr offers no solution of either of the above problems and, if pursued to its inevitable crisis, will increase the political and economic dangers which now beset the European nations;
3. That the amour-propre of all Governments is putting obstacles in the way of negotiations;
4. That this Conference, therefore, appoints a delegation of four, one from each Parliamentary Party, to meet the German Social Democratic Party and discuss with them;
   (a) An adaptation to present needs of the Frankfort Reparation plans;
   (b) The conditions under which national security can be attained;
5. That this Conference adjourns till March 29, when it will meet again and receive a report from the delegation."

The delegation appointed proceeded to Berlin, and the Conference again met in Paris on March 29 and 30 to receive their report. They brought back a document setting forth proposals of the Social Democratic Parties in the Reichstag, and it was decided by the Conference that these proposals should be submitted privately to the respective Governments in the hope that they would lead to official negotiations. Shortly afterwards, however, the German Government submitted proposals which were made public, and the Party by Resolution urged that they be taken as a basis for negotiations.

On March 13 a discussion arose on this question, and the Government majority was reduced to 48. Again on March 28 the question was raised, and the Leader of the Party asked the Government to make our own position in regard to trade perfectly clear, to declare its attitude towards the statements made by the German Foreign Minister, to ask France quite definitely and in a friendly way what her policy was, and what she proposed to get from her continued occupation of the Ruhr, and to make it clear that although France had gone to the Ruhr without the consent of Great Britain, this did not give her any additional rights under the Treaty of Versailles, nor destroy any British rights under the Treaty.

In reply to the German Note the French and Belgian Governments issued a separate Note declaring that the German proposals were totally unacceptable. The action of the French and Belgian Governments in taking independent action was unfavourably commented upon in the House of Commons, and later the British Government issued a Note of

a more conciliatory tone expressing the hope that the German Government would produce proposals more calculated to lead to a settlement.

Prior to the dispatch of the British Note the Party passed and published the following Resolution :—

"That the Parliamentary Labour Party declares, regarding the occupation of the Ruhr and the position of affairs in Central Europe":—

1. That no settlement can be reached which proceeds upon the assumption that Germany should be dismembered still further, that German sovereignty over German territory and people should be limited by outside authority, and that it should be kept permanently in a state of economic vassalage.
2. That the immediate need is a definite fixing of German financial responsibilities, to be followed at once by the flotation of international loans secured upon German resources so as to enable restoration payments to be made without further delay to France and Belgium;
3. That a special session of the League of Nations should be immediately summoned to arrange for the admission of Germany as a member, and to proceed to settle conditions of national security in Europe, the Allies and Associated Governments concurrently negotiating final agreements regarding debts and the distribution of indemnities and other assignments under the Treaty of Versailles. In the event of this complete agreement being negotiated, and in order to give Europe a fair start in peace and reconstruction, the Party declares that this country should be prepared to take a generous attitude regarding debts, mandates and forfeited property, not only because such an attitude is morally required, but also because continued unsettlement and a sense of injustice are ruinous to trade, provocative of war, and dangerous to civil liberty and constitutional reform.
4. The Party without committing itself to all the details of the proposals of the German Government, believes that it affords a basis for negotiation between the German and Allied Governments, and urges upon the British Government to issue a statement at once to the above effect and to promote a conference between the parties concerned.
5. The Party also considers that the time has now come for a complete withdrawal of the troops of occupation, and that if that is not agreed to by the Allies our Government should seriously consider the immediate withdrawal of the British troops."

The Party in conjunction with its colleagues in the French, Belgian and Italian Parliaments has struggled very hard to open the way to a real peace, and it hopes that even yet its efforts will be productive of good.

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE BILL.

The Minister of Labour introduced another Unemployment Insurance Bill to provide for further periods for the payment of Unemployment benefit. The Bill was good so far as it went, and therefore was not opposed. Amendments were moved to abolish the gaps, to remove the present restrictions on the payment of uncovenanted benefit, to remove the disqualification of Aliens, to provide for the payment of benefit to workers thrown out of employment by a dispute in which they are not concerned, etc. These were all successfully resisted by the Government, and the Bill was passed.

On March 8 the Party arranged for a debate on the Estimates in relief of unemployment, and the Government's policy was severely criticised. Again on the Motion for the Adjournment for the Whitsun Recess attention was called to the situation, and especially to the position of unemployed women.

NAVY ESTIMATES.

By luck in the ballot the Party was able to move the following Motion on going into Committee of Supply on the Navy Estimates :—

> "That this House regrets that the sum proposed to be spent on the Naval Service during the coming financial year is not consistent with the pledges of retrenchment given by His Majesty's Government, and makes no approach to a redemption of the War-time promises of a great reduction in expenditure on armaments to follow an Allied victory; and further calls upon the Government to use its influence to summon as soon as possible an international conference to which all States, whether members of the League of Nations or not, should be invited, with a view to considering the extension of the principles of the Washington Treaty for the limitation of naval armaments to all non-signatory States."

The Motion was defeated by 240 votes to 153.

IRELAND.

The action of the Home Secretary in causing the arrest and immediate deportation to Ireland of a number of people resident in this country was raised at the earliest opportunity (March 12), and on a Motion for the Adjournment of the House, as a protest against the action taken, 152 voted in favour and 260 against.

Again, on March 19, the Adjournment was moved on the position of the people interned in Ireland beyond the jurisdiction of the Home Secretary, and in the division 147 supported the motion and 266 opposed. The Party also sent a deputation to Dublin to make investigations into the position of the internees.

Later, the Courts having decided that the Home Secretary's action was illegal, taking what had been the Party's view of the affair, the Government brought forward an Indemnity Bill. The Party opposed this measure, and as a result of pressure the Government inserted a provision for the payment of compensation to the aggrieved persons. The Party successfully resisted an attempt to rush the Bill through without adequate consideration.

TRADE BOARDS BILL.

The Government have introduced their Trade Boards Bill, and the Party have given notice to move the rejection of the Second Reading because the main object of the Bill is not to encourage and facilitate the administration of the present law, but to hamper and restrict this beneficent legislation.

INDUSTRIAL ASSURANCE BILL.

This Bill, to strengthen the law on industrial assurance, passed the House of Lords and came to the Commons early in the Session. When the Committee of Inquiry appointed by a previous Government submitted its report, a Bill based upon its recommendations was drafted and introduced in the last Parliament, but was not proceeded with. The Bill

of this Session was not exactly the same as its predecessor, certain alterations having been made, but it still contained important provisions recommended by the Committee. The Party assented to the Second Reading, and on the further stages moved amendments. The object of one was to provide that in the event of a valuation disclosing a surplus in an Industrial Assurance Fund one-half of that surplus should be applied to the benefit of the policy-holders. Another amendment sought to modify, in the interests of societies with small funds, the provision necessitating the lodging of a deposit of £20,000. The Party also supported an amendment that the clause dealing with War Bond policies should apply to such policies already lapsed. Considerable alterations were secured by the Party. The small Friendly Societies were protected; the right of appeal to the Courts conceded; and, finally, as a result of the Party's fight, the Solicitor-General has since announced that the holders of War Bond policies now lapsed may apply to the Insurance Companies who have promised to give surrender value.

EX-TEMPORARY CLERKS IN THE CIVIL SERVICE.

Defeat of the Government.

Prior to the Easter Adjournment, by luck in the ballot, the Party secured a place for a motion calling for a Select Committee to inquire into the initial rate of salary paid to ex-temporary clerks appointed to permanent positions in the Civil Service. This Motion was tabled at the request of the organisations concerned on account of the action of the Government in fixing as the initial rate of pay to ex-Servicemen who had passed the Civil Service Examination, and many of whom were approaching middle age with families dependent upon them, the rate applicable to a youth of 18 on first entering the Service. Unfortunately the Government took the time allocated to this Motion, and it could not be moved. Shortly after the Easter Recess on a motion that the Speaker do leave the Chair preliminary to the House going into Committee on the Civil Service Estimates, the question dealt with in the Party's motion was raised in a general debate, and the reply of the Government being unsatisfactory, the Party pressed the matter to a division, and the Government were defeated by 145 to 138. The House was adjourned, and on the following day the Government brought forward a Motion giving notice that on the next day the motion that the Speaker do leave the Chair would be again moved. In spite of pressure, however, the Government refused to make an immediate announcement as to their policy on the question on which they were defeated, and in consequence of disorder arising, the Speaker had to suspend the sitting. The next day the Government took the earliest opportunity of announcing that the question in dispute would be referred immediately for inquiry as desired by the House, and the ordinary business was then allowed to proceed.

ARMY ANNUAL BILL.

On the Committee Stage of this Bill the Party kept up an all-night struggle, the House rising at noon on the following day. Amendments were moved for the abolition of the death penalty, for setting up Courts of Appeal, giving a recruit the right to indicate his unwillingness to do duty in case of a trade dispute, etc. The one concession secured was the agreement of the Government to prohibit by legislation the application of field punishment No. 1.

FINANCE.

On April 16 the Chancellor of the Exchequer made his Budget Statement, in which he announced a reduction of 6d. in the Income-tax, a reduction in the Corporation Profits Tax, a reduction in the beer duty, which, with the reduction in the prices charged by the brewer, would be equivalent to 1d. per pint, and a reduction in the duty on table-waters. The Party speakers keenly criticised the Chancellor's proposals and his failure to reduce the duties on such necessities as tea and sugar. On the Budget Resolutions amendments have already been moved for the reduction of tea and certain other duties, and the Party moved the following Amendment to the Second Reading of the Finance Bill:—

> "That this House declines to proceed with a Bill which makes no adequate provision for the reduction of the National Debt, which gives relief in taxation in disproportion to the ability to pay, which makes no reduction of the heavy duties on the necessaries of life, and which fails to apportion taxation in such a way as to increase the effective purchasing power of the people, and to stimulate trade and industry."

In the division 157 voted for the Amendment and 271 against.

The next step will be the Committee Stage of the Bill, and the Party has tabled about 50 Amendments, the most important of which deal with the tea and sugar duties, the rate of income-tax on earned incomes, the various abatements in respect of children, dependent relatives, etc., and inhabited house duty, and the Party hopes to put up a sustained fight in the interests of the wage-earning tax-payer.

A Select Committee has been appointed to consider the advisability or otherwise of imposing a tax on betting.

In the debates on the Budget the Party has not made the question of a Capital Levy a prime issue, because the Government had already been approached, and had agreed to allocate a full day for the discussion of this one subject later in the Session.

HOUSING BILL.

The Government's Housing Bill is regarded as very unsatisfactory. It limits the small subsidy of £6 per house to houses of a non-parlour type, and instead of giving full encouragement to Local Authorities to undertake adequate housing schemes, it endeavours to revive private enterprise by the provision of public money to private builders. Further, there is no declared intention on the part of the Government to take the drastic action necessary to prevent profiteering in building materials. All that the Government have agreed to in this connection is to appoint a Committee to watch the movement in prices.

On the Second Reading of the Bill the Party moved the following Amendment:—

> "That this House cannot assent to the Second Reading of a Bill which is inadequate to deal with the present housing shortage; ignores the difficulty of land purchase and transfer; fails to provide the means of securing a sufficient supply of building materials at reasonable prices; throws an excessive financial burden upon local authorities, and interferes unnecessarily with their administrative powers; fails to reduce the burden of interest imposed upon dwelling-houses by the present financial system; and provides only for an unreasonably small type of house."

After two days' debate the Amendment was voted upon, the figures being 140 for and 340 against.

The Committee Stage of the Bill is now proceeding. Amendments to increase the size of the houses have already been moved, and the Minister of Health has accepted a slight improvement.

Members of the Party serving on the Committee intend to maintain the pressure with a view to securing as many amendments as possible.

MINING INDUSTRY.

On March 7 representatives of the Executive Committee of the Miners' Federation attended a meeting of the Party in order to acquaint the members with the situation in the mining industry. Later, the Party were asked by the Federation to introduce a Bill to amend the Minimum Wage Act. This has been done, and the Bill provides for the minimum wage being based upon the cost of living, and also applies the original Act as amended to surface-workers. The Party pressed the Government to give a day for the Second Reading of the Bill in order to secure a full and unrestricted debate on the mining situation, and it is expected that this debate will take place before the end of June.

AGRICULTURE.

On several occasions the position of agriculture, especially the plight of the agricultural labourer, and the dispute in Norfolk were raised. The Party's Bill to re-establish the Agricultural Wages Board has been introduced, but has made no progress. The Government's promised Agricultural Credits Bill and Agricultural Rating Bill are now before the House, and will receive very careful consideration and scrutiny, and every effort will be made to focus the attention of Parliament upon the position of those engaged in this industry. It is expected that the Bill dealing with the Conciliation Boards will be taken shortly.

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR CONVENTIONS.

On May 9 the Government moved the following Motion :—

> "That this House approves the policy of His Majesty's Government respecting the draft Conventions and Recommendations adopted by the Third and Fourth Sessions of the International Labour Conference, held in Geneva in 1921 and 1922 respectively."

The House had no knowledge of the Government's policy until the Minister of Labour made his speech in support of the Motion. Exception was taken to this method of conducting business, and the Minister of Labour promised to have the point considered in connection with future occasions. The Government's policy on the Conventions and Recommendations adopted at Geneva was far from satisfactory, and followed the example set by the last Government with respect to the Conventions on the Hours of Labour and Maternity adopted at Washington. One of the most important Conventions adopted at Geneva was in favour of the prohibition of the use of white lead in painting, and although the Government delegates at Geneva voted for this Convention, the Minister of Labour announced that difficulties had arisen which would have to be cleared up before any further action could be taken. Of the nine main proposals, the Government proposed to adopt five—two conditionally—and to reject the remaining four. The Party therefore moved the following Amendment :—

> To leave out the words "approves the policy of His Majesty's Government," and to insert instead, "declares in favour of the ratification of."

And in the division 176 voted for the Amendment as against 235.

WAR PENSIONS.

The Minister of Pensions having made certain new regulations with respect to Pensions Committees and Final Awards, the Party considered them, and on March 13 moved that they be annulled. A long and lively debate took place, lasting until four o'clock in the morning. The members of the Party who took part in the debate are to be congratulated upon subjecting the Ministry of Pensions to a close and critical examination. Shortly afterwards the Party introduced a Bill to amend the War Pensions Act. This Bill proposes that if an ex-Service man, at any time after leaving the service, is found to be suffering from any disease or incapacity which could be reasonably attributed to war service, he shall be deemed to be suffering from a disease attributable to such service, unless it is shown that the disease was not so attributable, and acceptance for such service shall be conclusive that, at the time of joining, the man was not suffering from such disease or incapacity. In other words, the Bill throws upon the Ministry of Pensions the onus of proving that the disease or incapacity is not due to war service, with the addition that it shall be taken for granted that, when the man was recruited, he was free from such disease or incapacity.

A very great measure of support is being accorded to the Bill by interested organisations, and an effort is being made to induce the Government to give facilities for its discussion.

RUSSIA.

On May 15 the Party moved a reduction of the Foreign Office Vote in order to raise a discussion on the Government's relations with Russia, and particularly the Note which had just been sent to the Russian Soviet Government. The peremptory character of the Note was the subject of much criticism, and stress was laid on the necessity for maintaining the trade agreement; and, as a result of the debate, the Government announced that they would be prepared to confer with the emissary of the Soviet Government, and that the time limit laid down in the Note would not be adhered to. In view of this change, the Party did not press the matter to a division. Two days later the question was again raised, and it was felt that the situation had been distinctly improved since the dispatch of the Note.

The Party fully realises the importance of maintaining and developing trade relations with Russia, and will press this view on every occasion when the necessity arises.

SPECIAL CONSTABLES BILL.

This small Bill was introduced by the Home Secretary to give him power to maintain and recruit the Special Constabulary as a permanent force. It is obvious that the object of the Bill is to provide the authorities with the use of an additional force against working-class movements, and the Party opposed it. Various amendments of a hostile and restrictive character were moved, but the Bill was forced through and is now law.

PARTY BILLS.

Success in the Ballot for Bills this Session has been very limited, only two Fridays being secured. The first was devoted to the Second Reading of the Prevention of Unemployment Bill, and it met with the same fate as on many previous occasions. It was rejected; but it is worthy of note that the majority against it was only 24.

The second Bill dealt with Workmen's Compensation. The Party at first intended to introduce a comprehensive measure based upon the Party's own policy, but later it was decided that a Bill based mainly on the recommendations of the Holman Gregory Committee would be better calculated to appeal to the House as a practicable measure for this Session. The Home Secretary, in the course of the debate, stated that a Government Bill was in draft and would be introduced as early as possible with a view to its passage into law. In these circumstances the Party, whilst getting the Second Reading of its own Bill agreed not to press for the further stages, there being good reason to hope that at least the more important points affecting Workmen's Compensation will be dealt with before the conclusion of the Session.

Other Party Bills introduced are as follows :—

AGRICULTURAL WAGES BOARDS.
NATIONALISATION OF MINES AND MINERALS.
COAL MINES MINIMUM WAGE (AMENDMENT).
COMPENSATION FOR SUBSIDENCE.
FACTORIES AND WORKSHOPS (BAKE-HOUSES).
LOCAL AUTHORITIES (ENABLING).
WAR PENSIONS ACTS (AMENDMENT).

Members of the Party have also introduced some other Bills, including the following :—

CHILDREN, YOUNG PERSONS, ETC.
HOUSING.
REGULATION OF RAILWAYS.

A comprehensive Bill on the Franchise, which will provide for equality in the franchise and deal with anomalies in the law, is being prepared for introduction.

PARTY MOTIONS.

The Party has been able to move a fair number of Motions this Session.

OLD AGE PENSIONS.

The first was on Old Age Pensions, and was moved on February 21. It was to the following effect:—

> "That, in the opinion of this House, the recommendation of the Departmental Committee on Old Age Pensions in favour of the repeal of the provisions of the Old Age Pensions Acts as to calculation of means should be adopted, and the Old Age Pensions Acts amended accordingly, thereby enabling applicants for, and recipients of, the old age pension to derive the full benefit of their thrift and personal provision for old age, and to receive assistance from friends, employers, and organisations without reduction of, or disqualification for, the full pension."

The same motion was moved in 1921, and again in 1922, being rejected on both occasions. It met the same fate this time. An amendment was moved declaring that, whilst anxious to remove every hindrance to thrift, the House must have regard to the grave financial exigencies of the country, and could not until more hopeful conditions arise, make such a heavy addition to the burden already borne by the tax-payers. This amendment was only carried by 230 to 208, a Government majority of 22.

MOTHERS' PENSIONS

On March 6 the following was moved:—

"That, in the opinion of this House, pensions adequate for the proper upbringing and maintenance of children should be paid to all widows with children, or mothers whose family breadwinner has become incapacitated, such pensions to be provided by the State and administered by a committee of the Municipal or County Council wholly unconnected with the Poor Law."

The Motion was defeated by 248 to 184, the Government opposing it on the ground that it would cost at least £45,000,000 a year.

NATIONAL MINIMUM WAGE.

The next motion was moved on March 7, as follows:—

"That, in view of the practically universal acceptance of the principle that a living wage for all workers should be the first charge upon industry, and in view of the large measure of agreement with respect to the advisability of fixing legal minimum time rates of wages reached at the National Industrial Conference, this House urges the Government to proceed without delay with the Bill introduced by the Government of the day in 1919, constituting a Commission to inquire into and report upon legal minimum time rates of wages."

On this occasion the Government Whips were not put on against the Motion, but it was defeated by a majority of 13, the figures being for 176, and against 189.

ACCIDENTS IN MINES.

On March 14 the following was moved:—

"That this House deplores the heavy loss of life and the large number of non-fatal accidents in mines, and is of opinion that legislation to improve and strengthen the provisions of the Coal Mines Act, 1911, should be introduced and carried into law without delay in order to secure the fullest protection possible to those engaged in this dangerous industry."

The Government accepted this Motion, and stated in reply that further legislation was unnecessary. Whether or not this be the case, it is to be hoped that the discussion will have the effect of securing stringent administration of the regulations.

CAPITALIST SYSTEM.

On March 20 the following was moved:—

"That, in view of the failure of the capitalist system to adequately utilise and organise natural resources and productive power, or to provide the necessary standard of life for vast numbers of the population, and believing that the cause of this failure lies in the private ownership and control of the means of production and distribution, this House declares that legislative effort should be directed to the gradual supersession of the capitalist system by an industrial and social order based upon the public ownership and democratic control of the instruments of production and distribution."

To this the National Liberals moved as an amendment the following:—

"This House, believing that the abolition of private interest in the means of production and distribution would impoverish the people and aggravate existing evils, is unalterably opposed to any

scheme of legislation which would deprive the State of the benefits of individual initiative, and believing that far-reaching measures of social redress may be accomplished without overturning the present basis of society, is resolved to prosecute proposals which, by removing the evil effects of monopoly and waste, will conduce to the well-being of the people."

Very great interest was excited in the debate, and towards the close the Government, in response to a request from their own side, agreed to give a full day later on to continue the discussion. This has not yet taken place, but the Party is prepared for it.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION.

On March 21 the following was moved:—

"That, in view of the confusion due to the existence of several Acts of Parliament dealing with compensation for injury to workmen, this House is of opinion that any Bill dealing with workmen's compensation introduced by the Government should contain provisions for codifying the Law."

In view of the Party's own Bill on Workmen's Compensation, the terms of this Motion had to be restricted to calling for codification or simplification of the Law. In the course of the discussion the Home Secretary intimated that further legislation was on the stocks, and the Motion was agreed to.

PROFESSIONAL WORKERS.

On April 18 the following was moved:—

"That, in view of the worsening conditions of middle-class professional workers, and of the advantages resulting from the recognition of the organisation of manual workers and the practice of collective bargaining, this House is of opinion that local authorities, banks, insurance and shipping companies, and other employers of professional and clerical workers should follow the example of the Government in recognising the organisations of these workers."

The Motion was agreed to.

PRE-WAR PENSIONERS.

On May 16 the following was moved:—

"That, in the opinion of this House, the provisions of the Pensions (Increase) Act, 1920, are inadequate to meet the needs of pre-War pensioners, and further legislation should be passed to augment the increases allowed by that Act and to amend other provisions of a limiting and restrictive character which have disqualified many deserving pensioners from receiving benefit under the Act."

This was agreed to, the Government intimating that a Cabinet Committee was considering the matter with a view to the introduction of new legislation.

BY-ELECTIONS.

The Party regrets to record the loss of three of its Members by death since the General Election: Mr. J. N. Bell, Mr. C. J. Mathew, K.C., and Mr. J. Cairns. Unfortunately Mr. Bell was never able to take his seat, but he would have been a very useful member of the Party, and his loss is deplored. Mr. Mathew promised in the short time he was in Parliament to become a very stalwart Labour Member,

and his death came as a great blow. Mr. Cairns was an old and tried Member, and his death is greatly regretted. In place of Mr. Bell and Mr. Mathew the Party secured the services of Mr. Henderson and Mr. Gosling. At the time of preparing this report the by-election consequent upon the death of Mr. Cairns had not taken place. The membership of the Party has been augmented by the victors in the by-elections at Mitcham and the Edge Hill Division of Liverpool. These successes gave the Party very great encouragement in its work.

ANTI-LABOUR LEGISLATION.

A few supporters of the Government have been amusing themselves in carrying on a little campaign against the Trade Union and Co-operative movements. The hon. Member for the Moss-side Division of Manchester (Mr. G. B. Hurst) has introduced two Bills, one to repeal the Trade Disputes Act, and the other to enable a member of a Trade Union to sue for benefits withheld from him.

The hon. Member for Finsbury (Col. Archer-Shee) has reintroduced the Bill of last Session to upset the Trade Union Act dealing with political action. All that has happened in connection with this Bill is that the Government have announced their intention to consult with those concerned as to the working of the Trade Union Act.

The hon. Member for the Rusholme Division of Manchester (Capt. Thorpe) has introduced a Bill entitled The Co-operative Societies Liberation Bill; the object is to render illegal the application of funds and levies of Co-operative Societies to political purposes.

The hon. Member for Macclesfield (Mr. J. R. Remer) asked for leave to introduce a Bill to free members of Trade Unions from any obligation to subscribe to levies raised for the purpose of providing salaries for Members of Parliament, but by a small majority leave was refused.

The Party will keep its eye on the other measures and see that they make no progress, and the Labour organisations in the respective constituencies of these Members should keep the matter in mind with a view to action at any appropriate time.

GENERAL.

The Party, as the Official Opposition, has done its work with efficiency and spirit, and has established itself as it has never done before. By general recognition it is the alternative Government. It appeals to the Party in the country for a continuation of the confidence and support which it has received hitherto with such unstinted generosity. Labour has now won and holds the outworks of the citadel of Government. Let us all brace ourselves to the supreme effort which will put that citadel itself in our possession.

J. Ramsay MacDonald, *Leader.*
Arthur Henderson, *Chief Whip.*
H. S. Lindsay, *Secretary.*

List of Societies affiliated to the Labour Party, Number of Members, and Amounts paid for 1922, with Names and Addresses of Secretaries and of Delegates to the LONDON CONFERENCE, 1923.

TRADE UNIONS.

Names of Societies.	*No. of Members.*	*No. of Votes.*	*Affiliation Fees.* £ s. d.	*Secretaries and Addresses.*	*Delegates and Addresses.*
Admiralty and Royal Dockyards Draughtsmen's Association	1110	2	13 17 6	G. Chase, 7, Cromwell Road, Wimbledon, S.W.19.	G. Chase, Secretary.
Agricultural Workers, National Union of	30000	30	375 0 0	R. B. Walker, Headland House, 308, Gray's Inn Road, W.C.1.	G. Edwards, O.B.E., J.P., C.C., Wynstay, Queen's Road, Fakenham, Norfolk. T. Higdon, Burston, Diss, Norfolk. J. Lunnon, Headland House, 308, Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C.1. R. B. Walker, Secretary.
Army Clothing Employees' Union	800	1	10 0 0	J. G. Butler, L.C.C., 2, Ebury Bridge Road, Pimlico, S.W.1.	J. G. Butler, L.C.C., Secretary.
Assurance Workers, National Amalgamated Union of Life	10000	10	125 0 0	B. Brooke, 316, Oxford Road, Manchester.	Cllr. P. Graham, 45, Calder Street, Motherwell, Scotland. B. Brooke, Secretary.
Asylum Workers' Union, National	3000	3	37 10 0	G. Gibson, 1, Rushford Avenue, Levenshulme, Manchester.	M. Meehan, County Mental Hospital, Winwick, Warrington. Rev. S. Morgan, Craig House, Westwood Park, London, S.E.23.
Bakers and Confectioners, Amalgamated Union of Operative	6000	6	75 0 0	W. Banfield, 57, Sydney Street, Chelsea, London, S.W.	H. Emery, J.P., 41, George Street, Hanley, Staffs. W. Banfield, Secretary.
Blacksmiths' & Ironworkers' Society of Great Britain and Ireland, Associated	6000	6	75 0 0	W. Lorimer, 177, Hill Street, Charing Cross, Glasgow.	William Taylor, 19, Ladykirk Road, Benwell, Newcastle-on-Tyne. William Lorimer, Secretary.
Blastfurnacemen, Ore Miners, Coke Workers and Kindred Trades, National Federation of	20000	20	250 0 0	T. McKenna, 41, Russell Street, Middlesbrough.	Henry Nixon, J.P., 9, Frodingham Road, Scunthorpe, Lincs. John Hall, 31, Newport Road, Stafford. A. Callighan, 8, Oxford Street, Workington, Cumb. L. Carter, 44, Alexandra Street, Ebbw Vale, Mon. G. W. Allinson, 20, Station Road, Kettering, Northants.

Blind, National League of the	...	600	...	1	...	7	10	0	...	J. E. Gregory, Club Union Buildings, Clerkenwell Road, London, E.C.
Boilermakers and Iron and Steel Shipbuilders, United Society of	...	60000	...	60	...	750	0	0	...	J. Hill, J.P., Lifton House, Eslington Road, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
Bookbinders and Machine Rulers, National Union of	...	7000	...	7	...	87	10	0	...	James Kelly, 220, Blackfriars Road, London, S.E.1.
Boot and Shoe Operatives, National Union of	...	71308	...	72	...	891	7	0	...	E. L. Poulton, 34, Guilford Street, London, W.C.1.
Brass and Metal Mechanics, National		10000	...	10	...	125	0	0	...	W. H. Johnson, 70, Lionel Street, Birmingham
Brassmoulders' Union, Scottish	...	600	...	1	...	7	10	0	...	J. Prentice, 17, Oswald Street, City, Glasgow.

Cllr. Thomas McKenna, Secretary.
J. E. Gregory, Secretary.
J. E. Bowmaker, 18y, Munition Cottages, Scotswood-on-Tyne.
M. H. Connolly, 208, Hampstead Road, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
J. M. Airlie, 11, Bonnington Grove, Edinburgh.
W. H. Egan, 49, Hamilton Square, Birkenhead.
A. Short, M.P., 43, Brinsworth Street, Attercliffe, Sheffield.
Ald. S. E. Walters, Milton Road, Swindon.
D. Williams, M.P. 25, Windmill Terrace, Swansea.
H. Pollitt, 85, Central Park Road, East Ham, London, E.6.
John Hill, J.P., Secretary.
T. G. Newland, 44, Blackfriars Road, London, S.E.1.
Harry Rosenberg, 8, Maple Street, Hightown, Manchester.
Mrs. A. L. Taylor, 21, John Street, Holborn, London, W.C.1.
J. W. Vollans, Hobart House, 26, Gt. Wilson Street, Leeds.
James Kelly, Secretary.
T. F. Richards, 34, Guilford Street, London, W.C.1.
W. R. Smith, J.P., Belle Vue, Old Catton, Norwich.
Len Smith, 16, Northcote Street, Semilong, Northampton.
J. Buckle, J.P., M.P., 13, Eighteenth Avenue, New Wortley, Leeds.
E. L. Poulton, Secretary.
W. E. Barnes, 70, Lionel Street, Birmingham.
W. H. Johnson, J.P., Secretary.
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Names of Societies.	No. of Members.	No. of Votes.	Affiliation Fees. £	s.	d.	Secretaries and Addresses.	Delegates and Addresses.
Carpet Weavers, Power Loom and Textile Workers' Association	4604	5	57	11	0	A. Smith, 8, Church Street, Kidderminster.	Arthur Smith, Secretary.
Chainmakers & Strikers' Association	1600	2	20	0	0	C. H. Sitch, M.P., Unity Villa, Sydney Road, Cradley Heath, Staffs.	Charles H. Sitch, M.P., Secretary.
Cigarmakers and Tobacco Workers, National Union of	2500	3	31	5	0	A. Santen, 19, Great Prescott Street, Leman Street, E.1.	A. Santen, Secretary.
Civil Service Sorting Assistants, Association of	600	1	7	10	0	Miss R. Smith-Rose, 1, Tottenham Court Road, London, W.1.	Miss Rose Smith-Rose, Secretary.
Clerical Association, Civil Service	12030	13	150	7	6	W. J. Brown, 38a, St. George's Road, London, S.W.1.	Miss E. A. Fox, 15, Mountain Street, Newton Heath, Manchester. H. Broadhead, 13, Bristol St., Higher Broughton, Manchester. J. R. Neilson, 67, Gainsborough Road, Richmond, Surrey. H. Parsons, 132, Marrowbrook Lane, Cove, Hants. E. P. Rundle, 64, Tooting Bec Road, Balham, London, S.W.17. S. Slocombe, 38A, St. George's Road, Victoria, London, S.W.1. W. Thomas, 678, Moore Road, Mapperley, Notts. G. Wilson, 20, Milton Road, Hanwell, Middlesex.
Coal Trimmers' Union (Cardiff, Penarth and Barry)	1700	2	21	5	0	S. Fisher, J.P., 13, Bute Crescent, Cardiff.	W. J. Brown, Secretary. J. T. Clatworthy, 13, Bute Crescent, Cardiff.
Compositors, London Society of	12170	13	152	2	6	T. E. Naylor, J.P., 7-9, St. Bride Street, London, E.C.4.	Rt. Hon. C. W. Bowerman, M.P., 32, Eccleston Square, London, S.W.1. T. Timberlake, 41, Trevelyan Road, Tooting, London, S.W.17. G. Tams, 31, Brockley Road, London, S.E.4. E. E. Collett, 15, Salisbury Road, Woodside, London, S.E.25. T. E. Naylor, J.P., Secretary.
Coopers, Amalgamated Society of	2797	3	34	19	3	R. W. Mann, 37, Outwoods Street, Burton-on-Trent.	R. W. Mann, Secretary.
Distributive and Allied Workers, National Union of	100000	100	1250	0	0	Joseph Hallsworth and W. A. Robinson, "Oakley," Wilmslow Road, Fallowfield, Manchester.	J. Jagger, Oakley, 122, Wilmslow Road, Fallowfield, Manchester. R. J. Wilson, M.P., 4, Sidecliffe Road,

Dyers, Bleachers, Finishers and Kindred Trades, Amalgamated Society of	...	12000	...	12	...150	0	0	...	William Rushworth, 90, Sunbridge Road, Bradford.	...
Edge Tool Trade Society	...	560	...	1	... 7	0	0	...	L. E. Thomas, 284, Nechells Park Road, Birmingham.	...
Electrical Trades Union	...	12000	...	12	...150	0	0	...	J. Rowan, 12a, Withy Grove, Manchester.	...
Electrotypers and Stereotypers, National Society of	...	2613	...	3	... 32	13	3	...	W. C. Warren, 80, Blackfriars Road, London, S.E.1.	...
Engineering Union, Amalgamated	...	139381	...	140	..1742	5	3	...	A. H. Smethurst, 110, Peckham Road, London, S.E.15.	...

low Road, Fallowfield, Manchester.
E. E. Dale, 21, Brentwood, Eccles Old Road, Pendleton.
G. Beardsworth, Forest House, Love Street, Chester.
J. C. Mortimer, N.U.D.A.W. Office, St. Anne's Buildings, Albion St., Leeds
Joseph Hallsworth } Secretaries.
W. A. Robinson }
F. Foster, 90, Sunbridge Road, Bradford.
W. Brooke, ,, ,, ,,
E. Verity, ,, ,, ,,
W. Rushworth, Secretary.

—

J. W. Ball, 39, Moorside Road, Heaton Norris, Stockport.
T. H. Middleton, 80, Blackfriars Road, London, S.E.
W. C. Warren, Secretary.
J. T. Brownlie, 110, Peckham Road, London, S.E.15.
W. H. Hutchinson, 110, Peckham Road, London, S.E.15.
E. Cruse, 41, Cowcross Street, London.
W. Houston, 20, Walton Street, Belfast.
L. Keegan, 2, First Avenue, Inchicore, Dublin.
A. Steven, 19, Union Place, Perth Road, Dundee.
T. G. Edgar, 89, Ferry Road, Leith, Edinburgh.
T. Clark, 346, Main Street, Bridgeton, Glasgow.
H. Hinshelwood, 33, Nelson Road, Gourock, Glasgow.
J. Watson, 143, St. Peter's Road, Byker, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
J. Wearmouth, 9, Blackett Terrace, Sunderland.
J. V. Holland, 38, Risedale Road. Barrow-in-Furness.

Names of Societies.	No. of Members.	No. of Votes.	Affiliation Fees. £ s. d.	Secretaries and Addresses.	Delegates and Addresses.
Engineering Union, Amalgamated —(*continued*).	—	—	—	—	W. McL. Couper, 53, Stratford Street, Dewsbury Road, Leeds. W. Broadley, 50, Robert Nuttall Street, Accrington, Lancs. F. Fleming, 7, Dale Street, Miles Platting, Manchester. G. Martin, 23, Kirkley Street, Lincoln. W. D. Gilkes, 46, Mansfield Road, Nottingham. R. Openshaw, 32, Edleston Road, Crewe. J. Williams, 117, Goresfield Road, Prenton, Birkenhead. F. Barker, 27, Wyrley Road, Witton, Birmingham. B. Brown, 15, Sackville Street, Coventry. W. F. Lewis, 34, Cambria Street, Griffithstown, Mon. G. W. Brunger, 40, Kingshill Road, Swindon. G. T. Baylis, 2, Seymour Road, Ipswich. H. M. Medland, 42, Quarry Park Road, Plymouth. A. Ambler, 34, Kenny Road, Fratton, Portsmouth. E. Bold, 6, Barnsole Road, Gillingham, Kent. H. E. Hisee, 44, Galbraith Street, Poplar, London, E.14. J. L. Thomson, 38, Congreve Road, Eltham, London, S.E.9. A. H. Smethurst, Secretary.
Enginemen's and Firemen's Union (Bolton)	120	1	1 10 0	M. Coolaghan, 36, Kestor Street, Bolton, Lancs.	—
Enginemen, Firemen, Mechanics, Motormen and Electrical Workers, National Amal. Union of	30000	30	375 0 0	G. Parker, 228, Wellgate, Rotherham.	Cllr. H. Parker, M.P., 2, Hill Street, Sneyd Green, Hanley. A. R. Ellis, 17, Burlington Terrace, Manningham Lane, Bradford. A. Kennaird, 26, Braxfield Road, Brockley, London, S.E.4. G Parker, Secretary.

French Polishers, London Society	...	1270	...	2	...	15	17	6	...	E. Rudd, 95, Farringdon Road, London, E.C. ...	Fred Messer, 1, Salisbury Road, Harringay, London, N.22.
Furnishing Trades Association, National Amalgamated	...	6762	...	7	...	84	10	6	...	Alex. Gossip, Bedford Row House, 58, Theobald's Road, London, W.C.1 ...	E. H. Walton, 157, Gordon Road, High Wycombe.
Greenock and District Transport Workers' Union	...	300	...	1	...	3	15	0	...	N. Haughey, 2, Watt Place, Greenock, Scotland. ...	—
Grinders' and Glaziers' Society, Amalgamated Machine, Engine, Iron	...	800	...	1	...	10	0	0	...	J. Asquith, 14, Nelson Street, Rochdale. ...	—
Hairdressers' Federation (South Wales and Monmouthshire)	...	120	...	1	...	1	10	0	...	L. M. Francis, Barber's Shop, Penydarren, Merthyr Tydvil. ...	—
Hatters, Amalgamated Society of Journeymen Felt	...	3858	...	4	...	48	4	6	...	Councillor T. Mallalieu, 113, Manchester Road, Denton, Manchester. ...	Councillor T. Mallalieu, J.P., Secretary.
Healders' and Twisters' Trade Union, Huddersfield and District	...	160	...	1	...	2	0	0	...	G. A. Boothroyd, 52, Taylor Hill Road, Lockwood, Huddersfield. ...	—
Horse and Motormen Association, Scottish	...	6000	...	6	...	75	0	0	...	H. Lyon, 108, West Regent Street, Glasgow ...	H. Haslin, 13, Ladylane, Paisley. F. Lawson, 26, Barnet Crescent, Ramsey Road, Kirkcaldy. H. Lyon, Secretary.
Hosiery Union (Ilkeston and District)	...	4468	...	5	...	55	17	0	...	H. Bassford, 15, Midland Road, Heanor. ...	—
Iron Fitters' Association, General	...	2000	...	2	...	25	0	0	...	J. Fraser, 30, New Market Street, Falkirk, Scotland. ...	Harry Begg, 30, New Market Street, Falkirk. Jas. Fraser, Secretary.
Ironmoulders' Association, Central	...	5696	...	6	...	71	4	0	...	Hugh Murdoch, 11, Graham's Road, Falkirk. ...	Robert Dawson, 52, Davids Loan, Bainsford, Falkirk. Edward Meachin, 5, Nansen View, Bramley, Leeds.
Iron, Steel and Kindred Trades Association, British	...	85000	...	85	..	1062	10	0	...	Arthur Pugh, 76-78, Swinton Street, Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C.1. ...	J. McWhinney, Auburn, Wilson Street, Motherwell, Scotland. J. Young, 21, Bluevale Street, Dennistoun, Glasgow. L. Evans, Pen-y-graig Road, Town Hill, Swansea. D. R. Pearson, 36, Clyde Street, Pontymister, Mon. T. Ketland, Groveland, Queen Street, Queensferry, nr. Chester. T. Freeman, Stafford House, Ketley Bank, Oakengates, Salop. W. H. Groves, Grove House, Ivanhoe, Dudley, Staffs. A. Price, 41, Quarry Street, Coatdyke, Coatbridge, Scotland.

Names of Societies.	No. of Members.	No. of Votes.	Affiliation Fees. £ s. d.	Secretaries and Addresses.	Delegates and Addresses.
Iron, Steel and Kindred Trades Association, British—(*continued*).	—	—	—	—	J. McBride, 27, James Street, Blaydon-on-Tyne. W. Webb, 15, Rosebery St., Rotherham. F. W. Rotton, 24, Windmill Street, Wednesbury. D. Shankland, 156, Gilpach Cynon, Merthyr, Glam. G. Gethin, 30, Vernon Street, Briton Ferry, Glam. G. Massey, Gladstone Terrace, Pentre, Queensferry, nr. Chester. J. Baker, 76/78, Swinton Street, Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C.1. R. Dennison, 76/78, Swinton Street, Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C.1. T. Griffiths, M.P., 76/78, Swinton Street, Gray's Inn Rd., London, W.C.1. Rt. Hon. J. Hodge, M.P., 76/78, Swinton Street, Gray's Inn Road, London. J. Walker, 90, Mitchell Street, Glasgow. Mrs. F. H. Bell, 60, Lady Somerset Road, London, N.W.5. H. Marshall, 48, William Street, South Shields. J. T. Taylor, 21, Church St., Sheffield. F. Callaghan, 250, Glasgow Road, Clydebank, Glasgow. J. McEnaney, 31, Bensham Terrace, Bensham, Gateshead-on-Tyne. J. Tarbit, 24, Cloth Market, Newcastle-on-Tyne. R. Spence, Secretary.
Labour, National Amalgamated Union of	30022	31	375 5 6	R. Spence, 4, Higham Place, Newcastle-on-Tyne.	—
Lace Makers, Amalgamated Society of Operative	1714	2	21 8 6	C. Wardle, 16, Pembridge Place, Mount Street, Nottingham.	Wm. Forshaw, J.P., Secretary.
Lancashire, Cheshire and North Wales Colliery Enginemen, Boilermen and Brakesmen's Federation	3000	3	37 10 0	William Forshaw, J.P., 93, Hardshaw Street, St. Helens.	—
Lithographic Artists, Designers, Engravers and Process Workers, Amalgamated Society of	3200	4	40 0 0	R. Kneale, 54, Doughty Street, London, W.C.1.	

Associated Society of								London, N.W.3.	T. H. Adams, 10, Gordon Street, Abbey Hey, Gorton, Manchester. F. W. Davies, 20, Lindon Road, Newport, Mon. C. H. Wilkinson, 242, Convamore Road, Grimsby. R. Hill, 15, West View, Hall Lane, Bradford. T. W. Higgins, 4, Fitzwilliam Road, Clapham, London, S.W. S. Garrison, 31a, Lyntaine Grove, Fulham, London, S.W.14.
Managers' and Overlookers' Society ...	3162	...	4	...	39 10 6	...	William J. Riley, Textile Hall, Westgate, Bradford.		J. Bromley, Secretary. William J. Riley, Secretary.
Marine Workers' Union, Amalgamated	12000	...	12	...	150 0 0	...	Arthur Cannon and James McKinley, 41, Gower Street, London, W.C.1.		Joseph Cotter, 41, Gower Street, London, W.C.1. Thomas Lewis, 22, St. Mary's Street, Southampton. A. Warner, 43, Dock Road, Tilbury. E. Shinwell, M.P., 41, Gower Street, London, W.C.1. Robert Williams, 8, St. Martin's Place, Strand, London.
Miners' Federation of Great Britain ..	800000	...	800		10000 0 0	...	F. Hodges, 55, Russell Square, London, W.C.	...	Arthur Cannon, James McKinley, } Secretaries. Herbert Smith, J.P., Miners' Offices, Barnsley, Yorks. S. Walsh, M.P., Swinley Road, Wigan, Lancs. W. P. Richardson, Red Hill Villas, Durham. G. H. Jones, Miners' Offices, Tamworth. G. W. Shields, Burt Hall, Newcastle-on-Tyne. L. Lovett, Station Chambers, Coalville. T. Duffy, Red Hill Villas, Durham. W. K. Smith, Station Street, Castle Gresley. A. J. Cook, Miners' Offices, Porth, Glam. R. M. Rees, c/o 2, St. Andrew's Crescent, Cardiff.

Names of Societies.	No. of Members.	No. of Votes.	Affiliation Fees £ s. d.	Secretaries and Addresses.	Delegates and Addresses.
Miners' Federation of Great Britain —(*continued*).	—	—	—		S. Roebuck, J.P., 2, Huddersfield Road, Barnsley, Yorks. J. Hoskin, c/o Miners' Offices, Barnsley, Yorks. J. Gilliland, Red Hills, Durham. T. Trotter, ,, ,, H. Hicken, Miners' Offices, Chesterfield. G. A. Spencer, M.P., 39, Langtry Grove, Nottingham. R. Smith, 5, Garnock View, Kilwinning, Scotland. P. McKenna, ,, ,, ,, P. Pemberton, ,, c/o Miners' Offices, Bolton. Chas. Gill, 6, Aubrey Street, Bedminster, Bristol. W. Mansfield, 17, Ruby Street, Saltburn-by-the-Sea. Robert Gott, 22, Charlotte Street, New Skelton. Frank Hall, J.P., Miners' Offices, Chesterfield. E. Overton, J.P., ,, ,, J. Spencer, C.C., ,, ,, J. Hill, J.P., ,, ,, S. Fretwell, ,, ,, T. Skinner, ,, ,, J. E. Swan, Miners' Offices, Red Hills, Durham. W. Lawther, ,, ,, ,, ,, J. Summerbell, ,, ,, ,, ,, M. Handy, ,, ,, ,, ,, S. Usher, ,, ,, ,, ,, J. Hobbs, ,, ,, ,, ,, J. Newton, ,, ,, ,, ,, H. Gough, 106, Plank Lane, Leigh, Lancs. G. Sparks, 16, Quality Row, Camboro' Colliery, Blyth. H. Smith, J.P., Bradley Street, Castleford, Yorks.

J. Tinker, Miners' Offices, Bolton, Lancs.
J. McGurk, ,, ,,
H. Roughley, ,, ,,
J. E. Sutton, ,, ,,
H. Gee, ,, ,,
J. Lythgoe, ,, ,,
J. Dixon, ,, ,,
C. Holding, ,, ,,
T. Flatley, ,, ,,
T. Brown, ,, ,,
T. Sands, ,, ,,
J. Evans, ,, ,,
R. Mathews, ,, ,,
William Blower, Station Chambers, Coalville.
Albert Bostock, ,, ,,
Sam. Finney, J.P., Miners' Offices, Hednesford, Staffs.
William Johnson, J.P., ,, ,,
John Baker, J.P., C.C., ,, ,,
F. J. Dean, ,, ,,
William Latham, ,, ,,
Hy. Whitehouse, ,, ,,
S. Edwards, J.P., ,, ,,
Hugh Leese, ,, ,,
E. Brunt, ,, ,,
S. Willetts, ,, ,,
H. Floyd, Burt Hall, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
J. Carr, ,, ,, ,,
J. Chapman, ,, ,, ,,
A. Kinghorn, ,, ,, ,,
W. Hogg, ,, ,, ,,
E. Edwards, ,, ,, ,,
S. Price, Rydal House, Smelt Coed Poeth, Wrexham.
J. T. Edwards, Brynhyfryd, Ponkey, Wrexham.
E. Hughes, Miners' Offices, Bradley Road, Wrexham.
Chas. Bunfield, Miners' Offices, Old Basford, Notts.
Val Coleman, ,, ,, ,,

Names of Societies.	*No. of Members.*	*No. of Votes.*	*Affiliation Fees.* £ s. d.	*Secretaries and Addresses.*	*Delegates and Addresses.*
Miners' Federation of Great Britain ... —(*continued*).	—	... — ...	— ...	—	W. A. Lee, Miners' Offices, Old Basford, Notts. T. Clarke, ,, ,, ,, F. Swift, Miners' Offices, Radstock, Somerset. F. Emery, Manor Lodge, Linton. Meth Jones, 2, St. Andrew's Crescent, Cardiff. William Harris, ,, ,, V. Hartshorn, M.P., ,, ,, Rt. Hon. T. Richards, ,, ,, W. Woosnam, ,, ,, John James, ,, ,, Ted Williams, ,, ,, Owen Powell, ,, ,, T. Morgan, ,, ,, E. Morrell, ,, ,, Evan Thomas, ,, ,, D. J. Williams, ,, ,, G. Davies, ,, ,, D. L. Davies, ,, ,, G. Dagger, ,, ,, Evan Williams, ,, ,, Oliver Harris, ,, ,, Thomas Lucas, ,, ,, John Thomas, ,, ,, Walter Lewis, ,, ,, Arthur Jenkins, ,, ,, John Jones, ,, ,, John Williams, ,, ,, Alf. Smith, Miners' Offices, Barnsley. E. Hough, ,, ,, W. Balmforth, ,, ,, P. Guest, ,, ,, J. W. Glennon, ,, ,, W. Walton, ,, ,, T. O'Brien, ,, ,, T. Hepworth, ,, ,, Fred Hall, M.P., ,, ,, J. Guest, M.P., ,, ,, T. W. Grundy, M.P.

T. Smith, M.P., ,, ,,
T. T. Williams, ,, ,,
T. Cape, M.P., Miners' Offices, Workington
R. Ferguson ,, ,, ,,
Robt. Smillie, M.P., Millar Street, Larkhall, Lanarkshire.
Rt. Hon. W. Adamson, M.P., 55 Russell Square, London, W.C.1.
Joseph Batey, M.P., 55, Russell Sq., W.C.1
Jas. Byrne, ,, ,, ,,
Jas. Brown, M.P., ,, ,, ,,
Wm. Crawford, ,, ,, ,,
A. Clarke, ,, ,, ,,
J. Doonan, ,, ,, ,,
W. Drylie, ,, ,, ,,
Thomas Elliott, ,, ,, ,,
Jno. Fotheringham, ,, ,, ,,
Jas. Ewing, ,, ,, ,,
—. French, ,, ,, ,,
T. Forrest, ,, ,, ,,
Jas. Gilmour, ,, ,, ,,
Thos. Greenall, M.P., ,, ,, ,,
D. Graham, M.P., ,, ,, ,,
John Herriotts, M.P., ,, ,, ,,
E. Hawke, ,, ,, ,,
A. Hollinshead, ,, ,, ,,
J. Hobbs, ,, ,, ,,
Wm. Jenkins, M.P., ,, ,, ,,
A. Jones, ,, ,, ,,
M. Lee, ,, ,, ,,
J. Lawson, M.P., ,, ,, ,,
Peter Lee, ,, ,, ,,
Ben Lewis, ,, ,, ,,
Walter McQueen, ,, ,, ,,
H. Murnin, M.P., ,, ,, ,,
David Morgan, ,, ,, ,,
W. Nellies, ,, ,, ,,
—. O'Hagan, ,, ,, ,,
W. Orr, ,, ,, ,,
W. Phipps, ,, ,, ,,
J. A. Parkinson, M.P., ,, ,, ,,
A. Reid, ,, ,, ,,
G. Rae, ,, ,, ,,
James Robson, ,, ,, ,,

Names of Societies.	No. of Members.	No. of Votes.	Affiliation Fees. £ s. d.	Secretaries and Addresses.	Delegates and Addresses.
Miners' Federation of Great Britain —(*continued*).	—	—	—	—	R. Semple, 55, Russell Square, W.C.1. Joseph Sullivan, M.P., ,, ,, ,, W. B. Small, ,, ,, ,, David Stitt, ,, ,, ,, James Smith, ,, ,, ,, —. Stevenson, ,, ,, ,, C. Thompson, ,, ,, ,, James Tonner, ,, ,, ,, H. Twist, M.P., ,, ,, ,, J. Westwood, M.P., ,, ,, ,, R. Wren, ,, ,, ,, T. Weir, ,, ,, ,, J. Waugh, ,, ,, ,, J. Welsh, M.P., ,, ,, ,, Frank Hodges, Secretary.
Moulders, Associated Society of	462	1	5 15 6	T. Charles, 17, Coldstream Street, Llanelly.	—
Municipal Employers' Association	20000	20	250 0 0	P. J. Tevenan, 24, Fitzjohn's Avenue, Hampstead, N.W.3.	P. Campbell, 69, Ingram St., Glasgow. Councillor T. Cochrane, 45, Stanley Road, Brighton. J. M. Gibson, 13, Windsor Road, Middlesbrough. G. Mawdsley, 2A, Hampton Road, Southport. Councillor W. H. Girling, 15, Newton Street, Hoxton, London, N. P. J. Tevenan, Secretary.
Patternmakers' Association, United	10710	11	133 17 6	A. A. H. Findlay, 58, Theobald's Road, London, W.C.1.	George Buchanan, M.P., 58, Theobald's Road, London, W.C.1. Allan A. H. Findlay, Secretary.
Pen and Pocket Blade Forgers' Protection Society	88	1	1 10 0	G. H. Shaw, 46, Sydney Road, Sheffield.	—
Plasterers, Granolithic and Cement Workers, National Association of	13000	13	162 10 0	A. H. Telling, 37, Albert Street, Mornington Crescent, London, N.W.	Edmund Smith, 11, Brooklyn Road, Eldon Park, South Norwood, London, S.E.25.
Post Office Engineering Union	15172	16	189 13 0	C. H. Smith, 14, John Street, Bedford Row, London, W.C.1.	H. A. Barclay, 76, Barmeston Road, Catford, London, S.E.6. A. C. Jeremy, 106, Hungerford Road, Islington, London, N.7.
Post Office Workers, Union of	80000	80	1000 0 0	J. W. Bowen, 43, Cromwell Road, South Kensington, London, S.W.7.	C. G. Ammon, M.P., 43, Cromwell Road, S. Kensington, S.W.7. G. Middleton, M.P. ,, ,, W. Baker

Pottery Workers, National Amalgamated Society of	...	22373	...	23	...279	13	3	...	Councillor S. Clowes, J.P., 5a, Hill Street, Hanley, Staffs.	J. W. Bowen, Secretary. Arthur Hollins, 27, Hanley Road, Sneyd Green, Hanley. C. H. Meir, 7, Cope's Avenue, Tunstall. S. Clowes, Secretary.
Press Telegraphists, National Union of	...	250	...	1	... 3	2	6	...	J. Griffin, 5, Leander Road, Brixton Hill, London, S.W.2.	—
Preventive Men's Association (Customs and Excise)	...	760	...	1	... 9	10	0	...	T. H. Sherlock, 75, Bullar Road, Bitterne Park, Southampton.	—
Preventive Officers' Association (Customs and Excise)	...	510	...	1	... 6	7	6	...	J. Hall, 2, Stanlow Villas, Ellesmere Port, Cheshire.	T. O. Hughes, 70, Acre Lane, Brixton, London, S.W.2.
Printers and Assistants, National Society of Operative	...	17646	...	18	...220	11	6	...	G. A. Isaacs, 26, Blackfriars Road, London, S.E.	C. Bennett, Caxton House, 26, Blackfriars Road, London, S.E.1. W. Morgan, 48, Chapel Street, Salford, Manchester. G. Pike, 36, Colwyn Street, Lambeth Road, London, S.E. George A. Isaacs, Secretary.
Prudential Staff Union	...	5000	...	5	... 62	10	0	...	E T. Palmer, 28-30, Holborn Hall, Gray's Inn Road, W.C.1.	W. T. Brown, 30-31, Holborn Hall, London, W.C.1. F. W. Harris, 58, St. John's Road, London, N.19. E. T. Palmer, Secretary.
Quarrymen's Association, Cumberland Limestone	...	250	...	1	... 3	2	6	...	T. Stewart, 62, Birks Road, Cleator Moor, Cumberland.	Thomas Stewart, Secretary.
Quarrymen's Union, North Wales*	...	5000	...	5	... 62	10	0	...	R. T. Jones, M.P., 17, Bridge Street, Carnarvon.	—
Railway Clerks' Association	...	60000	...	60	...750	0	0	...	A. G. Walkden, 25, Euston Road, London, N.W.	T. H. Gill, 77, Lindley Street, York. F. Anderson, 4, Edgewell Villas, Church Road, Flixton, nr. Manchester. G. Lathan, 25, Euston Road, London, N.W.1. C. N. Gallie, 177, West Regent Street, Glasgow. G. Ridley, Market Chambers, Peterboro'. T. W. Burden, 3, Boston Road, East Ham, E.6. A. E. Townend, 8, Meadowcroft, Dane Road, Sale, nr. Manchester. H. Chadwick, 7, Pasture Mount, Armley, Leeds. H. G. Romeril, 18, Victoria Terrace, Brunswick Park, New Southgate, N.11 A. G. Walkden, Secretary.

* Now amalgamated with the Transport and General Workers' Union.

Names of Societies.	No. of Members.	No. of Votes.	Affiliation Fees. £	s.	d.	Secretaries and Addresses.	Delegates and Addresses.
Railwaymen, National Union of	333555	334	4169	8	9	Rt. Hon. J. H. Thomas, M.P., Unity House, Euston Road, London, N.W.	C. L. Irvine, 24, Campbell Street, Maryhill, Glasgow. Alderman W. Dobbie, 22, Moorgate, Acomb Road, York. M. Hetherington, 22, Crummock Road, Carlisle. T. Topping, J.P., 121, Cowcliffe Hill, Huddersfield. E. G. Anderson, 16, Bruce Road, Easton, Bristol. C. J. Kelly, L.C.C., 10, Chadbourne Street, South Bromley, Poplar, London, E.14. John Marchbank, Unity House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1. C. T. Cramp, Industrial Secretary. Rt. Hon. J. H. Thomas, M.P., General Secretary.
Royal Parks Employees	250	1	3	2	6	W. B. Cheeseman, 16, Highbury Quadrant, London, N.5.	W. B. Cheeseman, Secretary.
Shipconstructors' and Shipwrights' Association	30000	30	375	0	0	Ald. A. Wilkie, 8, Eldon Square, Newcastle-on-Tyne.	W. F. Purdy, J.P., 8, Eldon Square, Newcastle-on-Tyne. R. B. Webster, 344, Station Road North, Wallsend-on-Tyne. A. McKerrall, 4, Hill Street, Greenock, Scotland. F. Ellis, 5, Aspendale Road, Tranmere, Birkenhead. Ald. A. Wilkie, C.H., J.P., Secretary.
Shop Assistants, Warehousemen & Clerks, National Union of	40000	40	500	0	0	J. Turner, Dilke House, Malet Street, London, W.C.	J. R. Leslie, Dilke House, Malet Street, London, W.C.1. Wm. Fraser, 12, Synod Hall, Castle Terrace, Edinburgh. Neil S. Beaton, 243, Dalkeith Road, Edinburgh. G. P. Roberts, "Arosfa," Cefu Cold Road, Roath Lake, Cardiff.
Shuttle Makers, Amalgamated Society of	550	1	6	17	6	T. Hurley, 24, William Henry Street, Blackburn, Lancs.	—
Spindle and Flyer Makers' Trade	1000	1	12	10	0	Arthur Scott, 15, Osborne Street, Gorton,	A. Scott, Secretary.

Union of										Alex. Hutchison, J.P., Secretary.
Tailors and Garment Workers, Amalgamated Union of	...	45000	...	45	...562	10	0	...	A. Conley, 20, Park Place, Leeds.	... S. Elsbury, 54A, Bedford Street, Commercial Road, London, E.1. A. Conley, Secretary.
Tape Sizers' Amalgamated Protective Society (Haslingden and Rossendale)	...	110	...	1	... 1	10	0	...	W. Wallwork, 20, Rudd Street, Haslingden.	... —
Textile Factory Workers' Association, United	...	334783	...335		..4184	15	9	...	J. Cross, Ewbank Chambers, 19, St. James Street, Accrington.	... S. T. Goggins, J.P., Weavers' Office, Old Street, Ashton-under-Lyne. George Whittam, Weavers' Office, Union Street, Haslingden. Charles Councill, 23, Victoria Street, Darwen. David Parker, 12, Millham Street, Blackburn C. Schofield, 398, Halliwell Road, Bolton. Geo. Rigby, Stanley House, Castle Street, Stockport. Ald. M. B. Farr, J.P., C.C., 110, Breeze Hill, Mossley. John Cocker, 3, Harper Street, Oldham G. W. Jones, 19, Wood Street, Bolton.
Beamers, Twisters and Drawers, Amalgamated Association of Hand and Machine	...	—	...	—	...	—		...	W. C. Robinson, M.P., 29, Horne Street, Bury.	... Thompson Harker, 8, Kingsland Grove, Burnley. W. C. Robinson, M.P., Secretary.
Bleachers, Dyers and Finishers, Operative Association (Bolton Amalgamated)	...	—	...	—	...	—		...	Gilbert W. Jones, 19, Wood Street, Bolton	... Robert Corbridge, 409, Holcombe Road, Helmshore, nr. Manchester.
Card and Blowing Room Operatives, Amalgamated Association of		—	...	—	...	—		...	W. Thomasson, J.P., 2A, Hodson's Court, Corporation Street, Manchester.	... Howarth Johnson, 1, Waymark, Pitses, Oldham. Uriah Price, 144, George Street, Hyde. Michael Brothers, 56A, Victoria Street, Blackburn. J. Buckley, 48, Brackley Street, Oldham. Joseph Edge, J.P., 77, St. George's Road, Bolton. Wm. Thomasson, J.P., Secretary.
Card, Blowing and Ring Spinners' Association, Bury	...	—	...	—	...	—		...	John Duckworth, Textile Hall, Manchester Road, Bury.	... Thos. Lowe, Textile Hall, Manchester Road, Bury. John Duckworth, Secretary.
Card Blowing and Ring Frame Room Operatives' Association, Hyde and District	...	—	...	—	...	—		...	Walter Gee, 144, George Street, Hyde.	... Walter Gee, Secretary.

Names of Societies.	*No. of Members.*	*No. of Votes.*	*Affiliation Fees.* £ s. d.	*Secretaries and Addresses.*	*Delegates and Addresses.*
Card and Blowing Room and Ring Frame Operatives' Association, Oldham Provincial	—	—	—	A. C. C. Robertson, 108, Union Street, Oldham...	Daniel Deasey, 35, Clayton Lane, Openshaw, Manchester. C. A. Jones, 626, Chamber Road, Hollinwood, Oldham. George Fielding, 24, Joseph Street, Middleton, Lancs.
Cop Packers' Association, Oldham and District	—	—	—	T. Ashworth, 85, Union Street, Oldham.	T. Ashworth, Secretary.
Loom Overlookers, General Union of Associations of	—	—	—	Edward Duxbury, Derby Chambers, 6, Fleet Street, Bury.	Capt. A. Smith, J.P., O.B.E., 146, Hibson Road, Nelson. R. Harrison, J.P., 263, Walkden Road, Worsley, nr. Manchester. Councillor J. Proctor, 17A, Market Street, Burnley. Councillor A. E. Dixon, 36, Little Moor Lane, Clitheroe. T. Walmesley, J.P., 104A, Yorkshire Street, Rochdale. Edward Duxbury, Secretary.
Power Loom Overlookers' Association, Blackburn and District Amalgamated.	—	—	—	Harry Beardwood, Overlookers' Office, High Street, Blackburn.	Arthur Douglas, 60, Hapton Road, Padiham.
Spinners and Twiners, Amalgamated Association of Operative Cotton	—	—	—	Henry Boothman, 115, Newton Street, Manchester.	Edward Judson, J.P., 116, Burlington Street, Ashton-under-Lyne. John Green, 7, Cardigan Street, Royton, nr. Oldham. George Varley, 28, Philip Street, Bolton. E. Thornton, 18, Garbett Street, Accrington. Henry C. Nield, 34, George Street, Hurst, Ashton-under-Lyne. Henry Boothman, Secretary.
Spinners' Provincial Association, Bolton and District Operative Cotton	—	—	—	William Wood, 77, St. George's Road, Bolton	John Battle, 9, Hartington Road, Bolton. John Wilson, 3, Ulleswater Street, Bolton. Joseph Greenhalgh, 17, Ellesmere Road, Bolton. John Part, 128, Elizabeth Street, Atherton.
Warehousemen, Amalgamated Society of Textile	—	—	—	E. Strong, 428, Audley Range, Blackburn	Edward Strong, Secretary.

							Cephas Speak, J.P., Weavers' Office, 77, St. George's Road, Bolton.
							William Sigley, 75, Church Lane, Marple, Hyde.
							C. Bethel, 19, Cowgill Street, Earby, Colne.
							J. Fairhurst, 107, Clarence Street, Bolton.
							Geo. Fenton, 33, Ashfields New Road, Newcastle, Staffs.
Weavers, Ashton-under-Lyne and District Power Loom	...	—	... — ...	—	...	S. T. Goggins, Weavers' Institute, Old Street, Ashton-under-Lyne.	Joseph Cross, J.P., Secretary. Richard Robinson, 33, Crompton Street, Hurst, Ashton-under-Lyne.
Weavers', Winders' and Beamers' Association, Bacup	...	—	... — ...	—	...	Robert Green, 91, Market Street, Bacup, Lancs.	John Whittaker, 1, Booth Street, Bacup.
Weavers' Association, Blackburn	...	—	... — ...	—	...	Luke Bates, 1, Clayton Street, Blackburn	... Alexander Longworth, 14, Progress Street, Blackburn.
							Thomas Hartley, 70, Daisy Street, Blackburn.
Weavers' and Winders' Association, Bolton and District	...	—	... — ...	—	...	Cephas Speak, 77, St. George's Road, Bolton.	... W. Woodyer, 48, Albert Street, Eccles.
Weavers', Winders' and Beamers' Association, Burnley and District	...	—	... — ...	—	...	James Hindle, Weavers' Institute, Burnley.	... Robert Redman, Weavers' Institute, Burnley.
							H. Pickles, ,, ,, ,,
							R. Bailey, ,, ,, ,,
							F. Phillips, ,, ,, ,,
							Josiah Leeming, J.P., ,, ,,
Weavers' and Winders' Association, Bury, Radcliffe and District	...	—	... — ...	—	...	Ben Hargreaves, Textile Operatives' Hall, Manchester Road, Bury, Lancs.	... Joseph Jepson, 39, Central Avenue, Warth, Bury.
							Jesse Livesey, 23, Margaret Street, Bury.
Weavers' Association, Chorley and District	...	—	... — ...	—	...	Thomas West, 1, Clifford Street, Chorley, Lancs.	... Miss Hilda Fowler, 21, Bengal Street, Chorley.
							Thomas West, Secretary.
Weavers', Winders' and Beamers' Association, Colne and District	...	—	... — ...	—	...	W. H. Boocock, Weavers' Office, Colne.	... E. Darnborough, 32, Portland Street, Colne.
Weavers', Winders' and Warpers' Association, Darwen	...	—	... — ...	—	...	Joseph K. Bailey, 23, Victoria Street, Darwen	... E. Neville, 23, Victoria Street, Darwen.
							Joseph K. Bailey, Secretary.
Weavers' Association, Great Harwood	...	—	... — ...	—	...	W. Hesmondhalgh, 8, Police Street, Great Harwood.	... Charles Calvert, 63, Russell Place, Gt. Harwood.
							W. Hesmondhalgh, Secretary.
Weavers' Association, Haslingden	...	—	... — ...	...	...	George Whittam, 6, Union Street, Haslingden.	... Robert Hargreaves, 28, Rudd Street, Haslingden.
Weavers', Winders', Reelers' etc., Association, Heywood and District	...	—	... — ...	—	..	J. W. Ogden, Trades Hall, Heywood.	... Charles Hardman, 19, Liddall Street, Heywood.

Names of Societies.	*No. of Members.*	*No. of Votes.*	*Affiliation Fees.* £ s. d.	*Secretaries and Addresses.*	*Delegates and Addresses.*
Weavers' Association, Nelson and District	—	—	—	James Helm, Weavers' Office, Pendle Street, Nelson.	Richard Bland, 203, Barkerhouse Road, Nelson. George Grimshaw, 8, Clifford Street, Nelson.
Weavers' and Winders' Association, Oldham and District	—	—	—	James Bell, J.P., Weavers' Institute, Bartlam Place, Oldham.	William Truslove, 1, Pitses, Oldham. James Bell, J.P., Secretary.
Weavers, Amalgamated, Rochdale Branch	—	—	—	James H. Holden, 5, Cloth Hall Street, Rochdale.	Hanson Holt, 15, Church Street, Littleborough. James H. Holden, Secretary.
Weavers', Winders', and Beamers' Association, Rossendale	—	—	—	John Farron, 245, Bacup Road, Cloughfold.	Mrs. Mary Murphy, 4, Buller Street, Rawtenstall.
Weavers', Winders', Warpers' and Reelers' Association, Stockport and District	—	—	—	J. Philip Riding, Trades Hall, Daw Bank, Stockport.	J. Philip Riding, Secretary.
Weavers' and Winders' Association... Todmorden and District	—	—	—	W. J. Tout, M.P., Weavers' Institute, Burnley Road, Todmorden.	Councillor A. Naesmith, Weavers' Institute, Todmorden. A. Dean, 9, Roy Street, Cornholme, Todmorden.
Weavers', Winders', Reelers' and Beamers' Association, Wigan and District	—	—	—	George McNamara, 37, Darlington Street, Wigan.	George McNamara, Secretary.
Textile Workers, National Union of	50000	50	625 0 0	A Shaw, 84, Godwin Street, Bradford.	Alderman Ben Turner, J.P., M.P., 5, Talbot Street, Batley. D. Doherty, 8, South Street, Accrington. H. Dawson, 36, Clough Road, Birkby, Huddersfield. A. Gardiner, 128, Eldon Road, Marsh, Huddersfield.
Textile Workers and Kindred Trades, Amalgamated Society of	9000	9	112 10 0	W. Bromfield, M.P., Foxlowe, Market Place, Leek, Staffs.	Charles T. Ball, 8, Morley Street, Leek, Staffs. Percy Barnett, 34, Canal Street, Congleton, Cheshire.
Transport and General Workers' Union	100000	100	1250 0 0	Ernest Bevin, 3, Central Buildings, Westminster, London, S.W.1.	Harry Gosling, M.P., 3, Central Buildings, Westminster, S.W.1. S. Hirst, ,, ,, J. Sexton, M.P., ,, ,, Ben Tillett, M.P., ,, ,, A. Smith, ,, ,, D. Greenwood, ,, ,, G. Sanders, ,, ,, W. Godfrey, ,, ,, Miss M. Carlin, ,, ,,

Westminster, S.W.1.
J. Twomey, 52, Bryn Road, Swansea.
F. Williams, Menning Cottage, Romsey, Hants.
J. Blewitt, 120, Toll End Road, Ocker Hill, Tipton, Staffs.
T. W. Condon, 21, Gabriel Street, Honor Oak Park, S.E.
J. Hart, 47, Dock Street, Southampton.
J. Mills, 19, Castlemain Rd., Peckham, S.E.
D. Hillman, 80a, High Street, Southampton.
J. Donovan, 42, Charles Street, Cardiff.
J. Crump, 211a, Broad St., Birmingham.
J. Williams, Brynsiriol, Stanley Road, Ponkey, nr. Wrexham.
W. Roll, 111, New Church Street, Bermondsey, S.E.
A. R. Middleton, 12, Kitchener Road, Rochester, Strood, Kent.
J. G. Ware, 95, St. Mary's Road, Southampton.
H. Bennett, 32, King's Gardens, Plymouth.
W. Beresford, 71, High Street, Stonehouse, Plymouth.
W. N. Smith, 13, Park Street, Skewen.
W. Rudd, 31, Alice Street, Newport.
J. T. Davie, 72, St. Mary's Road, Widnes.
J. Cookson, 21, Harrowby Street, Farnworth, Bolton.
W. Paul, 85, Belville Street, Greenock.
W. J. Irving, Eden House, Corporation Road, Workington.
H. Dye, 3, Eden Grove, Granville Street, Anlaby Road, Hull.
E. P. Hart, 47, Parnell Square, Dublin.
T. McCaffrey, 6, Steel Street, Liverpool.
R. Skinner, 38, Beckworth Street, Birkenhead.
W. H. Cartwright, 8, Colbeck Buildings, Healey, Batley.
J. Hamer, 13, Newton Street, Birkenhead.
E. Bevin, Secretary.

Names of Societies.	*No. of Members.*	*No. of Votes.*	*Affiliation Fees.* £	s.	d.	*Secretaries and Addresses.*	*Delegates and Addresses.*
Typographical Association	23211	24	290	2	9	H. Skinner, Beechwood, Oak Drive, Fallowfield, Manchester.	J. D. French, c/o H. Skinner, Beechwood, Oak Drive, Fallowfield, Manchester. F. O. Roberts, M.P., 61, Collingwood Road, Northampton. O. Connellan, 6, Carlton Mount, Dorrington Road, Leeds. G. Fulton, 28, Welbeck Grove, Higher Broughton, Manchester. H. F. Robinson, c/o C. F. Tumber, 12, Rawson Road, Bradford. A. S. Kerr, c/o F. Duckett, 60, Doughty Street, London, W.C.1. H. Skinner, Secretary.
Upholsterers, Amalgamated Union of	7124	8	89	1	0	F. Conway, 1a, Wilman Grove, Hackney, London, E.8.	—
Vehicle Builders, National Union of	23000	23	287	10	0	Jas. Nicholson, Philos Chambers, 195, Oxford Road, Manchester.	Joseph Compton, 195, Oxford Road, Manchester.
Vehicle Workers' Union, North of England United*	6000	6	75	0	0	J. Parr, 77, St. George's Road, Bolton, Lancs.	John Duthie, 190, Gourlay Street, Springburn, Glasgow. John Feeney, 20, Russell Street, Farnworth. Frank Rothwell, Butts Chambers, Butts Avenue, Rochdale.
Warp-twisters' Society, Yorkshire	1054	2	13	3	6	T. Murgatroyd, Textile Hall, Westgate, Bradford.	—
Warp Dressers, Twisters, and Kindred Trades Association, Leeds	200	1	2	10	0	A. Kelk, 5, Vicarage Terrace, Kirkstall, Leeds.	—
Willeyers' and Fettlers' Union, Leeds	239	1	3	0	0	A. Sixsmith, Trades Hall, Leeds.	—
Wood Cutting Machinists, Amalgamated Society of	4000	4	50	0	0	J. Wentworth, 32, Milton Street, Chorlton-on-Medlock, Manchester.	—
Woodworkers, Amalgamated Society of	101783	102	1272	5	9	A. G. Cameron, 131, Wilmslow Road, Withington, Manchester.	J. Strain, 178, Dumbarton Road, Partick, Glasgow. G. Elliott, 20, Dorothy Terrace, Thornaby. S. D. McKelvey, 97, Roe Green, Worsley, near Manchester. A. G. Gossling, 147, Buchanan Gardens, Willesden, London, N.W.10. A. W. Hunt, 240, Newport Road, Cardiff.

* Now amalgamated with the National Union of Vehicle Builders.

Woolsorters, National Union of	...	1000	...	1	...	12	10	0	...	T. Grundy, 40, Little Horton Lane, Bradford. ...
Wool Yarn and Warehouse Workers' Union	...	1750	...	2	...	21	17	6	...	F. Egan, 11 and 12, Eldon Place, Bradford. ...
Workers' Union	...	40000	...	40	...	500	0	0	...	C. Duncan, M.P., Highfield, Golders Green Road, London, N.W.4. ...

J. O. Delaney, 168, North Strand, Dublin.
W. R. Roberts, 4, Venmore Street, Liverpool.
A. G. Cameron, Secretary.
Sydney Bedford, 33, Silverdale Road, Bradford.
G. R. Foulds, 9, Malt Street, Bradford.
F. Egan, Secretary.
John Beard, Highfield, Golders Green, N.W.
Matt Giles, 57, Lower Union Street, Bristol.
L. K. White, 6, Morie Street, Wandsworth, S.W.
A. W. Palmer, 9, Pemberton Gardens, Holloway, N.
Miss A. Arnold, 73, Goring Road, Stoke, Coventry.
Neil Maclean, M.P., 181, St. Andrew's Road, Pollokshields, Glasgow.
G. H. Smith, 73, Beech Road, Sparkhill, Birmingham.
Cllr. F. T. Hobbs, 98, Linslade Street, Swindon.
R. Leather, 12, Oldham Street, Gorton, Manchester.
A. Clark, 104, Wilmot Road, Swadlincote.
R. Henderson, Wandon, Chatton, Belford, Northumberland.
W. M. Adamson, M.P., Portland Chambers, Portland Street, Lincoln.
F. Cook, 16, Northam Street, Arundel Street, Portsmouth.
F. Pratt, 10, Abbott Terrace, Halifax.
W. M. Robinson, 10, Johnson Street, London, S.W.1.
C. Maher, 87, Chapman Street, Oldham Road, Manchester.
H. A. Hind, 12, St. Ackmund's Churchyard, Derby.
Charles Duncan, J.P., M.P., Secretary.

Names of Societies.	No. of Members.	No. of Votes.	Affiliation Fees. £	s.	d.	Secretaries and Addresses.	Delegates and Addresses.
Workers, National Union of General ...	300582	...301	..3757	5	6 ...	W. Thorne, M.P., 28, Tavistock Square, ... London, W.C.1.	G. Lansbury, M.P., 2, Carmelite Street, London, E.C.4. J. Hill, 150, North Rd., Southend-on-Sea. A. E. Seabury, 52, Chapel Street, Salford, Manchester. C. Smithson, 275, Railway St., Nelson. J. E. Lord, 30, The Pavement, York. W. Wood, 79, Great George St., Leeds. J. H. Young, 11, Benton Avenue, Medlicott Road, Sparkhill, Birmingham. J. H. Davis, 103, Lower Lichfield Street, Willenhall, Staffs. Councillor R. Marshall, 124, Industry Road, Darnall, Sheffield. Councillor R. Kirk, 14, Badsley Street, Rotherham. A. R. Price, Unity Chambers, Athenæum Street, Sunderland. A. Dinsdale, Unity Chambers, Athenæum Street, Sunderland. F. Quick, 2, Barrack Hill, Newport, Mon. J. A. Dillamore, 8, Sutton Street, Carholme Road, Lincoln. G. Eyre, 6, Delhi Place, Broadgate, Lincoln. J. T. Edlin, Newstead House, St. James' Street, Nottingham. L. Burton, Newstead House, St. James' Street, Nottingham. A. Donnet, 6, Panmure Street, Dundee. J. McKenzie, 141, Bath Street, Glasgow. Rt. Hon. J. R. Clynes, M.P., 41, St. John's Road, Putney, S.W.1. J. Jones, M.P., 28, Tavistock Square, London, W.C.1. W. Sherwood, 28, Tavistock Square, London, W.C.1. W. Thorne, M.P., Secretary.

Names of Societies.	*No. of Members.*	*No. of Votes.*	*Affiliation Fees.* £ s. d.	*Secretaries and Addresses.*	*Delegates and Addresses.*
Fabian Society	1760	2	22 0 0	F. W. Galton, 25, Tothill Street, Westminster, London, S.W.1.	Miss A. S. Lawrence, L.C.C., 16a, John Street, Adelphi, London, W.C.2. Sidney Webb, M.P., 41, Grosvenor Road, Westminster, London, S.W.1.
Herald League	500	1	6 5 0	G. Belt, 2, Carmelite Street, London, E.C.4.	G. Belt, Secretary.
Independent Labour Party	26000	26	325 0 0	F. Johnson, Headland House, Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C.1.	Clifford Allen, 70, Overstrand Mansions, Prince of Wales Road, Battersea, S.W. J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., 9, Howitt Road, N.W.3. F. W. Jowett, M.P., 1, Victoria Chambers, Little Horton Lane, Bradford. R. C. Wallhead, M.P., Valley Road, Welwyn Garden City. John Wheatley, M.P., "Romesdale," Hill Street, Shettleston, Glasgow. Bailie P. J. Dollan, 52, Albert Drive, Glasgow. Jack Lees, 63, Gainsborough Grove, Newcastle. Ben Riley, M.P., 28, Westfield Avenue, Huddersfield. C. J. Bundock, Keir Cottage, Station Road, Thorpe Bay. Councillor P. F. Pollard, 70, Northgate Street, Colchester. E. E. Hunter, 5, York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C.2. Councillor W. H. Ayles, Kingsley Hall, Old Market Street, Bristol. J. H. Hudson, 5, Laburnum Avenue, Folly Lane, Swinton, Manchester. Mrs. Agnes Dollan, 52, Albert Drive, Glasgow. C. R. Attlee, M.P., House of Commons, S.W.1. James Maxton, M.P., House of Commons, S.W.1.

Names of Societies.	*No. of Members.*	*No. of Votes.*	*Affiliation Fees.* £ s. d.	*Secretaries and Addresses.*	*Delegates and Addresses.*
Independent Labour Party —(*continued*).	... —	... —	... — ...	—	W. H. Martin, 109, Bath Street, Glasgow. C. W. Carlton, 6, Fearnley Street, Armley, Leeds. F. A. Pope, Scarletts Road, Colchester. Fred Brenan, Halwell House, Halwell Street, Plymouth. Harry Davies, 27, Park Street, Taibach, Port Talbot. E. Sandham, 19, Colyton Road, Chorley. A. Fenner Brockway, 308, Gray's Inn Road, W.C.1. John Scurr, Norway House, Norway Place, E.14. Fred Perriman, 88, Rutland Street, Leicester. W. Todd, 16, Charlaw Terrace, Sacriston, Durham. Francis Johnson, Secretary.
Jewish Socialist Labour Party (Poale Zion)	... 1500	... 2	... 12 10 0*	S. Dreen, 27, Sandys Row, Bishopsgate, ... London, E.1.	S. Kaplansky, 3, Upper Park Road, Hampstead, London, N.W.3. M. Shertak, 78, Brondesbury Villas, London, N.W.6.
Social Democratic Federation	... 2000	... 2	... 25 0 0	T. Kennedy, 36, Clerkenwell Green, London, ... E.C.1.	E. J. Pay, 95, Totteridge Road, High Wycombe, Bucks. Thomas Kennedy, Secretary.

* Part payment.

KEY TO INDEX LETTERS REPRESENTING PARTY ORGANISING DISTRICTS.

A. North-Eastern District.
B. North-Western District.
C. Midlands District.
D. Southern and Home Counties District.
E. London District.
F. South-Western District.
G. Eastern District.
H. Wales.
J. Scotland.
K. Universities.

KEY TO NATURE OF CONSTITUENCY.

(C.D.) County Divisions 292
(S.B.) Single-Membered Boroughs 86
(D.M.B.) Double-Membered Boroughs (12 with 2 Members each) 24
(D.B.) Divided Boroughs ... ... } 189
(B.D.) Borough Divisions ... ... }
(U.) Universities 11
Total Number of Seats 602

Constituencies and Index Nos.		*Local Parties or Councils.*	*Affiliation Fees.* £ s. d.	*No. of Votes.*	*Secretaries and Addresses.*	*Delegates and Addresses.*
Bedford.						
D1. Bedford	(C.D.) ...	Bedford D.L.P.	... 2 0 0	... 1 ...	P. J. Whitney, 22, Trinity Road, Bedford. ...	—
D2. Mid-Bedford	(C.D.)					
D3. Luton	(C.D.) ...	Luton D.L.P.	...	...	F. J. Holdstock, 69, Clarendon Road, Luton. ...	—
Berks.						
D4. Reading	(S.B.) ...	Reading T.C. & L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 2 ...	A. Lockwood, 40, Oxford Road, Reading. ...	Miss M. Broadley, "Coniston," Melrose Avenue, Reading. A. Lockwood, Secretary.
D5. Abingdon	(C.D.) ...	North Berks (Abingdon) D.L.P.			— Bradford, Wallingford, Berks. ...	—
D6. Newbury	(C.D.) ...	Newbury D.L.P.	...	...	A. O. Moore, 3, Avon View, Kings Road, Newbury. ...	—
D7. Windsor	(C.D.)					
Bucks.						
D8. Aylesbury	(C.D.) ...	Mid-Bucks (Aylesbury) D.L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1 ...	F. Standring, 24, Prebendal Avenue, Southcourt, Aylesbury. ...	—
D9. Buckingham	(C.D.) ...	Buckingham D.L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1 ...	L. H. Filby, 85, Western Road, Wolverton. ...	—
D10. Wycombe	(C.D.) ...	South Buckingham (Wycombe) D.L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 2 ...	E. E. Talbot, 15, Priory Avenue, High Wycombe. ...	Wm. Mapstone, J.P., 82, Montague Road, Slough, Bucks. Mrs. F. E. Boyd Dawson, "Highway," Hazlemere, High Wycombe, Bucks.
Cambridge.						
G11. Cambridge	(S.B.) ...	Cambridge (Borough) T.C. & L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1 ...	J. J. Overton, 209, Milton Road, Cambridge. ...	Councillor W. Few, J.P., 150, Sedgwick Street, Cambridge.
G12. Cambridge	(C.D.) ...	Cambridge T.C. & D.L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1 ...	T. C. Edis, 3, Caxton Lane, Foxton, Cambs. ...	T. C. Edis, Secretary.

Constituencies and Index Nos.		*Local Parties or Councils.*	*Affiliation Fees.* £ s. d.	*No. of Votes.*	*Secretaries and Addresses.*	*Delegates and Addresses.*
Cheshire.						
B13/14. Birkenhead	(D.B.)	Birkenhead T.C. & L.P.	3 0 0	2	Coun. W. H. Egan, 49, Hamilton Square, Birkenhead.	Jack Williams, 117, Gorsefield Road, Birkenhead.
B13. Birkenhead E	(B.D.)					—
B14. Birkenhead W	(B.D.)					—
B15. Stockport	(D.M.B.)	Stockport T.C. & L.P.	3 0 0	2	G. A. Crossley, 32, Petersburg Road, Stockport.	James Scott, J.P., 24, Parsonage Street, Heaton Norris, Stockport.
B16. Wallasey	(S.B.)	Wallasey D.L.P.	2 10 0	1	W. A. F. Hill, 75, Seaview Road, Liscard, Wallasey.	—
B17. Altrincham	(C.D.)	Altrinchan D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	C. H. Gledhill, 1, Newstead Terrace, Timperley.	—
B18. City of Chester	(C.D.)	Chester T.C. & L.P.	2 0 0	1	R. Matthewson, 35, St. Mark's Road, Saltney, Chester.	Councillor W. H. Ebrey, 21, Henry Street, Chester.
B19. Crewe	(C.D.)	Crewe D.L.P. & T.C.	1 10 0	1	A. Denton, 222, Ruskin Road, Crewe.	Councillor H. Hatton, 178, Gresty Road, Crewe.
B20. Eddisbury	(C.D.)					
B21. Knutsford	(C.D.)	Knutsford D.L.P.			E. Sheldon, 51, Chapel Street, Hazel Grove, Stockport.	—
B22. Macclesfield	(C.D.)	Macclesfield D.L.P.			W. E. Longden, Trades Hall, Chatham Street, Macclesfield.	—
B23. Northwich	(C.D.)	Northwich D.L.P.	2 10 10	1	F. Parker, The Labour Hall, 16, Apple-Market Street, Northwich.	F. Parker, Secretary.
B24. Stalybridge & Hyde	(C.D.)	Stalybridge & Hyde Parliamentary D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	T. Brown, 3, Whitehead Street, Dukinfield, Cheshire.	—
B25. Wirral	(C.D.)	Wirral D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	S. Jones, 1, Poet's Corner, Port Sunlight, Cheshire.	—
Cornwall.						
F26. Bodmin	(C.D.)					
F27. Camborne	(C.D.)	Camborne D.L.P. & T.C.	1 10 0	1	J. Oxman, Illogan Highway, Redruth.	—
F28. Northern	(C.D.)	Northern Cornwall D.L.P	1 10 0	1	W. J. Harding, 25, Northgate Street, Launceston.	—
F29. Penryn and Falmouth	(C.D.)	Penryn & Falmouth D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	F. T. Coad, Bisson Hill, Mylor, Penryn.	—
F30. St. Ives	(C.D.)	St. Ives D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	H. Trembath, 10, Bay View Terrace, Penzance.	—
Cumberland.						
B31. Carlisle	(S.B.)	Carlisle T.C. & L.P.	1 10 0	1	John Wynne, Trades Hall, Scotch Street, Carlisle.	John Wynne, Secretary.
B32. Northern	(C.D.)					—

B35. Workington	(C.D.)	...	Workington D.L.P.	...	2	10	0	...	1	...	Coun. J. Wilson, 34, Dora Crescent, Workington.	...	Mrs. Cape, 91, Harrington Road, Workington.
Derby.													
C36. Derby	(D.M.B.)	...	Derby L.P. & T.C.	...	13	13	2	...	2	...	W. R. Raynes, 63, London Road, Derby.	...	W. R. Raynes, Secretary.
C37. Belper	(C.D.)	...	Belper D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	C. Bishop, 32, Priory Road, Alfreton, Derbyshire.	...	—
C38. Chesterfield	(C.D.)	...	Chesterfield D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	..	J. H. Harvey, 36, Alexandra Road, Chesterfield.	...	J. H. Harvey, Secretary.
C39. Clay Cross	(C.D.)	...	Clay Cross D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	F. Haynes, Brooke Street, Tibshelf, Derbyshire.	...	Fred Haynes, Secretary.
C40. High Peak	(C.D.)	...	High Peak D.L.P.	...	5	0	0	...	1	...	G. H. Bradbury, Bryn-y-moor, Sheffield Road, Glossop.	...	—
C41. Ilkeston	(C.D.)	...	Ilkeston D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	G. Draycott, Cromford Road, Ripley, Derbyshire.	...	Ernest Heskett, 36, Richmond Avenue, Ilkeston.
C42. North Eastern	(C.D.)	...	Derbyshire (N.E.) D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	S. Green, 17, Gray Street, Clowne, Derbyshire.	...	Mrs. Whitworth, 31, The Villas, Sheffield Road, Killamarsh, near Sheffield.
C43. Southern	(C.D.)	...	Derbyshire (S.) D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	L. Straw, 101, Oxford Street, Church Gresley, near Burton-on-Trent.	...	—
C44. Western	(C.D.)												—
Devon.													
F45. Exeter	(S.B.)	...	Exeter D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	E. G. Lee, 15, Roberts Road, Exeter.	...	—
F46/48. Plymouth	(D.B.)	...	Plymouth Borough L.P.	...									—
F46. Plymouth, Drake	(B.D.)	...	Drake D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	..	W. A. Miller, No. 7 Room, 3rd Floor, Plymouth Chambers, Drake Circus, Plymouth.	...	—
F47. Plymouth and Devonport	(B.D.)	...	Devonport D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	A. Cockburn, 7, Third Avenue, The Rectory, Devonport.	...	—
F48. Plymouth, Sutton	(B.D.)	...	Sutton D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	A. H. Gregory, 112, Alexandra Road, Plymouth.	...	Capt. F. Brinan, Halwell House, Halwell Street, Plymouth.
F49. Barnstaple	(C.D.)	...	Barnstaple D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	L. A. Worswick, 37, Sunflower Road, Barnstaple.	...	—
F50. Honiton	(C.D.)												—
F51. South Molton	(C.D.)	...	South Molton D.L.P.	...						...	F. H. Hobbs, 41, North Street, South Molton.	...	—
F52. Tavistock	(C.D.)												—
F53. Tiverton	(C.D.)	...	Tiverton D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	F. Martin, 11, Alexandra Terrace, Tiverton, Devon.	...	—
F54. Torquay	(C.D.)	...	Torquay D.L.P.	...	2	15	0	...	1	...	F. Greenwood, Torhaven, Cricketfield Road, Torquay.	..	—
F55. Totnes	(C.D.)												—
Dorset.													
F56. Eastern	(C.D.)	...	Dorset (East) D.L.P.	...	2	0	0	...	1	...	F. J. Hopkins, Sunny Lawn, Ashley Road, Parkstone, Dorset.	...	F. J. Hopkins, Secretary.

Constituencies and Index Nos.		Local Parties or Councils.	Affiliation Fees. £ s. d.	No. of Votes.	Secretaries and Addresses.	Delegates and Addresses.
Dorset (*continued*).						
F57. Northern	(C.D.)					
F58. Southern	(C.D.)	Dorset (South) D.L.P.			T. H. Winzar, 28, Newstead Road, Weymouth.	—
F59. Western	(C.D.)	Dorset (West) D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	F. Ferrett, 17, Dagmar Road, Dorchester.	—
Durham.						
A60. Darlington	(S.B.)	Darlington D.L.P.	8 0 0	1	Ben Dodd, Post Office Chambers, Northgate, Darlington.	Ben Dodd, Secretary.
A61. Gateshead	(S.B.)	Gateshead L.P. & T.C.	1 10 0	1	R. Johnson, 17, Caris Street, Gateshead.	—
A62. Hartlepool	(S.B.)	Hartlepool D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	W. T. Potter, 13, Harbour Terrace, West Hartlepool.	—
A63. South Shields	(S.B.)	South Shields T.C. & L.P.	1 10 0	1	H. Donnelly, 99, Collingwood Street, South Shields.	—
A64. Stockton-on-Tees	(S.B.)	Stockton & Thornaby T.C.	1 15 0	1	A. J. Thatcher, Second Floor, Cinema Bldgs, High Street, Stockton-on-Tees.	J. Vipond, 24, Grove Street, Stockton-on-Tees.
A65. Sunderland	(D.M.B.)	Sunderland T.C. & L.P.	1 10 0	2	A. E. Wood, 7, Queen's Crescent, Sunderland.	—
A66. Barnard Castle	(CD)	Barnard Castle D.L.P.	2 0 0	1	John Cape, "Avons House," Stanley Crook, Co. Durham.	Herbert Buttle, Central Buildings, Staindrop, Darlington.
A67. Bishop Auckland	(C.D.)	Bishop Auckland D.L.P.	1 15 0	1	Harry Leedale, 3, Croft Terrace, Coundon, Bishop Auckland.	Ben C. Spoor, M.P., House of Commons, London, S.W.1.
A68. Blaydon	(C.D.)	Blaydon D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	J. Gilliland, Second Avenue, Chester-le-Street, Co. Durham.	Steve Lawther, 23, Trent Street, Chopwell, Co. Durham.
A69. Chester-le-Street	(C.D.)	Chester-le-Street D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	J. Gilliland, Second Avenue, Chester-le-Street.	Councillor R. Smiley, Twizell Lane, Beamish, Co. Durham.
A70. Consett	(C.D.)	Consett D.L.P.	3 0 0	1	B. J. Burridge, 3, Pelaw Avenue, Stanley, Co. Durham.	—
A71. Durham	(C.D.)	Durham D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	R. Shotton, Sedgwick's Buildings, Auton Stile, Bearpark, Durham.	J. Robertshaw, 24, Ladysmith Terrace, Ushaw Moor, Durham.
A72. Houghton-le-Spring	(C.D.)	Houghton-le-Spring D.L.P.	3 6 8	1	H. Bainbridge, 34, Mount Road West, Sunderland.	H. Bainbridge, Secretary.
A73. Jarrow	(C.D.)	Jarrow D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	George Harvey, Miners' Hall, Wardley, Pelaw-on-Tyne.	—
A74. Seaham	(C.D.)	Seaham D.L.P.	1 13 4	1	Rev. J. Herron, 19, Maureen Terrace, Seaham Harbour, Co. Durham.	Rev. J. R. Herron, Secretary.
A75. Sedgefield	(C.D.)	Sedgefield D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	J. W. Foster, Fern House, Ferryhill Station, Co. Durham.	Councillor J. P. Berry, New Houses, Trindon Grange, Co. Durham.
A76. Spennymoor	(C.D.)	Spennymoor D.L.P.	2 0 0	1	J. Cape, "Avons House," Stanley Crook, Co. Durham.	Mathew Reed, New Row, Oakenshaw, Co. Durham.
Essex.						
G77/78. East Ham	(D.B.)	East Ham T.C. & L.P.	1 10 0	2	E. B. Hall, 235, Browning Road, Manor	Councillor E. Tanner, 153, Milton

G77. East Ham, N.	(B.D.)	...	North East Ham D.L.P.	..	2	0	0	...	1	...	W. Stewart Rainbird, Labour Hall, Katherine Road, East Ham, London, E.6	...	Albert Allwright, 47, Manor Park, London, E.12.		
G78. East Ham, S.	(B.D.)	...	South East Ham D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	G. H. Manser, 5, Sandford Road, East Ham, E.6.	...	T. S. Thomas, 165, Plashet Grove, East Ham, London, E.		
G79. Ilford	(S.B.)	...	Ilford L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	A. E. Haeger, 3, St. Mary's Road, Ilford.	...	D. Chater, Ley Street Farm, Ley Street, Ilford.		
G80/81. Leyton	(D.B.)	...	Leyton (Borough) L.P.	....				...		...	G. J. Packman, 11, Westdown Road, Leyton, London, E.15.	...	—		
G80. Leyton, East	(B.D.)	...	East Leyton D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	F. C. Westfield, 38, Woodriffe Road, Leytonstone, London, E.11.	...	Mrs. Batley, 89, Frith Road, Leyton, London, E.10.		
G81. Leyton, West	(B.D.)	...	West Leyton D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	..	E. C. Hardy, 33, Cheltenham Road, Leyton, London, E.10.	...	Mrs. Lister, 21, Abbot's Park Road, Leyton, E.10.		
G82. Southend-on-Sea	(S.B.)	...	Southend-on-Sea T.C. & L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	C. E. Butcher, 61, London Road, Southend.	...	H. H. Elvin, 7, Canvey Road, Leigh-on-Sea, Essex.		
G83/84. Walthamstow	(D.B.)	...	Walthamstow (Central) L.P.	...	3	0	0	...	1	..	W. H. Jacob, 342, Hoe Street, Walthamstow, London, E.17.	...	V. L. McEntee, M.P., 64, Ulverston Road, E.17.		
G83. Walthamstow, East	(B.D.)	...	Walthamstow (East) D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1				Mrs. M. Murray, 24, Eastfield Road, London, E.17.		
G84. Walthamstow, West	(B.D.)	...	Walthamstow (West) D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1				W. H. Jacob, Secretary.		
G85/88. West Ham	(D.B.)	...	West Ham T.C. & B.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	W. T. Nichols, 464, Barking Road, London, E.14.	...	J. Foster, 108, Argyle Road, Custom House, London, E.16.		
G85. West Ham, Plaistow	(B.D.)			...				...					—		
G86. West Ham, Silvertown	(B.D.)			...				...					—		
G87. West Ham, Stratford	(B.D.)	...	Stratford D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	G. W. King, 65, St. James's Road, Stratford. E.15.	...	Henry C. Clark, 130, Maryland Road, Stratford, E.15.		
G88. West Ham, Upton	(B.D.)	...	Upton D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	S. G. Barnes, 128, Neville Road, Forest Gate, E.	...	A. Y. Murray, 18, Westbury Road, Forest Gate, E.7.		
G89. Chelmsford	(C.D.)	...	Chelmsford D.L.P.	...				...		...	C. H. Whiston, 68, Waterhouse Street, Chelmsford.	...	—		
G90. Colchester	(C.D.)	...	Colchester D.L.P	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	P. F. Pollard, Labour Club, Eld Lane, Colchester.	...	Councillor T. Smith, 26, Bourne Road, Colchester.		
G91. Epping	(C.D.)	...	Epping (West Essex) D.L.P.	...				...					—		
G92. Harwich	(C.D.)	...	Harwich D.L.P.	...				...							
G93. Maldon	(C.D.)	...	Maldon D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	W. W. Burrows, High Street, Witham, Essex.	...	W. W. Burrows, Secretary.		
G94. Romford	(C.D.)	...	Romford D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	J. L. Fish, 8, Fanshawe Avenue, Barking.	...	—		
G95. Saffron Walden	(C.D)	...	Saffron Walden D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	R. H. R. Davey, The Garth, Great Easton, near Dunmow, Essex.	...	Rev. P. E. T. Widdrington, The Rectory, Great Easton, near Dunmow, Essex.		
G96. South-Eastern	(C.D.)	...	Essex (South East) D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	W. C. Farrow, 134, Clarence Road, Grays.	...	Mrs. T. M. Read Andrews, Pear Tree Nursery, Bulphan, near Romford, Essex.		

Constituencies and Index Nos.		Local Parties or Councils.	Affiliation Fees. £ s. d.	No. of Votes.	Secretaries and Addresses.	Delegates and Addresses.
Gloucester.						
F97/101. Bristol	(D.B.) ...	Bristol T.C. & L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1	... E. H. Parker, 11, High Street, Bristol.	... F. Berriman, 19, Hall Street, Bedminster Down, Bristol.
F97. Bristol, Cent.	(B.D.) ...		...	...		—
F98. Bristol, E.	(B.D.) ...	Bristol (East) D.L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1	... H. E. Rogers, 84, Church Road, Redfield.	... Councillor W. A. Winchester, 4, Langton Road, St. Annes Park, Bristol.
F99. Bristol, N.	(B.D.) ...	Bristol (North) D.L.P.	1 10 0	... 1	... W. H. Jones, 4, Warwick Road, Eastville, Bristol.	... —
F100. Bristol, S.	(B.D.) ...	Bristol (South) L.P.	...	...	... D. Williams, 32, St. Luke's Road, Totterdown, Bristol.	... —
F101. Bristol, W.	(B.D.) ...	Bristol (West) L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1	... W. Carson, 3, Aberdeen Road, Bristol.	... —
C102. Cheltenham	(S.B.) ...	Cheltenham L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1	... A. T. Quelch, 12, Fairfield Road, Cheltenham.	... —
C103. Gloucester	(S.B.) ...	Gloucester L.P. & T.C.	... 1 10 0	... 1	... J. E. Curtis, Ruskin Hall, The Cross, Gloucester.	... J. E. Curtis, Secretary.
C104. Circencester & Tewkesbury	(C.D.) ...	Cirencester and Tewkesbury D.L.P.	2 0 0	... 1	... Lionel E. Horne, Moreton-in-Marsh, Gloucester.	... Lionel E. Horne, Secretary.
C105. Forest of Dean	(C.D.) ...	Forest of Dean D.L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1	... C. W. Luker, "Glenville," Whitecroft, near Lydney.	... Charles W. Luker, Secretary.
C106. Stroud	(C.D.) ...	Stroud or Mid-Gloucester D.L.P.	2 2 0	... 1	... A. W. Johnson, Orchard House, Stonehouse, Gloucester.	... A. W. Johnson, Secretary.
C107. Thornbury	(C.D.) ...	Thornbury D.L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1	... J. R. Edwards, Roadway View, Staple Hill, near Bristol.	... J. H. Alpass, 46, Whiteladies Road, Clifton, Bristol.
Hants.						
D108. Bournemouth	(S.B.) ...	Bournemouth L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1	... F. Jeans, 8, Cardigan Road, Winton, Bournemouth.	... —
D109/111. Portsmouth	(D.B) ...	Portsmouth Borough T.C. & L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1	... G. B. Longbottom, 1, Beaulieu Road, N. End, Portsmouth.	... Major Leigh Aman, Rowlands Castle, Hants.
D109. Portsmouth Central	(B.D.) ...	Portsmouth (Central) D.L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1	... W. J. Gauntlett, 29, King Street, Landport, Portsmouth.	... —
D110. Portsmouth, N.	(B.D) ...	Portsmouth (Northern) D.L.P.	...	...	... H. B. Hargrave, 272, Chichester Road, North End, Portsmouth.	... —
D111. Portsmouth, S.	(B.D) ...	Portsmouth (Southern) D.L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1	... L. C. Gauntlett, 143, Henderson Road, Eastney, Portsmouth.	... —
D112. Southampton	(D.M.B) ...	Southampton T.C. & L.P.	... 3 0 0	... 2	... Coun. T. Lewis, 22, St. Mary's Street, Southampton.	... Mrs. E. Palmer, J.P., 12, Shakespeare Avenue, Southampton. Councillor A. J. Thompson, 8, Thornycroft Avenue, Woolston, Southampton.
D113. Aldershot	(C.D.) ...	Aldershot D.L.P.	... 0 10 0*	...	... Harry Lloyd, 59, St. George's Road, Aldershot.	... —
D114. Basingstoke	(C.D.) ...	Basingstoke D.L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1	... E. F. Bailey, 13, Millway Road, Andover.	... —

* Part payment.

D116. New Forest & Christchurch	(C.D.)	...	New Forest & Christchurch D.L.P.	...				...	H. J. Short, Unity House, Millhams Street, Christchurch.	...	—		
D117. Petersfield	(C.D.)	...	Petersfield (East Hants) D.L.P.	2	2	0	... 2	...	C. Preston, 9, Park Close Road, Alton, Hants.	...	Miss Phyllis Corns, The Hut, Steep, Petersfield, Hants. Charles Preston, Secretary.		
D118. Winchester	(C.D.)	...	Winchester D.L.P.	... 1	10	0	... 1	...	Rev. P. H. Osmond, Avington Rectory, Winchester.	...	Rev. P. H. Osmond, Secretary.		
Hereford.													
C119. Hereford	(C.D.)	...	Herefordshire D.L.P.	... 2	0	0	... 1	...	Mrs. Ada Baker, 45, Chandos Street, Hereford.	...	Mrs. Ada Baker, Secretary.		
C120. Leominster	(C.D.)			...			...				—		
Herts.													
D121. Hemel Hempstead	(C.D.)	...	Hemel Hempstead D.L.P.	1	10	0	... 1	...	J. Hawkes, Culand, Hemel Hempstead.	...	—		
D122. Hertford	(C.D.)			...			...				—		
D123. Hitchin	(C.D.)	...	Hitchin (North Herts) D.L.P.	... 1	10	0	... 1	...	C. E. Tritton, 10, Lytton Avenue, Letchworth.	...	H. Bonfield, 34, Dacre Road, Hitchin, Herts.		
D124. St. Albans	(C.D.)	...	St. Albans D.L.P.	... 1	10	0	... 2	...	L. R. Roberts, 38, Strafford Road, Barnet	...	Miss F. M. Henderson, Lyndhurst, Ravencroft Park, Barnet, Herts. George Dallas, 18, Dellcott Close, Welwyn Garden City, Herts.		
D125. Watford	(C.D.)	...	Watford D.L.P.	... 1	10	0	... 1	...	Marshall G. Cooper, 117, Whippendell Road, Watford.	...	—		
Hunts.													
G126. Huntingdon	(C.D.)	...	Hunts D.L.P.	... 1	10	0	... 1	...	Wm. Bonnett, 35, Ermine Street, Huntingdon.	...	—		
Isle of Ely.													
G127. Isle of Ely	(C.D.)	...	Isle of Ely D.L.P.	... 3	4	6	... 1	...	E. Smith, 66, New Park, March, Cambs.	...	—		
Isle of Wight													
D128. Isle of Wight	(C.D.)	...	Isle of Wight D.L.P.	...			...		C. C. Piggott, Clyst House, Elmfield, Ryde, Isle of Wight.	...	—		
Kent.													
D129. Bromley	(S.B.)	...	Bromley D.L.P.	... 2	0	0	... 1	...	S. H. Doughty, 130, Mackenzie Road, Beckenham, Kent.	...	Sidney H. Doughty, Secretary.		
D130. Hythe	(S.B.)	...	Hythe L.P. & Folkestone T. & L.C.	... 1	10	0	... 1	...	Mrs. M. E. Henning, 10, Penfold Road, Folkestone.	...	—		
D131/132. Rochester	(D.B.)										—		
D131. Rochester, Chatham	(B.D.)	...	Chatham T. & L.C.	... 1	10	0	... 1	...	H. A. Shellock, 64, Rainham Road, Chatham.	...	H. J. Stearne, 47, Magpie Hall Road, Chatham.		
D132. Rochester, Gillingham	(B.D.)										—		
D133. Ashford	(C.D.)	...	Ashford & District L.P.	... 2	10	0	.. 1	...	H. Williams, 134, Cudworth Road, S. Willesborough, Kent.	...	—		

Constituencies and Index Nos.		*Local Parties or Councils.*	*Affiliation Fees.* £ s. d.	*No. of Votes.*	*Secretaries and Addresses.*	*Delegates and Addresses.*
Kent (*continued*).						
D134. Canterbury	(C.D.)	Canterbury D.L.P.	...	...	W. Hawks, 16, Island Wall, Whitstable.	—
D135. Chislehurst	(C.D.)					
D136. Dartford	(C.D.)	Dartford D.L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1	Robert Cross, 125, Colyers Lane, Erith.	Mrs. Stephenson, 31, Shepherds Lane, Dartford. Robert Cross, Secretary.
D137. Dover	(C.D.)	Dover D.L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1	H. Ellis, 188, Heathfield Avenue, Dover.	S. Taylor, 4, Shipman's Way, Dover.
D138. Faversham	(C.D.)	Faversham D.L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1	W. T. Butt, 5, Preston Place, Faversham.	Cllr. S. H. Thomsett, 14, Galway Road, Sheerness, Kent.
D139. Gravesend	(C.D.)	Gravesend D.L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1	W. H. Hunt, 14, Overcliffe, Gravesend, Kent.	Miss K. M. Horrigan, 22, High Street, Northfleet, Kent. W. H. Hunt, Secretary.
D140. Isle of Thanet	(C.D.)	Isle of Thanet D.L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1	F. Hayward, 21, Hollicondane Road, Ramsgate.	—
D141. Maidstone	(C.D.)	Maidstone D.L.P.	... 2 10 0	... 1	Frank Organ, 26, Stone Street, Maidstone	Alan Hayes, 26, Stone Street, Maidstone.
D142. Sevenoaks	(C.D.)	Sevenoaks D.L.P.	...	...	F. G. Dore, Rutland Villa, West Malling.	—
D143. Tonbridge	(C.D.)	Tonbridge D.L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1	F. E. Gowen, 68, Hectorage Road, Tonbridge.	—
Lancashire.						
B144. Accrington	(S.B.)	Accrington T.C. & L.P.	1 10 0	... 1	W. Howson, 19, Warner St., Accrington.	Wm. Howson, Secretary.
B145. Ashton-under-Lyne	(S.B.)	Ashton-under-Lyne & Dukinfield T.C.	... 1 10 0	... 1	A. J. Heal, 7, Warrington Street, Ashton-under-Lyne.	—
B146. Barrow-in-Furness	(S.B.)	Barrow L.P. & T.C.	... 1 10 0	... 1	Bram Longstaffe, 224, Dalton Road, Barrow-in-Furness.	Bram Longstaffe, Secretary.
B147. Blackburn	(D.M.B.)	Blackburn L.P.	... 3 0 0	... 2	G. B. Eddie, 52a, Victoria Street, Blackburn.	Councillor T. Hurley, 24, William Henry Street, Blackburn. G. B. Eddie, Secretary.
B148. Blackpool	(S.B.)	Blackpool L.P.	...	...	E. Stevenson, 10, William Street, Little Layton, Blackpool.	—
B149. Bolton	(D.M.B.)	Bolton L.P.	... 3 0 0	... 2	H. Eastwood, Spinners Hall, St. George's Road, Bolton.	Herbert Eastwood, Secretary.
B150. Bootle	(S.B.)	Bootle T.C. & L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1	T. Garnett, 5, Thornton Avenue, Orrell, Bootle, Liverpool.	T. Garnett, Secretary.
B151. Burnley	(S.B.)	Burnley T.C.	... 1 10 0	... 1	Coun. J. W. Gradwell, J.P., 1, Yorke Street, Burnley.	—
B152. Bury	(S.B.)	Bury L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1	F. H. Edwards, Agent's Office, Peter Street, Moorgate, Bury, Lancs.	Frank H. Edwards, Secretary.
B153. Eccles	(S.B.)	Eccles L.P.	...1 10 0	... 1	W. M. Rogerson, 6, Mayfield Avenue, Walkden, Manchester, Lancs.	—
B154. Leigh	(S.B.)	Leigh & District T. & L.C.	... 1 10 0	... 1	J. W. Bibby, J.P., 45, New Platt Street, Leigh, Lancs.	Clifford Hardman, 17, Argyle Street, Atherton, Lancs. Mrs. E. Mottram, 175, Newton Road,

B155. Liverpool, East Toxteth	(B.D.)	...	East Toxteth D.L.P.						...	H. Demain, 16, Penguern Street, Liverpool.	...		—
B156. Liverpool, Edge Hill	(B.D.)	...	Edge Hill D.L.P.	...					...	G. L. Barber, 94a, Selborne Street, Liverpool.	...		—
B157. Liverpool, Everton	(B.D.)	...	Everton D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	... 1	...	E. Powell, 43, Pottier Street, Everton, Liverpool.	...		—
B158. Liverpool, Exchange	(B.D.)			...				...					—
B159. Liverpool, Fairfield	(B.D.)	...	Fairfield D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	... 1					—
B160. Liverpool, Kirkdale	(B.D.)	...	Kirkdale D.L.P.	..	1	10	0	... 1	...	S. Shaw, 32, Pugin Street, Kirkdale, Liverpool.	...		—
B161. Liverpool, Scotland	(B.D.)	...	Liverpool (Scotland) D.L.P.	...					...	J. McChrystal, 38, Dublin Street, Liverpool.	...		—
B162. Liverpool, Walton	(B.D.)	...	Walton D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	... 1	...	W. A. Nelson, 68, Stuart Road, Liverpool.	...		—
B163. Liverpool, Wavertree	(B.D.)	...	Wavertree D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	... 1	...	T. T. George, 1a, Bartlett Street, Liverpool.	...		—
B164. Liverpool, West Derby	(B.D.)	...	West Derby D.L.P.	...				...	...	J. Scrambler, 25, Rosthwaite Road, West Derby, Liverpool.	...		—
B165. Liverpool, West Toxteth	(B.D.)	...	West Toxteth D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	... 1	...	H. Demain, 16, Penguern Street, Liverpool.	...		—
B166/175a. Manchester	(D.B.)	...	Manchester (Borough) L.P.	...	1	10	0	... 1	...	W. T. Jackson, 3 Clarence Street, Albert Square, Manchester.	..	C. Priestley, 6, Cardigan Street, Phillips Park Road, Beswick, Manchester.	
B166/175b. Manchester	(D.B.)	...	Manchester & Salford T.C.	...	1	10	0	... 1	...	Coun. W. Mellor, J.P., 3, Clarence Street, Albert Square, Manchester.	...	Councillor W. Mellor, J.P., Secretary.	
B166. Manchester & Ardwick	(B.D.)	...	Ardwick Local L.P.	...	1	10	0	... 1	...	W. Perkins, 140, Pollard Street, Ancoats, Manchester.	...		—
B167. Manchester, Blackley	(B.D.)	...	Blackley Local L.P.	...	1	10	0	... 1	..	G. G. Wellings, 72, Market Street, Manchester.	...	G. G. Wellings, Secretary.	
B168. Manchester, Clayton	(B.D.)	...	Clayton L.P.	...	1	10	0	... 1	...	F. Staddon, 38, Park Street, Clayton, Manchester.	...		—
B169. Manchester, Exchange	(B.D.)	...	Exchange D.L.P.						...	A. Mellor, 20, Temple Square, Cheetham, Manchester.	...		—
B170. Manchester, Gorton	(B.D.)	...	Gorton U.T.C.	...	2	4	6	... 1	...	W. Davy, J.P., 63, Central Road, Gorton, Manchester.	...	J. Brotherton, 10, Cromwell Street, Openshaw, Manchester.	
B171. Manchester, Hulme	(B.D.)	...	Hulme Local L.P.	...	1	10	0	... 1	...	E. A. Smith, 295, Stretford Road, Hulme, Manchester.	...	C. Bearmand, 16, Blantyre Street, Hulme, Manchester.	
B172. Manchester, Moss Side	(B.D.)	...	Moss Side D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	... 1	...	H. King, 30, Carter Street, Greenheys, near Manchester.	...		—
B173. Manchester, Platting	(B.D.)	...	Platting D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	... 1	...	F. Winstanly, 51, Waverley Road, Moston, Manchester.	...		—
B174. Manchester, Rusholme	(B.D.)	...	Rusholme L.P.	...	1	10	0	... 1	...	J. Compton, 48, Whitby Road, Fallowfield, Manchester.	...	Mrs. C. Compton, 48, Whitby Road, Fallowfield, Manchester.	

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Lancashire (*continued*).						
B175. Manchester, Withington	(B.D.)	Withington L.P.	1 10 0	1	Mrs. M. G. Davies, 17, Alan Road, Withington.	Mrs. M. G. Davies, Secretary.
B176. Nelson and Colne	(S.B.)	Nelson & Colne L.P.	2 10 0	1	W. J. Throup, 56, Railway Street, Nelson.	James Helm, Weavers' Office, Nelson.
B177. Oldham	(D.M.B.)	Oldham & District T. & L.C.	3 10 0	2	Coun. I. Crabtree, J.P., 151, Union Street, Oldham.	Councillor Isaac Crabtree, J.P., Secretary.
B178. Preston	(D.M.B.)	Preston L.P. & T.C.	3 0 0	2	W. E. Morris, 14, Guildhall Street, Preston.	—
B179. Rochdale	(S.B.)	Rochdale L.P. & T.C.	3 0 0	1	T. Howard, 124, Drake Street, Rochdale.	E. J Alford, 124, Drake Street, Rochdale.
B180. Rossendale	(S.B.)	Rossendale D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	Jas. Hindle, 715a, Bacup Road, Waterfoot, near Manchester.	—
B181. St. Helens	(S.B.)	St. Helens T. & L.C.	1 10 0	1	Coun. R. Waring, 146, Newton Road, St. Helens.	J. R. Stead, 32, Chorley Street, St. Helens, Lancs.
B182/184. Salford	(D.B.)	Salford (Borough) L.P.	1 10 0	1	J. Openshaw, 207, Langworthy Road, Pendleton, Manchester.	James Openshaw, Secretary.
B182. Salford, N.	(B.D.)	Salford (North) L.P.	1 10 0	1	C. Bramhall, 17, Clarence Street, Lower Broughton, Salford.	—
B183. Salford, S.	(B.D.)	Salford (South) D.L.P.			H. Webb, 5, Lee Grove, Salford.	—
B184. Salford, W.	(B.D.)	Salford (West) L.P.	1 10 0	1	J. Openshaw, 207, Langworthy Road, Salford, Manchester.	—
B185. Southport	(S.B.)	Southport T.C. & L.P.	1 10 0	1	E. Rimmer, 13, Warren Road, Southport.	—
B186. Warrington	(S.B.)	Warrington T.C. & L.P.	2 10 0	1	D. Plinston, 27, Willis Street, Warrington	—
B187. Wigan	(S.B.)	Wigan & District T.C. & L.P.	1 10 0	1	R. Lewis, 26, Osborne Road, Ashton-in-Makerfield.	Robert Lewis, Secretary.
B188. Chorley	(C.D.)	Chorley D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	W. Herron, Bolton Road, Duxbury, Chorley.	W. Herron, Secretary.
B189. Clitheroe	(C.D.)	Clitheroe D.L.P.	1 10 0	2	F. Constantine, 36, Burnley Road, Padiham, Lancs.	Mrs. Constantine, 36, Burnley Road, Padiham, Lancs. Frederick Constantine, Secretary.
B189a. Clitheroe	(C.D.)	Gt. Harwood T.C.	1 10 0	1	I. Dickinson, 2, Mount Street, Gt. Harwood.	—
B190. Darwen	(C.D.)	Darwen D.T. & L.C.	4 0 0	1	B. Clare, 20, Epworth Street, Darwen, Lancs.	—
B191. Farnworth	(C.D.)	Farnworth D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	Richard Matthews, 12, Barratt Avenue, Kearsley, Farnworth, S.O.	Richard Matthews, Secretary.
B192. Fylde	(C.D.)	Fylde D.L.P.			T. Lewis, Victoria Chambers, Corporation Street, Preston.	—

											Lancaster.		—
B196. Lonsdale	(C.D.)	...	Lonsdale (N.) D.L.P.	...			...	...	1	...	J. G. A. Kitchen, 5, Sun Street, Ulverston.	...	—
B197. Middleton & Prestwich	(C.D.)	...	Middleton & Prestwich D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	J. Atkinson, 7, Rochdale Road, Middleton.	...	—
B198. Mossley	(C.D.)	...	Mossley D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	J. W. Ashworth, 4, Stamford Road, Mossley.	...	—
B199. Newton	(C.D.)	...	Newton D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	W. Speakman, Park Road, Newton-le-Willows.	...	W. Speakman, Secretary.
B200. Ormskirk	(C.D.)	...	Ormskirk D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	John Ruck, Troqueer Buildings, Aughton Street, Ormskirk, Lancs.	...	—
B201. Royton	(C.D.)	...	Royton D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	W. H. Barton, 22, Queen Street, Littleborough, Lancs.	...	—
B202. Stretford	(C.D.)	...	Stretford D.L.P.	...				...		...	J. Nicholl, 42, Stamford Street, Old Trafford, Manchester.	...	—
B203. Waterloo	(C.D.)	...	Waterloo D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	M. R. Rochester, 4, Sycamore Road, Waterloo, near Liverpool.	...	H. H. Robson, "Glengariff," Mariners Road, Blundelsands, near Liverpool.
B204. Westhoughton	(C.D.)	...	Westhoughton D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	W. A. Spofforth, 9, Market Street, Westhoughton.	...	W. A. Spofforth, Secretary.
B205. Widnes	(C.D.)	...	Widnes D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	I. Warburton, 144, Albert Road, Widnes.	...	—
Leicester.													
C206/208. Leicester	(D.B.)	...	Leicester (Boro') L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	2	...	W. Howard, 88, Rutland Street, Leicester.	...	Mrs. Bell-Richards, 22, Imperial Avenue, Leicester. William Howard, Secretary.
C206. Leicester, E.	(B.D.)	...	Leicester (East)	...	1	10	0	...	1				—
C207. Leicester, S.	(B.D.)	...	Leicester (South)	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	M. Macintosh, Weymouth House, Freeman Road, Leicester.	...	—
C208. Leicester, W.	(B.D.)	...	Leicester (West)	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	W. Howard, 88, Rutland Street, Leicester.	...	—
C209. Bosworth	(C.D.)	...	Bosworth D.L.P.	...	2	0	0	...	1	...	W. F. Hackett, Butt Lane, Hinckley, Leicester.	...	—
C210. Harborough	(C.D.)	...	Harborough D.L.P.	...	4	3	[illegible]	...	1	...	T. Rowland Hill, 14, Granby Street, Leicester.	...	—
C211. Loughborough	(C.D.)	...	Loughborough & District L.P.		1	10	0	...	1	...	Miss E. Elmitt, The Croft, Dixworth, Derby.	...	E. W. Tandy, Rawdonville, Moira, Burton-on-Trent.
C212. Melton	(C.D.)	...	Melton Mowbray D.L.P.					...					—
Lincoln and Rutland													
G213. Grimsby	(S.B.)	...	Grimsby D.L.P. & T.C.		1	10	0	...	1	...	G. G. McDonald, 337, Convamore Road, Grimsby.	...	—
G214. Lincoln	(S.B.)	...	Lincoln T.C. & L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	T. W. Jessop, 15, Oakfield Street, Lincoln.	...	T. H. Davy, 18, Oakfield Street, Lincoln.
G215. Holland with Boston	(C.D.)	...	Holland with Boston D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	W. T. Cadmore, 33, Spring Gardens, Spalding.	...	H. St. Dunstan White, Labour Office, Sheep Market, Spalding, Lincs.

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Lincoln and Rutland (*continued*).						
G216. Kesteven, Grantham	(C.D.)	Grantham D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	M. W. Moore, Claypole, Newark-on-Trent.	—
G217. Kesteven, Rutland & Stamford	(C.D.)	Rutland & Stamford D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	S. Bassendine, J.P., 8, Alexandra Road, Stamford.	
G218. Lindsey, Brigg	(C.D.)	Brigg D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	M. R. Barnes, L.P. Offices, Highfield House, Scunthorpe.	—
G219. Lindsey, Gainsborough	(C.D.)	Gainsborough & West Lindsey D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	A. W. Stothard, 1, Church Street, Gainsborough.	—
G220. Lindsey, Horncastle	(C.D.)	Horncastle D.L.P.			J. W. Spring, Raithby Hill, Spilsby, Lincs.	—
G221. Lindsey, Louth	(C.D)	Louth D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	A. Simons, 16a, Eastgate, Louth.	—
London.						
E222/282a. London, County of		London L.P.	1 10 0	2	Herbert Morrison, L.C.C., 58, Theobalds Road, London, W.C.1.	Mrs. Ada Salter, 5, Storks Road, Bermondsey, London, S.E.16. Herbert Morrison, Secretary.
E222/282b. London, County of		London T.C.	1 10 0	1	Duncan Carmichael, 7, Staple Inn Buildings, High Holborn, London, W.C.	D. Carmichael, Secretary.
E222/223. Battersea	(D.B.)	Battersea T.C. & L.P.	3 0 0	2	Coun. C. E. Mason, 455, Battersea Park Road, London, S.W.11.	Mrs. F. Young, 76, Grayshott Road, Lavender Hill, London, S.W.11. J. G. Clancy, 681, Wandsworth Road, London, S.W.8.
E222. Battersea, N.	(B.D.)					—
E223. Battersea, S.	(B.D.)					—
E224/225. Bermondsey	(D.B.)	Bermondsey and Rotherhithe T.C. & L.P.	1 10 0	1	Councillor G. V. Wills, 57, Upper Grange Road, Bermondsey, London, S.E.1.	Ald. Ada Broughton, 155, Lynton Road, Bermondsey, S.E.1.
E224. Bermondsey, West	(B.D.)	Bermondsey (West) L.P.	1 10 0	1	Miss Ada Broughton, 155, Lynton Road, Bermondsey, London, S.E.1.	Councillor Miss J. Stephen, 103a, Alscot Road, London, S.E.1.
E225. Bermondsey, Rotherhithe	(B.D.)	Rotherhithe L.P.	1 10 0	1	Ald. H. C. Balman, 61, Delaford Road, Rotherhithe, London, S.E.16.	W. C. Hexter, 11h, Sutton Dwellings, Chilton Street, Rotherhithe, London, S.E.16.
E226/227. Bethnal Green	(D.B.)	Bethnal Green Borough L.P. & T.C.	1 10 0	1	J. J. Vaughan, 123, Old Ford Road, London, E.2.	J. J. Vaughan, Secretary.
E226. Bethnal Green, North-East	(B.D.)	Bethnal Green (North-East) D.L.P.			A. V. Bolton, 91, Old Ford Road, Victoria Park, London, E.2.	—
E227. Bethnal Green, South-West	(B.D.)	Bethnal Green (South-West) D.L.P.			J. Valentine, Labour Hall, 293, Cambridge Road, London, E.2.	—
E228/231. Camberwell	(D.B.)	Camberwell T.C. and	1 10 0	1	A. C. Warwick, 68, Denman Road,	

E229.	Camberwell, North-West	(B.D.)	...	Camberwell (North-West) D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	... G. Deighton, 118, Peckham Rye, London, S.E.15.	... George Deighton, Secretary.
E230.	Camberwell, Dulwich	(B.D.)	...	Dulwich D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	... Miss W. Stephenson, 22, Tyson Road, Forest Hill, S.E.23.	... Miss Winifred Stephenson, Secretary.
E231.	Camberwell, Peckham	(B.D.)	...	Peckham D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	... T. R. Eldridge, 53, Rye Hill Park, Peckham, London, S.E.15.	... Mrs. Louisa Eldridge, 53, Rye Hill Park, Peckham Rye, London, S.E.15.
E232.	Chelsea	(S.B.)	...	Chelsea T.C. & L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	... Frank Selfe, 25, Upcerne Road, Chelsea, London, S.W.10.	... F. Selfe, Secretary.
E233.	City of London	(D.M.B.)			...			...				—
E234.	Deptford	(S.B.)	...	Deptford L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	... Ald. W. H. Green, J.P., 435, New Cross Road, London, S.E.5.	... Alderman W. H. Green, J.P., Secretary.
E235.	Finsbury	(S.B.)	...	Finsbury L.P. & T.C.	...	1	10	0	...	1	... A. J. Frost, 107, Lever Street, St. Luke's, London, E.C.1.	... A. J. Frost, Secretary.
E236/237.	Fulham	(D.B.)	...	Fulham Borough L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	... Ald. R. M. Gentry, 20, Harbord Street, London, S.W.6.	... I. M. Cox, 22, Stanley Road, London, S.W.6.
E236.	Fulham, East	(B.D.)	...	Fulham (East) L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	... J. M. Browning, 49, Cassidy Road, Fulham, London, S.W.6.	... —
E237.	Fulham, West	(B.D.)	...	Fulham (West) L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	... W. Banfield, 3, Rosedew Road, London, W.6.	... Ald. R. M. Gentry, 20, Harbord Street, Fulham, S.W.6.
E238.	Greenwich	(S.B.)	...	Greenwich L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	... A. N. King, 44, Craigerne Road, London, S.E.3.	... F. Jones, 207, Trafalgar Road, London, S.E.10.
E239/241.	Hackney	(D.B.)	...	Hackney (Borough) L.P.	..			...			... E. A. Little, 80, Downs Park Road, London, E.8.	... H. Brown, 15, St. John's Church Road, Hackney, London, E.9.
E239.	Hackney, Cen.	(B.D.)	...	Hackney (Central) L.P.	....	1	10	0	...	1	... H. W. Butler, 5, Dalston Lane, Hackney, London, E.8.	... E. A. Little, 80, Downs Park Road, London, E.8.
E240.	Hackney, N.	(B.D.)	..	Hackney (North) L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	... H. W. Capell, 9, Southwold Road, London, E.5.	... J. W. T. Heap, 33, Mildenhall Road, Clapton, London, E.5.
E241.	Hackney, S.	(B.D.)	...	Hackney (South) L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	... H. J. Mead, 56, Halidon Street, London, E.9.	... —
E242/243.	Hammersmith	(D.B.)	...	Hammersmith T.C. & L.P.	...	3	0	0	...	2	... W. Turney, 154, Goldhawk Road, London, W.12.	... C. G. Campling, 22, Elliott Road, Chiswick, London, W.4.
E242.	Hammersmith, N.	(B.D.)	...	Hammersmith (North) L.P.	...						... Arthur A. Barnes, 59, Cobbold Road, Shepherd's Bush, London, W.12.	... Mrs. A. E. Stevens, 154, Goldhawk Road, London, W.12.
E243.	Hammersmith, S.	(B.D.)	...	Hammersmith (South) D.L.P.	...			...			... F. Brader, 154, Goldhawk Road, London, W.12.	... —
E244.	Hampstead	(S.B.)	...	Hampstead L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	... F. J. Taylor, 94, Mill Lane, Hampstead, London, N.W.6.	... Cllr. Mrs. Maddocks, 54, Mill Lane, Hampstead, London, N.W.6.
E245.	Holborn	(S.B.)	...	Holborn L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	... A. E. Hunter, 5, Thackeray Buildings, Herbrand Street, London, W.C.1.	... A. E. Hunter, Secretary.
E246/249.	Islington	(D.B.)	...	Islington (Borough) L.P.	1	10	0	...	1		... Ald. H. G. Coleman, 295, Upper Street, Islington, London, N.1.	... Alderman H. G. Coleman, Secretary.
E246.	Islington, E.	(B.D.)	...	Islington (East) L.P.	...	1	10	0	..	1	... W. Miles, 248, St. Paul's Road, London, N.1.	... Dr. Ethel Bentham, 61, Lansdown Road, Holland Park, London, W.11.

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London (*continued*)								
E247. Islington, N.	(B.D.)	Islington (North) L.P.	1	15	0	1	C. T. Saunders, 403, Hornsey Road, London, N.19.	—
E248. Islington, S.	(B.D.)	Islington (South) D.L.P.	1	10	0	1	J. J. Cripps, 295, Upper Street, Islington, London, N.1.	J. F. Bayliss, 8, Queen's Head Street, Islington, London, N.1.
E249. Islington, W.	(B.D.)	Islington (West) L.P.	1	10	0	1	C. R. Smart, 61, Dynevor Road, Stoke Newington, London, N.16.	C. R. Smart, Secretary.
E250/251. Kensington	(D.B)							—
E250. Kensington, N.	(B.D)	Kensington (North) L.P. & T.C.	1	10	0	1	F. D. Little, League House, 8, Bonchurch Road, N. Kensington, London, W.10.	E. C. Porton, League House, 8, Bonchurch Road, North Kensington, W.10.
E251. Kensington, S.	(B.D.)	Kensington (South) L.P.					J. Harrison, The Labour College, 13, Penywern Road, Earl's Court, London, S.W.5.	—
E252/255. Lambeth	(D.B.)	Lambeth (Borough) L.P. & T.C.	1	10	0	1	G. Anstey, 333, Milkwood Road, Herne Hill, London, S.E.24.	—
E252. Lambeth, Brixton	(B.D.)	Brixton (Lambeth) L.P.	1	10	0	1	A. C. Martin, 8, Solon Road, Brixton, London, S.W.2.	F. D. FitzGerald, 14, Kellett Road, Brixton, London, S.W.2.
E253. Lambeth, Kennington	(B.D.)	Kennington (Lambeth) L.P.	1	10	0	1	T. Reynolds, 44, Carroun Road, Fentiman Road, London, S.W.8.	Thomas Reynolds, Secretary.
E254. Lambeth, N.	(B.D.)	Lambeth (North) L.P.	1	10	0	1	W. W. Champness, 88a, Lambeth Walk, Kennington, S.E.11.	C. W. James, 53, Endymion Road, Brixton, London, S.W.9.
E255. Lambeth, Norwood	(B.D.)	Norwood L.P.	1	10	0	1	W. A. Chambers, 18, Alleyn Park, Dulwich, London, S.W.21.	—
E256/257. Lewisham	(D.B.)	Lewisham (Borough) T.C. & L.P.					W. F. Howard, 159, Davenport Road, Catford, London, S.E.	H. Console, Gwynfa, Brockley View, London, S.E.23.
E256. Lewisham, E.	(B.D.)	Lewisham (East) D.L.P.	1	10	0	1	W. H. Spikes, 44, Lee Park, Blackheath, London, S.E.3.	F. J. James, 98, Glenfarg Road, Catford, London, S.E.6.
E257. Lewisham, W.	(B.D.)	Lewisham (West) L.P.	1	10	0	1	H. W. Eldridge, 80, Malham Road, Forest Hill, London, S.E.23.	W. Goulder, 62, Kilmorie Road, Forest Hill, London, S.E.23.
E258/259. Paddington	(D.B)	Paddington (Borough) L.P.	3	0	0	2	L. G. Paul, 77, Third Avenue, Queen's Park, London, W.10.	C. R. Gringer, 31, Woodchester Street, London, W.2. Mrs. C. Hendin, 2, Marne Street, London, W.10.
E258. Paddington, N.	(B.D)							—
E259. Paddington, S.	(B.D)							—
E260/261. Poplar	(D.B.)	Poplar T.C. & Borough L.P.	1	10	0		Ald. R. J. Hopwood, 47, Clay Hall Road, Bow, E.3.	—
E260. Poplar, Bow & Bromley	(B.D.)	Poplar, Bow & Bromley D.L.P.	1	10	0	1	T. J. Blacketer, 141, Bow Road, London, E.3.	T. J. Blacketer, Secretary.
E261. Poplar, S.	(B.D.)	Poplar (South) L.P.	1	10	0	1	G. J. Cressall, Dockers' Hall, 1, Newbury Place, London, E.14.	Geo. J. Cressall, Secretary.

E263. St. Pancras, N.	(B.D)	...	St. Pancras (North) L.P.	1	10	0	...	1	...	H. M. Tibbles, 76, Croftdown Road, London, N.W.5.	..	Mrs. S. Ebury, 69, Lady Margaret Road, London, N.W.5.
E264. St. Pancras, South-East	(B.D.)	...	St. Pancras (South-East) L.P.	2	1	8	...	1	...	H. Dawson Large, 49, Aldenham Street, London, N.W.1.	...	H. Dawson Large, Secretary.
E265. St. Pancras, South-West	(B.D.)	...	St. Pancras (South-West) L.P.	1	10	0	...	1	...	J. Macey, 67, Camden Road, London, N.W.5.	...	Dr. V. H. Rutherford, 16, Park Village East, London, N.W.1.
E266. Shoreditch	(S.B.)	...	Shoreditch T.C. & L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	Ernest Thurtle, 69, Pitfield Street, London, N.1.	...	Ernest Thurtle, Secretary.
E267/269. Southwark	(D.B)	...	Southwark T.C. and Borough L.P.	...			...		...	T. H. Hume, 3e, Peabody Square, Blackfriars Road, London, S.E.1.	...	T. H. Hume, Secretary.
E267. Southwark, C.	(B.D.)	...	Southwark T.C. and (Central) L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	R. H. Edwards, 89, Beckett House, Tabard Garden Estate, Borough, London, S.E.1.	...	R. H. Edwards, Secretary.
E268. Southwark, N.	(B.D.)	...	Southwark (North) D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	L. J. Styles, 16, Bennett Street, Blackfriars, London, S.E.1.	..	Dr. L. Haden Guest, The Clinic, Pocock Street, Blackfriars, S.E.1.
E269. Southwark, South-East	(B.D.)	...	Southwark (South-East) D.L.P.	1	10	0	...	1	...	W. B. Toop, 25, Browning Street, London, S.E.17.	...	Sidney L. Harford, 36, Palatinate, New Kent Road, London, S.E.
E270/272. Stepney	(D.B.)	...	Stepney (Borough) L.P. & T.C.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	H. Black, 49, Harford Street, London, E.1	...	H. Black, Secretary.
E270. Stepney, Limehouse	(B.D.)	...	Limehouse D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	..	J. Zeital, 24, West India Dock Road, Limehouse, London, E.14.	...	J. Zeital, Secretary.
E271. Stepney, Mile End	(B.D.)	...	Mile End L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	..	A. Kershaw, 3, Grafton Street, London, E.1.	...	Bert Tobin, 382, Mile End Road, London, E.1.
E272. Stepney, Whitechapel	(B.D.)	...	Whitechapel and St. George's L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	S. J. Donoghue, 138, Cannon Street Road, E.1.	...	S. J. Donoghue, Secretary.
E273. Stoke Newington	(S.B.)	...	Stoke Newington L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	..	R. G. Yates, 22, Brodia Road, Stoke Newington, London, N.16.	...	E. Manne, 3, Imperial Avenue, Stoke Newington, London, N.16.
E274/278. Wandsworth	(D.B.)	...	Wandsworth (Borough) L.P. & T.C.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	Graham H. Atterbury, 43, Blandfields Street, Balham, London, S.W.12.	...	L. Silkin, 76, Ritherdon Road, Tooting, London, S.W.17.
E274. Wandsworth, Balham and Tooting	(B.D.)	...	Balham & Tooting D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	H. A. Heath, 177, Lessingham Avenue, Tooting, London, S.W.17.	...	F. Seymour Cocks, 23, Dornton Road, Balham, S.W.
E275. Wandsworth, Central	(B.D.)	...	Wandsworth (Central) D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	E. E. Fry, 142, Garratt Lane, Wandsworth, London, S.W.18.	...	H. W. Shawcross, 23, Baskerville Road, Wandsworth Common, London, S.W.18.
E276. Wandsworth, Clapham	(B.D.)	...	Clapham D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	R. McGregor Reid, 166, Stonehouse Street, Clapham, London, S.W.4.	...	Dr. Watson MacGregor Reid, M.A., D.Sc., 57, Cavendish Road, Clapham Park, London, S.W.12.
E277. Wandsworth, Putney and Southfields	(B.D.)	...	Putney, Southfields & Roehampton L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	W. Backhouse, 10, Mexfield Road, Putney, London, S.W.15.	...	F. Shaylor, 8, Jeptha Road, West Hill, London, S.W.18.

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London (*continued*).					
E278. Wandsworth, (B.D.) Streatham	Streatham L.P.	1 10 0	1	Alfred T. Moss, 10, Eastwood Street, London, S.W.16.	F. Tanner, 79, Amesbury Avenue, Streatham Hill, London, S.W.2.
E279/280. Westminster (D.B.)	Westminster L.P.	1 10 0	2	D. C. Biggs, 93, Belgrave Road, Westminster, London, S.W.1.	J. R. Penfold, 8, Lupus Street, Westminster, London, S.W.1.
E279. Westminster, (B.D.) St. George's					—
E280. Westminster (B.D.) Abbey					—
E281/282a. Woolwich (D.B)	Woolwich (Borough) L.P.	10 0 0	2	Coun. W. Barefoot, J.P., 3, New Road, Woolwich, London, S.E.18.	Councillor W. Barefoot, J.P., Secretary
E281/282b. Woolwich (D.B)	Woolwich and District T. & L.C.	1 10 0	1	F. G. Pell, 27, Dickson Road, Well Hall, London, S.E.9.	F. G. Pell, Secretary.
E281. Woolwich, E. (B.D.)					—
E282. Woolwich, W. (B.D.)					—
Middlesex.					
D283. Ealing (S.B.)	Ealing L.P. & T.C.	1 10 0	1	E. A. Sargent, 63, Dudley Gardens, Ealing, London, W.13.	—
D284. Edmonton (S.B.)	Edmonton L.P.	1 10 0	1	A. P. Blake, 344, Fore Street, Edmonton, London, N.9.	Mrs. C. R. Ithell, 4, Porlock Road, Bury Street, Edmonton, N.9.
D285. Hornsey (S.B.)	Hornsey L.P.	1 10 0	1	J. A. Newrick, 62, Glasslyn Road, London, N.8.	J. A. Newrick, Secretary.
D286/287. Tottenham (D.B)	Tottenham T.C. and Borough L.P.	1 10 0	1	A. J. Lynch, 626, Green Lanes, Harringay, London, N.8.	A. Scott, 89, Grove Park Road, London, N.15.
D286. Tottenham, N. (D.B.)	Tottenham (N.) D.L.P.				—
D287. Tottenham, S. (D.B.)	Tottenham (South) D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	A. J. Lynch, 626, Green Lanes, Harringay, London, N.8.	—
D288/289. Willesden (D.B.)	Willesden (Borough) L.P.	1 10 0	1	W. Davies Lloyd, 3, Bramston Road, London, N.W.10.	A. E. Nunn, 21a, Furness Road, Harlesden, London, N.W.10.
D288. Willesden, E. (B.D.)	Willesden (East) D.L.P.			P. Bond, 2, Langler Road, Kensal Rise.	—
D289. Willesden, W. (B.D.)	Willesden (West) L.P.	1 10 0	1	A. J. Worsfold, 63, Mayo Road, London, N.W.10.	Mrs. Wranek, 35, Litchfield Gardens, Willesden, N.W.10.
D290. Acton (C.D.)	Acton D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	R. Spencer, 14, Temple Road, Acton Green, W.4.	—
D291. Brentford & (C.D.) Chiswick					—
D292. Enfield (C.D.)	Enfield T.C. & L.P.	2 8 4	1	H. E. Scrivener, 66, Silver Street, Enfield.	H. E. Scrivener, 7, Cecil Avenue, Bush Hill Park, Enfield.
D293. Finchley (C.D.)	Finchley D.L.P. & T.C.	1 10 0	1	A. T. Pike, 70, Leslie Road, East Finchley, London, N.2.	Mrs. H. Jennie Baker, 88, Hertford Road, East Finchley, N.2.

									Hendon, London, N.W.9.		Hendon, London, N.W.4.
D296. Spelthorne	(C.D.)	...	Spelthorne D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	... 1	... G. E. Harding, 48, Royal Road, Teddington.	...	G. E. Harding, Secretary.
D297. Twickenham	(C.D.)	...	Twickenham D.L.P.	..				...	... A. Mack, 2, Beaconsfield Road, East Twickenham.	...	—
D298. Uxbridge	(C.D.)	...	Uxbridge D.L.P.	...	3	6	0	... 2	... P. Osborne Langton, 18, Angel Lane, Hayes, Middlesex.	...	F. E. Gardner, 115, West End Road, Southall, Middlesex. Mrs. L. Narraway, Guestwick, Gutteridge Street, Hillingdon Heath, Middlesex.
D299. Wood Green	(C.D.)	...	Wood Green Divisional L.P.	...	1	10	0	... 1	.. F. Corbett, 2, Durnsford Road, New Southgate.	...	—
Norfolk.											
G300. Gt. Yarmouth	(S.B.)	...	Great Yarmouth L.P. & T.C.	...	2	2	0	... 1	... T. J. Spencer, 5, Police Station Lane, Gorleston-on-Sea.	...	H. Stone, 9, Camperdown, Gt. Yarmouth.
G301. Norwich	(D.M.B.)	...	Norwich L.P. & T.C.	...	3	0	0	... 2	... G. F Johnson, 16, Pelham Road, Norwich.	...	H. Palmer, Hardie Hall, St. Gregory's Alley, Norwich.
G302. Eastern	(C.D.)	...	Norfolk (East) D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	... 1	... A. W. Appleton, 28, Orchard Street, Norwich.	...	Dr. S. V. Pearson, Cliff Brow, Mundesley, Norfolk.
G303. King's Lynn	(C.D.)	...	King's Lynn D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	... 1	... R. G. Errington, 2, St. James' Street, King's Lynn.	...	—
G304. Northern	(C.D.)	...	Norfolk (North) D.L.P.		1	10	0	... 1	... S. J. Gee, 37, Bernard Road, Cromer, Norfolk.	...	S. John Gee, Secretary.
G305. Southern	(C.D.)	...	Norfolk (South) D.L.P.		1	10	0	... 1	... Robert A. Watson, Labour Institute, Wymondham, Norfolk.	...	Robert A. Watson, Secretary.
G306. South West	(C.D.)	...	Norfolk (South West) D.L.P.	...				...	... E. C. Williams, 12, Quebec Street, Dereham, Norfolk.	...	—
Northampton.											
C307. Northampton	(S.B.)	...	Northampton L.P.	...	2	0	0	... 1	... B. T. Spencer, 71, Hervey Street, Northampton.	...	Mrs. F. M. Staley, 148, Cedar Road, Northampton.
C308. Daventry	(C.D.)	...	Daventry (South Northants) D.L.P.	...	2	0	0	... 1	... G. N. Hughes, 66, Abingdon Street, Northampton.	...	—
C309. Kettering	(C.D.)	...	Kettering D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	... 1	... J. E. Chapman, Trade Union Offices, Club Street, Kettering.	...	—
C310a. Peterborough	(C.D.)	...	Peterborough D.L.P.	...	2	0	0	... 1	... John Mansfield, 9, Harris Street, Peterborough.	...	—
C310b. Peterborough	(C.D.)	...	Peterborough T. & L.C.		1	10	0	... 1	... F. Martin, 27, West Parade, Peterborough.	...	—
C311. Wellingborough	(C.D)	...	Wellingborough D.L.P.		1	10	0	... 1	... L. P. Poole, 5, Market Square, Wellingborough.	...	Lionel P. Poole, Secretary.
Northumberland.											
A312. Morpeth	(S.B.)	...	Morpeth D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	... 1	... Jas. Routledge, 37, South Row, Bedlington Colliery, Northumberland.	...	Mrs. Baird, 9, Tenth Row, Ashington.

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Northumberland (*continued*).						
A313/316. Newcastle	(D.B.) ...	Newcastle (Borough) L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1 ...	W. Grainger, 29, Rosebery Crescent, Newcastle-on-Tyne.	—
A313. Newcastle, C.	(B.D.) ...	Newcastle (Central) D.L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1 ...	W. C. Percival, I.L.P. Hall, 36, Diana Street, Newcastle-on-Tyne.	G. H. Laraman, 26, Beaconsfield Street, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
A314. Newcastle, E.	(B.D.) ...	Newcastle (East) D.L.P.	1 10 0	... 1 ...	W. Locke, 37a, Heaton Park Road, Newcastle-on-Tyne.	—
A315. Newcastle, N.	(B.D.) ...	Newcastle (North) D.L.P.	1 10 0	... 1 ...	F. W. Topping, 7, Ebor Street, Heaton, Newcastle-on-Tyne.	Councillor Mary Laverick, 1, College Street, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
A316. Newcastle, W.	(B.D.) ...	Newcastle (West) L.P.	1 10 0	... 1 ...	Wm. Taylor, 19, Ladykirk Road, Newcastle-on-Tyne.	—
A317. Tynemouth	(S.B.) ...	Tynemouth L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1 ...	M. Judson, 20, Sibthorpe Street, North Shields.	J. G. Bellas, 15, Trevor Terrace, North Shields.
A318. Wallsend-on-Tyne	(S.B.) ...	Wallsend & District L.P.	1 10 0	... 1 ...	T. T. Heslop, 89, High Street West, Wallsend-on-Tyne.	—
A319. Berwick-on-Tweed	(C.D.) ...	Berwick D.L.P. & T.C.	1 10 0	... 1 ...	J. Whittle, 15, Fallowdon Terrace, Tweedmouth.	—
A320. Hexham	(C.D.) ...	Hexham D.L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1 ...	J. Peel, 10, Tulip Street, Prudhoe, Hexham.	J. Peel, Secretary.
A321. Wansbeck	(C.D.) ...	Wansbeck D.L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1 ...	Cllr. Ralph Allan, J.P., Bates' Cottages, Seaton Delaval, Northumberland.	H. C. Mordue, 5, Westburn Terrace, Seaton Delaval, Northumberland.
Nottingham.						
C322/325. Nottingham	(D.B.) ...	Nottingham (Borough) L.P.	...	... ...	Robert Bury, 15, Hanley Street, Nottingham.	—
C322. Nottingham, C.	(B.D.) ...		...	...		—
C323. Nottingham, E.	(B.D) ...		...	...		—
C324. Nottingham, S.	(B.D) ...	Nottingham (South) D.L.P.	... 2 10 0	... 1 ...	F. Wallis, 88, Whittier Road, Sneinton, Nottingham.	Mrs. A. E. Wallis, 88, Whittier Road, Nottingham.
C325 Nottingham, W.	(B.D.) ...	Nottingham (West) D.L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1 ...	G. Goodall, General Workers' Office, Newstead House, St. James' Street, Nottingham.	—
C326. Bassetlaw	(C.D.) ...	Bassetlaw D.L.P.	...	... ...	A. Nixon, 12, Sherwood Road, Worksop.	—
C327. Broxtowe	(C.D.) ...	Broxtowe D.L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 2 ...	H. G. Hall, 126, Portland Road, Hucknall, Notts.	Mrs. M. Holland, Portland Road, Selston, Notts. H. G. Hall, Secretary.
C328. Mansfield	(C.D.) ...	Mansfield D.L.P.	... 2 0 0	... 1 ...	Coun. J. G. Pratt, 57, Harrington Street, Mansfield.	C. Brown, Geo. V. Villas, Garden Lane, Sutton-in-Ashfield.
C329. Newark	(C.D.) ...	Newark D.L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1 ...	F. W. Watson, Labour Rooms, Market Place, Newark, Notts.	E. Heaton, 81, Sleaford Road, Newark, Notts.
C330. Rushcliffe	(C.D.) ...	Rushcliffe D.L.P.	... 2 0 0	... 1 ...	G. H. Shakespeare, 20, William Road, Stapleford, Notts.	—
Oxford.						

										bury.		College, Oxford.	
D333. Henley	(C.D.)	...		...		...							—
Salop.													
C334. Ludlow	(C.D.)	...	Ludlow D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	P. Marshall, 37, Julian Road, Ludlow.	...	Frank Roberts, 37, Julian Road, Ludlow.
C335. Oswestry	(C.D.)	...	Oswestry D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	Albert Thomas, Memorial Hall, Oswestry, Salop.	...	—
C336. Shrewsbury	(C.D.)	...	Shrewsbury D.L.P.	...				...		...	E. B. Blake, 19, Albert Street, Shrewsbury.	...	—
C337. The Wrekin	(C.D.)	...	Wrekin D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...		...	Allan Young, 17, Alexander Road, Wellington, Salop.	..	Allan Young, Secretary.
Somerset.													
F338. Bath	(S.B.)	...	Bath L. & C.R.A.	...	3	0	0	...	1	...	H. S. P. Curtis, 23, Green Park, Bath.	...	Ernest H. Cox, The Mount, Tiverton Hill, Bath.
F339. Bridgwater	(C.D.)	...	Bridgwater D.L.P.	...	2	10	0	...	1	...	A. E. King, 16, Edward Street, Bridgwater.	...	—
F340. Frome	(C.D.)	...	Frome D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	F. Gould, 6, Rackvernal Road, Midsomer Norton, Somerset.	...	Frederick Gould, Secretary.
F341. Taunton	(C.D.)	...	Taunton D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	H. T. Oaten, 64, Wood Street, Taunton.	...	T. H. Ponsford, Gas House, Wivelscombe, Somerset.
F342. Wells	(C.D.)	...	Wells D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	O. Lewis, Gwynfa, Timsbury, near Bath.	...	O. Lewis, Secretary.
F343. Weston-super-Mare	(C.D.)	...		...				...					—
F344. Yeovil	(C.D.)	...	Yeovil D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	A. E. Little, 140, Michael's Avenue, Yeovil.	...	—
Stafford.													
C345. Dudley	(S.B.)	...	Dudley L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	J. A. Taylor, 202, High Street, Dudley.	...	—
C346. Newcastle-under-Lyme	(S.B.)	...	Newcastle-under-Lyme D.L.P.		1	10	0	...	1	...	H. Hollinshead, 83, Newcastle Road, Talke, Stoke-on-Trent.	...	—
C347. Smethwick	(S.B.)	...	Smethwick T. & L.C.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	C. C. Jones, 45, Swindon Road, Edgbaston, Birmingham.	...	C. C. Jones, Secretary.
C348/350. Stoke-on-Trent	(D.B.)	...	Stoke-on-Trent (Borough) L.R.C.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	G. H. Meir, 7, Cope's Avenue, Tunstall, Staffs.	...	Col. J. C. Wedgwood, M.P., House of Commons, London, S.W.1.
C348. Stoke-on-Trent, Burslem	(B.D.)	...	Burslem & Tunstall L.P.		1	10	0	...	1	...	E. T. Bird, 4, Lyndhurst Street, Tunstall, Staffs.	...	—
C349. Stoke-on-Trent, Hanley	(B.D.)	...	Hanley Local L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	F. J. Kettle, Druids' Hall, Albion Street, Hanley.	...	—
C350. Stoke-on-Trent, Stoke	(B.D.)	...	Stoke Local L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	J. P. Riley, 5, Allenly Square, Trent Vale, Stoke-on-Trent.	...	—
C351. Walsall	(S.B.)	...	Walsall L.R.C.	...	2	10	0	...	1	...	E. Baldwyn, 26, Grange Street, Walsall.	...	E. Baldwyn, Secretary.
C352. Wednesbury	(S.B.)	...	Wednesbury D.L.P.	...				...		...	B. W. Griffiths, 13, Vicarage Road, Wednesbury.	...	—
C353. West Bromwich	(S.B)	...	West Bromwich T.C. & L.P.	...				...		...	A. Guest, 319, High Street, West Bromwich.	...	—

Constituencies and Index Nos.		Local Parties or Councils.	Affiliation Fees. £ s. d.	No. of Votes.	Secretaries and Addresses.	Delegates and Addresses.
Stafford (*continued*).						
C354/356. Wolverhampton	(D.B.) ...		...	...		—
C354. Bilston	(B.D.) ...	Bilston D.L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1 ...	S. Cotton, Springfield Grove, Sedgley, near Dudley. ...	—
C355. Wolverhampton, East	(B.D.) ...	Wolverhampton (East) L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1 ...	N. Turner, 129, Walsall Road, Willenhall, Staffs. ...	—
C356. Wolverhampton, West	(B.D.) ...	Wolverhampton (West) L.P.	1 13 4	... 1 ...	C. W. Hill, 45, North Road, Wolverhampton. ...	Mrs. E. Gordan, Westholm, Codsall, Wolverhampton.
C357. Burton	(C.D.) ...	Burton-on-Trent D.L.P.	1 10 0	... 1 ...	J. E. Silcock, 80, Spring Terrace Road, Stapenhill, Burton-on-Trent. ...	—
C358. Cannock	(C.D.) ...	Cannock D.L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1 ...	J. Lewis, 44, Cannock Road, Blackfords, Cannock. ...	—
C359. Kingswinford	(C.D.) ...	Kingswinford D.L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1 ...	Percy Cox, Workers' Institute, Cradley Heath, Staffs. ...	—
C360a. Leek	(C.D.) ...	Leek D.L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1 ...	Ernest Rigby, 120, High Street, Newchapel, Stoke-on-Trent. ...	—
C360b. Leek	(C.D.) ...	Leek T. & L.C.	... 1 10 0	... 1 ...	T. Birch, Foxlowe, Market Place, Leek, Staffs. ...	—
C361. Lichfield	(C.D.) ...	Lichfield D.L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1 ...	H. Riley, Daw End Road, Rushall, Walsall, Staffs. ...	F. Hill, J.P., C.C., Market Place, Rugeley, Staffs.
C362. Stafford	(C.D.) ...	Stafford T.C. & L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1 ...	G. Hindle, Co-operative Hall, Wolverhampton Road, Stafford. ...	—
C363. Stone	(C.D.) ...	Stone D.L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1 ...	E. Slynn, 39, Station Road, Stone, Staffs. ...	—
Suffolk.						
G364. Ipswich	(S.B.) ...	Ipswich T.C. & L.P.	... 1 15 0	... 1 ...	W. T. Harris, 35, Silent Street, Ipswich. ...	W. T. Harris, Secretary.
G365. Suffolk, E., Eye	(C.D) ...	Eye D.L.P.	... 1 18 4	... 1 ...	W. H. Amy, Station House, Eye, Suffolk. ...	—
G366. Suffolk, East, Lowestoft	(C.D.) ...	Suffolk East (Lowestoft) D.L.P.	1 10 0	... 1 ...	E. F. Rose, 23, May Road, Lowestoft. ...	—
G367. Suffolk, East, Woodbridge	(C.D.) ...	Woodbridge D.L.P.	...	... ...	C. Elliston, J.P., near P.O., Holbrook, Ipswich. ...	—
G368. Suffolk, West, Bury St. Edmunds	(C.D.) ...	Bury St. Edmunds D.L.P.		... ...	R. Bass, 6, Athenæum Lane, Bury St. Edmunds. ...	—
G369. Suffolk, West, Sudbury	(C.D.) ...		...	...		—
Surrey						
D370/371. Croydon	(D.B.) ...		...	...		—

D372. Kingston-on-Thames	(S.B.)	...	Kingston-on-Thames D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	J. Stanford, 28, Bockhampton Road, Kingston-on-Thames.	...	—
D373. Richmond	(S.B.)	...	Richmond D.L.P. & T.C.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	R. C. Osborne, 13, Coval Road, East Sheen, London, S.W.	...	D. T. Springhall, 26, Alton Road. Richmond, Surrey.
D374. Wimbledon, Merton and Morden	(S.B.)	...	Wimbledon, Merton and Morden L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	C. H. Reynolds, 105, Merton Road, Wimbledon, S.W.19.	..	Mrs. Hooper, 31, Beehive Buildings, Wimbledon.
D375. Chertsey	(C.D.)	...		...				...					—
D376. Eastern	(C.D.)	...	Surrey (East) D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	Edward R. Pease, The Pendicle, Limpsfield, Surrey.	...	Mrs. Marjory Pease, J.P., The Pendicle, Limpsfield, Surrey.
D377. Epsom	(C.D.)	...	Epsom D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	Ernest Miller, 63, Lower Court Road, Epsom, Surrey.	...	Dr. Somerville Hastings, 43, Devonshire Street, Portland Place, W.1.
D378. Farnham	(C.D.)	...	Farnham D.L.P.	...	3	4	9	...	1	...	R. C. Williams, 21, Holyoake Crescent, Horsell, Woking.	...	R. C. Williams, Secretary.
D379. Guildford	(C.D.)	...	Guildford D.L.P.	...	2	0	0	...	1	...	S. G. Steer, 63a, North Street, Guildford.	...	Wm. Bennett, 11, York Road, Guildford.
D380. Mitcham	(C.D.)	...	Mitcham D.L.P.	...				...		...	G. Bennett, 13, Mount Road, Mitcham, Surrey.	...	—
D381. Reigate	(C.D.)	...	Reigate D.L.P.	...				...		...	A. Mitchell, 128, Monson Road, Redhill.	...	—
Sussex, East.													
D382. Brighton	(D.M.B.)	...	Brighton & Hove L.P.	...	3	0	0	...	2	...	J. H. Tullett, Labour Club, 93, London Road, Brighton.	...	Cllr. G. Canter, 75, Stanford Road, Brighton. Alban Gordon, 23, Compton Avenue, Brighton.
D383. Hastings	(S.B.)	...	Hastings D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	A. T. White, 11, Ashburnham Road, Hastings.	...	W. J. Miller, 17, Edgar Road, Clive Vale, Hastings.
D384. Eastbourne	(C.D.)	...	Eastbourne D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	Mrs. Langridge, 112-114, South Street, Eastbourne.	...	—
D385. East Grinstead	(C.D.)	...	East Grinstead D.L.P.	...	2	10	0	...	1	...	T. Crawford, "Doona," Lewes Road, East Grinstead.	...	B. Burtenshaw, Chain Walk House, Cuckfield, Sussex.
D386. Lewes	(C.D.)	...	Lewes D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	Mrs. M. Chettle, Ditchling, Hassocks, Sussex.	...	H. F. Parker, Channel House, Wellington Road, Portslade-by-Sea, Sussex.
D387. Rye	(C.D.)	...		...				...					—
Sussex, West.													
D388. Chichester	(C.D.)	...	Chichester D.L.P.	...	1	15	8	...	1	...	A. Mann, The Hut, Ferring, Sussex.	...	F. M. Lawson, Seven Acres, Climping, near Littlehampton, Sussex.
D389. Horsham & Worthing	(C.D.)	...	Horsham & Worthing D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	Mrs. R. Stanlake, Walden, Broadwater Road, Worthing.	...	—
Warwick.													
C390/401. Birmingham (DB)		...	Birmingham (Borough) L.P.	...				...		...	F. W. Rudland, 262, Corporation Street, Birmingham.	...	F. W. Rudland, Secretary.

Constituencies and Index Nos.		Local Parties or Councils.	Affiliation Fees. £ s. d.	No. of Votes.	Secretaries and Addresses.	Delegates and Addresses.
Warwick (*continued*).						
C390. Birmingham, Aston	(B.D.) ...	Aston L.P.	...	...	W. T. Hammett, 459, Lichfield Road, Aston Manor, Birmingham.	—
C391. Birmingham, Deritend	(B.D.) ...	Deritend L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1 ...	E. M. Podesta, 147, Bradford Street, Birmingham.	C. J. Mann, 99, Corporation Street, Birmingham.
C392. Birmingham, Duddeston	(B.D.) ...	Duddeston & Nechells L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1 ...	J. Keenan, 60, Avenue Road, Birmingham ...	—
C393. Birmingham, Edgbaston	(B.D.) ...		...	...		—
C394. Birmingham, Erdington	(B.D.) ...	Erdington L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1 ...	D. Gleadall, 3, Brockley Place, Eliot Street, Nechells, Birmingham.	—
C395. Birmingham, Handsworth	(B.D.) ...		...	...		—
C396. Birmingham, King's Norton	(B.D.) ...	King's Norton D.L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1 ...	G. Horwill, 275, Maryvale Road, Bournville, Birmingham.	G. Horwill, Secretary.
C397. Birmingham, Ladywood	(B.D.) ...		...	...		—
C398. Birmingham, Moseley	(B.D.) ...		...	...		—
C399. Birmingham, Sparkbrook	(B.D.) ...	Sparkbrook L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1 ...	G. J. Sutton, 42, White Road, Sparkbrook.	—
C400. Birmingham, West	(B.D.) ...	Birmingham, West D.L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1 ...	A. E. Cope, 284, Camden Street, Hockley, Birmingham.	—
C401. Birmingham, Yardley	(B.D.) ...	Yardley L.P.	... 3 5 0	... 1 ...	S. Powell, 198, Banks Road, Small Heath, Birmingham.	S. Powell, Secretary.
C402. Coventry	(S.B.) ...	Coventry L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1 ...	J. T. Tyson, 29, Much Park Street, Coventry.	—
C403. Nuneaton	(C.D.) ...	Nuneaton D.L.P.	... 2 5 0	... 1 ...	W. J. Lewis, Labour Club, The Arcade, Nuneaton.	W. J. Lewis, Secretary.
C404. Rugby	(C.D.) ...	Rugby D.L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1 ...	H. Tarbox, Trades Hall, Albert Street, Rugby.	—
C405. Tamworth	(C.D.) ...	Tamworth D.L.P.	...	...	J. E. Yates, Holte Villas, Curdworth, near Birmingham.	—
C406. Warwick & Leamington	(C.D.) ...	Warwick & Leamington D.L.P.	2 0 0	... 1 ...	J. T. Duffield, 13, Barrack Street, Warwick.	H. T. Hallam, 58a, Bedford Street, Leamington.
Westmorland.						
B407. Westmorland	(C.D.) ...		...	...		—
Wilts.						
F408. Chippenham	(C.D.) ...	Chippenham D.L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1 ...	L. N. Pickett, 73, Park Lane, Chippenham.	—
F409. Devizes	(C.D.) ...	Devizes D.L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1		—

											Swindon.		
F412. Westbury	(C.D.)	...	Westbury D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	W. Riddick, Bath Road, Melksham.	...	W. Riddick, Secretary.
Worcester.													
C413. Worcester	(S.B.)	...	Worcester L.P.	...	2	10	0	...	1	...	E. Huckfield, 288, Astwood Road, Worcester.	...	H. Drinkwater, Whittington, near Worcester.
C414. Bewdley	(C.D.)	...	Bewdley D.L.P.	...				...		...	A. E. Rammell, Hillview, The Common, Malvern, Worcester.	...	—
C415. Evesham	(C.D.)	...	Evesham & District T. & L.C.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	W. M. Fielding, Labour Hall, Merstow Green, Evesham.	...	Robert Aldington, J.P., The Cross, Offenham, Evesham.
C416. Kidderminster	(C.D.)	...	Kidderminster D.L.P.	...	3	7	0	...	1	...	A. Turner, 6, Sion Hill, Broadwaters, Kidderminster.	...	—
C417. Stourbridge	(C.D.)	...	Stourbridge D.L.P.	...				...		...	S. T. Melsom, 20, Perrott Street, Oldbury, Birmingham.	...	—
Yorkshire.													
A418. Barnsley	(S.B.)	...	Barnsley & District T.C. & L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	E. Sheerien, 26, Cope Street, Barnsley.	...	E. Sheerien, Secretary.
A419a. Batley & Morley	(S.B.)	...	Batley, Morley & Ossett L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	F. Baines, Bank Chambers, Batley.	...	—
A419b. Batley & Morley	(S.B.)	...	Morley T. & L.C.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	B. Simpson, 4, Cardigan Avenue, Morley.	...	—
A420/423a. Bradford	(D.B.)	...	Bradford L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	T. Ashworth, 1, Peckover Street, Church Bank, Bradford.	...	Tom Ashworth, Secretary.
A420/423b. Bradford	(D.B.)	...	Bradford T. & L.C.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	W. Barber, Trades Hall, 90, Sunbridge Road, Bradford.	...	Councillor James Harrison, 103, Mapenton Road, Bradford.
A420. Bradford, C.	(B.D.)	...		...				...					—
A421. Bradford, E.	(B.D.)	...	Bradford (East) L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	T. Ashworth, 1, Peckover Street, Church Bank, Bradford.	...	—
A422. Bradford, N.	(B.D.)	...	Bradford (North) L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	T. Ashworth, 1, Peckover Street, Church Bank, Bradford.	...	—
A423. Bradford, S.	(B.D.)	...	Bradford (South) L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	T. Ashworth, 1, Peckover Street, Church Bank, Bradford.	...	—
A424a. Dewsbury	(S.B.)	...	Dewsbury L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	N. H. Griffin, 22, Fir Avenue, Ravensthorpe, Dewsbury.	...	Ben Riley, J.P., M.P., Westfield Avenue, Huddersfield.
A424b. Dewsbury	(S.B.)	...	Dewsbury & District T. & L.C.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	J Mayman, 7, Cromwell Street, Dewsbury.	...	—
A425. Halifax	(S.B.)	...	Halifax Federated T.C.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	F. Austin Leach, 36, Reservoir Road, Pellon, Halifax.	...	—
A426. Huddersfield	(S.B.)	...	Huddersfield T.C.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	G. A. Boothroyd, Friendly and Trades Societies Club, Northumberland Street, Huddersfield.	...	Wilfrid Whiteley, 12, Church Avenue, Crosland Moor, Huddersfield.
A427/430. Kingston-on-Hull	(D.B.)	...	Hull (Borough) L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	H. E. Jordan, 7, Darrismere Avenue, Edinburgh Street, Hull.	...	I. Robinson, 73, De la Pole Avenue, Anlaby Road, Hull.
A427. Kingston-on-Hull, Central	(B.D.	...	Hull (Central) L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	Mrs. Ellen Ward, 23, Cadogan Street, Hull.	...	Mrs. Ellen Ward, Secretary.

Constituencies and Index Nos.		Local Parties or Councils.	Affiliation Fees. £ s. d	No. of Votes.	Secretaries and Addresses.	Delegates and Addresses.
Yorkshire (*continued*).						
A428. Kingston-on-Hull, East	(B.D.) ...	Hull (East) D.L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1	... T. Savage, 15, East Park Avenue, Hull.	... —
A429. Kingston-on-Hull, North-West	(B.D.) ...	Hull (North-West) L.P.	.. 1 10 0	... 1	... C. Wells, 20, Jackson Street, Hull.	... —
A430. Kingston-on-Hull, South-West	(B.D.) ...	Hull (South-West) L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1	... C. B. Bevitt, 68, King's Bench Street, Hull.	... —
A431/436a. Leeds	(D.B.) ...	Leeds (Borough) L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1	... Coun. W. J. Armstrong, 14, Upper Fountaine Street, Leeds.	... Councillor W. J. Armstrong, Secretary.
A431/436b. Leeds	(D.B.) ...	Leeds T. & L.C.	... 1 10 0	... 1	... O. Connellan, 4, Upper Fountaine Street, Leeds.	... H. E. Clay, Transport Workers' Offices, 66, Meadow Lane, Leeds.
A431. Leeds, Central	(B.D.) ...	Leeds (Central) D.L.P.	....		... Mrs. F. Newell, 64, St. Mark's Street, Leeds.	... —
A432. Leeds, North	(B.D.) ...	Leeds (North) D.L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1	... F. Hutson, 130, Hyde Park Road, Leeds.	... —
A433. Leeds, N.E.	(B.D.) ...	Leeds (North-East) D.L.P.	...		... S. Craven, 60, Bankside Street, Roundhay Road, Leeds.	... —
A434. Leeds, South	(B.D.) ...	Leeds (South) D.L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1	... J. Wade, 10, Langthorpe Place, Leeds.	... —
A435. Leeds, S.E.	(B.D.) ...	Leeds (South-East) D.L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1	... Ben Ainsworth, 31, Welbech Road, York Road, Leeds.	... —
A436. Leeds, West	(B.D.) ...	Leeds (West) D.L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1	... W. Portwood, 9, Swallow Avenue, Upper Wortley, Leeds.	... —
A437/438. Middlesbrough	(D.B.) ...	Middlesbrough (Borough) L.P.	... 3 0 0	... 2	... J. Beilby, 82, Russell Street, Middlesbrough.	... J. Beilby, Secretary.
A437. Middlesbrough, E.	(B.D.) ...		...	...		... —
A438. Middlesbrough, W.	(B.D.) ...		...	...		... —
A439. Rotherham	(S.B.) ...	Rotherham L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1	... G. E. Caine, 14, Norfolk Street, Rotherham.	... Cllr. A. Hutchison, J.P., 16, Fitzwilliam Road, Rotherham.
A440/446. Sheffield	(D.B.) ...	Sheffield Fed. T. & L.C.	.. 1 10 0	... 1	... C. H. Miller, 63, Blonk Street, Sheffield.	... Councillor E. G. Rowlinson, 69, Dorothy Road, Hillsborough, Sheffield.
A440. Sheffield, Attercliffe	(B.D.) ...	Attercliffe L.P.	... 3 2 6	... 1 ..	W. Hancock, 3 Bk, 757, Attercliffe Road, Sheffield.	... Mrs. C. H. Wilson, 26, Chippingham Street, Attercliffe, Sheffield.
A441. Sheffield, Brightside	(B.D.) ...	Brightside L.P.	... 1 15 0	... 1	... Coun. F. Womersley, 146, Rock Street, Pitsmoor, Sheffield.	—
A442. Sheffield, C.	(B.D.) ...		...	...		—
A443. Sheffield, Ecclesall	(B.D.) ...	Ecclesall L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1	... F. Cook, 57, Empire Road, Sheffield.	... W. A. Gavigan, 122, Fitzwilliam Street, Sheffield.
A444. Sheffield, Hallam	(B.D.) ...	Hallam L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1	... S. Blackwell, 143, Western Road, Crookes, Sheffield.	... —
A445. Sheffield,	(B.D.) ...	Hillsborough L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1	... G. H. Byrd, 12, Carr Road, Walkley,	... —

								Endcliffe, Sheffield.		cent, Sheffield.
A447. Wakefield	(S.B.)	...	Wakefield L.P.	...	1	10	0	... 1 ...	J. P. Butterworth, 1, Burkhill Street, Sandal, Wakefield.	... H. Hackney, Wayside, Bolne Lane, Wakefield.
A448. York	(S.B.)	...	York L.P.	...	8	17	6	... 2 ...	J. J. Pendry, 2, Railway Street, York.	... Mrs. Mackereth, 104, Albemarle Road, York.
A449. East Riding, Buckrose	(C.D.)	...		...				...		J. J. Pendry, Secretary. —
A450. East Riding, Holderness	(C.D.)	...		...				...		—
A451. East Riding, Howdenshire	(C.D.)	...		...				...		—
A452. North Riding, Cleveland	(C.D.)	...	Cleveland D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	... 1 ...	J. Kelsall, 17, Ruby Street, Saltburn-by-Sea.	... —
A453. North Riding, Richmond	(C.D.)	...		...				...		—
A454. North Riding, Scarborough & Whitby	(C.D.)	...	Scarborough & Whitby D.L.P.	..	1	10	0	... 1 ...	J. Dennis, 164, Victoria Road, Scarborough.	... —
A455. North Riding, Thirsk & Malton	(C.D.)	...	Thirsk & Malton D.L.P.					...		—
A456. West Riding, Barkston Ash	(C.D.)	...	Barkston Ash D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	... 1 ...	L. Bickerdike, Church Lane, Kippax, near Leeds.	... —
A457. West Riding, Colne Valley	(C.D.)	...	Colne Valley D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	... 1 ...	S. Eastwood, 53, Wood Top, Slaithwaite, near Huddersfield.	... Sam Eastwood, Secretary.
A458. West Riding, Doncaster	(C.D.)	...	Doncaster D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	... 1 ...	H. F. Heaviside, 3, Sunny Bar, Doncaster.	... H. F. Heaviside, Secretary.
A459. West Riding, Don Valley	(C.D.)	...	Don Valley D.L.P.	...	2	0	0	... 1 ...	J. T. Rowan, 38, Princess Road, Mexborough.	... J. T. Rowan, Secretary.
A460. West Riding, Elland	(C.D.)	...	Eiland D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	... 1 ...	J. Lawson, 44, Bradford Road, Brighouse.	... —
A461. West Riding, Hemsworth	(C.D.)	...	Hemsworth D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	... 1 ...	G. A. Griffiths, 267, South View, Royston, near Barnsley.	... Harold Dearden, Station Road, Royston, nr. Barnsley.
A462. West Riding, Keighley	(C.D.)	...	Keighley T.C. & L.P.	...	1	10	0	... 1 ...	W. Bland, 140, Devonshire Street, Keighley.	... —
A463. West Riding, Normanton	(C.D.)	...	Normanton D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	... 1 ...	M. Bairstow, 24, Aketon Road, Castleford	... M. Bairstow, Secretary.
A464. West Riding, Penistone	(C.D.)	...	Penistone D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	... 1 ...	J. Hibbert, Bilham Road, Clayton West, near Huddersfield, Yorks.	... W. Walton, 188, Wortley Road, High Green, near Sheffield.
A465. West Riding, Pontefract	(C.D.)	...	Pontefract D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	... 1 ...	E. Kent, 47, Manual Street, Goole.	... —
A466. West Riding, Pudsey & Otley	(C.D.)	...	Pudsey & Otley D.L.P.	....	2	0	0	... 1 ...	W. E. Dickinson, 21, Eddison Street, Farsley, near Leeds.	... —
A467. West Riding, Ripon	(C.D.)	...	Ripon D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	... 1 ...	E. Clay, 27, Woodlands Avenue, Harrogate, Yorks.	... —

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Yorkshire (*continued*).						
A468. West Riding, Rother Valley	(C.D.) ...	Rother Valley D.L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1 ...	J. Jones, Lawn Moor Villas, Thurcroft, Rotherham.	W. A. Bates, Council Houses, 59, Lordens Hill, Dinnington, Rotherham.
A469. West Riding, Rothwell	(C.D.) ...	Rothwell D.L.P.	2 0 0	... 1 ...	W. H. Heald, 3, Pawson Street, The Falls, East Ardsley, Wakefield	Cllr. T. H. Holland, 25, Shepstye Road, Horbury, near Wakefield.
A470. West Riding, Shipley	(C.D.) ...	Shipley D.L.P.	1 10 0	... 1 ...	T. H. Grange, 26, Hope View, Windhill, Shipley.	W. Mackinder, 12, Kirkstone Street, Listerhills, Bradford.
A471. West Riding, Skipton	(C.D.) ...	Skipton D.L.P.	...1 10 0	... 1 ...	H. Atkinson, Bleach House, Bentham, near Lancaster.	—
A472. West Riding, Sowerby	(C.D.) ...	Sowerby D.L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1 ...	M. Crossley, Bank Chambers, Sowerby Bridge, Yorks.	Mark Crossley, Secretary.
A473. West Riding, Spen Valley	(C.D.) ...	Spen Valley D.L.P.	... 2 0 0	... 1 ...	Coun. J. S. Bryan, 9, Holdsworth Street, Cleckheaton, Yorks.	—
A474. West Riding, Wentworth	(C.D.) ...	Wentworth D.L.P.	... 3 0 0	... 1 ...	T. Phipps, Forest House, Barnsley Road, Dodworth, near Barnsley.	J. Hall, Rimington Road, Wombwell, near Barnsley, Yorks.
WALES.						
Anglesey.						
H475. Anglesey	(C.D.) ...		...	...		—
Brecon and Radnor.						
H476. Brecon and Radnor	(C.D.) ...	Breconshire & Radnorshire D.L.P.	...	...	T. Lydduch, New House, Clydach, Dingle, Brynmaur.	—
Cardigan.						
H477. Cardigan	(C.D.) ...	Cardigan D.L.P.	...	...	D. S. Jones, Y. Garth Capel, Bangor, Cardigan.	—
Carmarthen.						
H478. Carmarthen	(C.D.) ...	Carmarthen D.L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1 ...	Gomer Evans, Angorfa, Carway, Kidwelly, Carmarthen.	—
H479. Llanelly	(C.D.) ...	Llanelly & District D.L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1 ...	D. Jones, 3, Cae Cotton Terrace, Swansea Road, Llanelly.	James Griffiths, Labour Office, 30, Stepney Street, Llanelly.
Carnarvon.						
H480. Carnarvon	(S.B.) ...		...	...		—
H.481. Carnarvon	(C.D.) ...	Carnarvon L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1 ...	J. E. Thomas, Bodgwilym, Penygroes, Carnarvon.	—
Denbigh.						
H482. Denbigh	(C.D.) ...		...	...		—
H483. Wrexham	(C.D.) ...	Wrexham T.C. & D.L.P.	... 0 15 0*	...	H. Edwards, J.P., 4, Osborne Grove, Mold Road, Wrexham.	—
Flint.						
H484. Flint	(C.D.) ...	Deeside T.C. & L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1 ...	Capt. F. Webster, Mancott, Hawarden,	—

[illegible]	(B.D.)	...	Cardiff T. & L.C.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	E. Allan Robson, 49, Charles Street, Cardiff.	... Councillor Wm. Williams, 80, Llantrisant Street, Cardiff.
H485. Cardiff, Cent.	(B.D.)	...	Cardiff (Central) D.L.P	1	10	0	...	1	...	R. W. Colbeck, 9, Rennie Street, Canton, Cardiff.	...	—
H486. Cardiff, East	(B.D.)	...	Cardiff (East) D.L.P.	...			...		...	Pryce James, c/o 4, Constellation Street, Cardiff.	...	—
H487. Cardiff, South	(B.D.)	...	Cardiff (South) D.L.P.	1	10	0	...	1	...	M. Zeitlin, 4, Constellation Street, Cardiff.	...	—
H488/489. Merthyr Tydvil	(D.B.)	...		...			...					—
H488. Merthyr Tydvil, Aberdare.	(B.D.)	...	Aberdare L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	Edward Davies, 59, Dean Street, Aberdare.	... —
H489. Merthyr Tydvil	(B.D.)	...	Merthyr L.P.	...			...		...	J. A. Lewis, 5, Hankey Terrace, Plymouth Road, Merthyr Tydvil.	...	—
H490/491. Rhondda	(D.B.)	...	Rhondda (Borough) L.P.	3	0	0	...	2	...	P. Gwyn Hughes, 32, Brynhyfryd, Tylorstown, Rhondda.	...	T. Thomas, 48, William Street, Ynyshir, Rhondda.
H490. Rhondda, E.	(B.D.)	...	Rhondda (East) D.L.P.				...		...	Tom Llewellyn, Sunnybank, Aldergrove, Porth.	...	—
H491. Rhondda, W.	(B.D.)	...	Rhondda (West) D.L.P.				...		...	David Evans, 58, Tyntyla Road, Ystrad.	...	—
H492/493. Swansea	(D.B.)	...	Swansea L.A. (comprising East & West Divisions)	3	10	0	...	2	...	J. G. Davies, 50, Terrace Road, Swansea.	...	H. Gillin Williams, 62, Cromwell Street, Swansea. J. G. Davies, Secretary.
H492. Swansea, East	(B.D.)	...		...			...					—
H493. Swansea, West	(B.D.)	...		...			...					—
H494. Aberavon	(C.D.)	...	Aberavon D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	Coun. J. Brown, 7, Penrhyn Street, Taibach, Port Talbot.	... Councillor Joseph Branch, 18, Vernon Street, Briton Ferry, South Wales.
H495. Caerphilly	(C.D.)	...	Caerphilly D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	Sutherland Campbell, 64, Pontygwindy Road, Caerphilly.	... A. Sutherland Campbell, Secretary.
H496. Gower	(C.D.)	...	Gower D.L.P.	...	2	2	0	...	1	...	W. J. Jones, Birch Grove, Llansamlet, Swansea.	... —
H497. Llandaff & Barry	(C.D.)	...	Llandaff & Barry L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	E. C. Gough, 11, Westward Rise, Barry.	... E. C. Gough, Secretary.
H498. Neath	(C.D.)	...	Neath D.L.P.	...			...		...	Meth Jones, 9, Gower Street, Port Talbot.	...	—
H499. Ogmore	(C.D.)	...	Ogmore D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	D. J. Thomas, Westfield, Caeda Crescent, Ogmore Vale.	... T. W. Job, "The Inn," Nantymoel, Glam.
H500. Pontypridd	(C.D.)	...	Pontypridd D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	Evan Morgan, 28, Gyfeillon Road, Trehafod, Pontypridd.	... Evan Morgan, Secretary.
Merioneth.												
H501. Merioneth	(C.D.)	...	Merioneth D.L.P.	...					...	D. O. Jones, 10, Benar View, Blaenau, Festiniog.	...	—
Monmouth.												
H502a. Newport	(S.B.)	...	Newport (Mon.) D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	W. B. Lewcock, 84, Stow Hill, Newport, Mon.	... W. B. Lewcock, Secretary.

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Monmouth (*continued*).						
H502b. Newport	(S.B.) ...	Newport (Mon.) T.C.	... 1 10 0	... 1		—
H503. Abertillery	(C.D.) ...	Abertillery D.L.P.	...	...	... L. Tredwin, 24, North Road, Newbridge, Mon.	—
H504. Bedwellty	(C.D.) ...	Bedwellty D.L.P	... 1 10 0	... 1	... Coun. W. Jones, 6, Bryn Road, Pengam, Mon.	—
H505. Ebbw Vale	(C.D.) ...	Ebbw Vale D.L.P.	...	...	... J. J. Powell, Park View, Tredegar, Mon.	—
H506. Monmouth	(C.D.) ...	Monmouth D.L.P.	...	...	... T. H. Edwards, "Rosewood," Bassaleg, Mon.	—
H507. Pontypool	(C.D.) ...	Pontypool D.L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1	... H. D. Bowden, Osborne Chambers, Osborne Road, Pontypool.	—
Montgomery.						
H508. Montgomery	(C.D.) ...	Montgomeryshire D.L.P.		...	... H. O. Rowlands, B.A., Heel Pewys, Machynlleth.	—
Pembroke.						
H509. Pembroke	(C.D.) ...	Pembroke (County) L.P..	1 10 0	... 1	... L. Wheeler, 36, John Street, Neyland, Pembroke.	—
SCOTLAND.						
Aberdeen and Kincardine.						
J510/511. Aberdeen	(D.B.) ...	Aberdeen T. & L.C.	... 3 0 0	... 2	... J. Balfour, 47, Belmont Street, Aberdeen.	—
J510. Aberdeen, N.	(B.D.) ...		...	...		—
J511. Aberdeen, S.	(B.D.) ...		...	...		—
J512. Aberdeen and Kincardine, Central	(C.D.) ...	Aberdeen (Central) D.L.P.	...	...	... A. Laurie, Muir Cottage, Dyce, Aberdeen.	—
J513. Aberdeen and Kincardine, Eastern	(C.D.) ...	Aberdeen (Eastern) D.L.P.	...	...	... A. S. Fowlie, 39, High Street, Turriff, Aberdeen.	—
J514. Aberdeen and Kincardine, Western	(C.D.) ...		...	...		—
Argyll.						
J515. Argyll	(C.D.) ...		...	...		—
Ayr and Bute.						
J516. Ayr Burghs	(S.B.) ...	Ayr Burghs D.L.P.	...		... T. Paterson, 3, Whitehill Street, Ayr.	—
J517. Bute and North Ayr	(C.D.) ...	Bute and North Ayr D.L.P.	...		... A. Brady, 15, Church Street, Irvine.	—
J518a. Kilmarnock	(C.D.) ...	Kilmarnock D.L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1	... John Pollock, 11, Dean Lane, Kilmarnock	—
J518b. Kilmarnock	(C.D.) ...	Ayrshire T.C.	... 1 10 0	... 1	... R. Climie, 25, Armour Street, Kilmarnock.	—
J519. South Ayrshire	(C.D.) ...	South Ayr D.L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1	... D. Stitt, Madeline Place, Muirkirk, Ayrshire.	—
Banff.						
J520. Banff	(C.D.) ...		...	...		—

J521. Berwick and Haddington	(C.D.)	...	Berwick & Haddington D.L.P.	1	10	0	...	1	...	T. Logan, 14, John Street, Tranent, East Lothian.	... —
Caithness and Sutherland.											
J522. Caithness and Sutherland	(C.D.)	...	Caithness & Sutherland D.L.P.				...		...	W. Nicolson, 4, Barbara Place, Wick, Caithness.	... —
Dumbarton.											
J523. Dumbarton and Clydebank	(S.B.)	...	Dumbarton & Clydebank D.L.P.	...			...		...	M. McElwee, 11, Dunn Street, Dalmuir, Scotland.	... —
J524. Dumbarton	(C.D.)	...	Dumbartonshire D.L.P.				...		...	W. H. Martin, 109, Bath Street, Glasgow.	... —
Dumfries.											
J525. Dumfries	(C.D.)	..	Dumfries D.L.P. & T.C.	....					...	J. Garrett, 56, Millburn Avenue, Dumfries.	... —
Fife.											
J526. Dunfermline Burghs	(S.B.)	...	Dunfermline Burghs L.P.	...	1	10	0	... 1	...	W. M. Watson, M.P., 341, Broad Street, Cowdenbeath.	... —
J527. Kirkcaldy	(S.B.)	...	Kirkcaldy Burghs D.L.P.	...	3	0	0	... 1	...	D. Pearson, 74, Dunniker Road, Kirkcaldy.	... —
J528. Eastern	(C.D.)	...	East Fife D.L.P.	...			...		...	H. T. Black, Annfield Cottage, Scoonie Road, Leven, Fife.	... —
J529. Western	(C.D.)	...	West Fife D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	... 1	...	W. M. Watson, M.P., 341, Broad Street, Cowdenbeath.	... —
Forfar.											
J530. Dundee	(D.M.B.)	...	Dundee L.P.	...	1	10	0*	... 2	...	John Ogilvie, Labour Club, 48, Murrygate, Dundee.	... —
J531. Montrose Burghs	(S.B)	...	Montrose Burghs D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	... 1	...	Frank Irons, 3, Rosebank, Arbroath.	... —
J532. Forfar	(C.D.)	...	Forfarshire D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	... 1	...	G. Bruce, 136, East High Street, Forfar.	... —
Galloway.											
J533. Galloway	(C.D.)	...		...			...				—
Inverness.											
J534. Inverness	(C.D.)	...		...			...				—
J535. Ross & Cromarty	(C.D)	...		...			...				—
J536. Western Isles	(C.D.)	...		...			...		...	J. G. Macaskill, 2, Garden Road, Stornoway, Isle of Lewis.	... —
Lanark.											
J537/551. Glasgow	(D.B.)	...	Glasgow T. & L.C.	...	1	10	0	... 1	...	Coun. W. Shaw, 95, Bath Street, Glasgow.	... Laurence Anderson, 722, London Road, Glasgow.
J537. Glasgow, Bridgeton	(B.D.)	...	Bridgeton L.P.	...			...		...	James Carmichael, 175, London Road, Glasgow.	... —
J538. Glasgow, Camlachie	(B.D.)	...	Camlachie D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	... 1	...	G. D. Wilson, 8, Lochiel Street, Gallowgate, Glasgow.	... William Barrie, 826, Duke Street, Glasgow.

* Part payment.

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Lanark (*continued*).						
J539. Glasgow, Cathcart	(B.D.) ...	Cathcart D.L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1 ...	Jas. W. Anderson, 141, Coplaw Street, Govanhill, Glasgow.	—
J540. Glasgow, Central	(B.D.) ...	Glasgow (Central) D.L.P.	...	...	J. M. Johnston, 3, Buccleuch Street, Glasgow.	—
J541. Glasgow, Gorbals	(B.D.) ...	Gorbals D.L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1 ...	W. Richardson, 358, Methieson Street, Glasgow.	—
J542. Glasgow, Govan	(B.D.) ...	Govan D.L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1 ...	J. Smith, 73, Elderpark Street, Govan, Glasgow.	—
J543. Glasgow, Hillhead	(B.D.) ...	Hillhead D.L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1 ...	Mrs. Alcock, 7, Marchmont Terrace, Kelvinside.	—
J544. Glasgow, Kelvingrove	(B.D.) ...	Kelvingrove D.L.P.	...	...	W. Coalter, 41, Dorset Street, Glasgow.	—
J545. Glasgow, Maryhill	(B.D.) ...	Maryhill D.L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1 ...	T. Hannen, 20, Campbell Street, Maryhill, Glasgow.	—
J546. Glasgow, Partick	(B.D.) ...	Partick D.L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1 ...	A. McOuat, 137, Marlborough Avenue, Broom Hill, Glasgow.	—
J547. Glasgow, Pollok	(B.D.) ...	Pollok D.L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1 ...	A. Durward, 158, Queen's Drive, Camphill, Glasgow.	—
J548. Glasgow, St. Rollox	(B.D.) ...	St. Rollox D.L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1 ...	R. Gray Murray, 40, Grove Street, New City Road, Glasgow.	—
J549. Glasgow, Shettleston	(B.D.) ...	Shettleston D.L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1 ...	R. Baxter, 339, West Muir Street, Parkhead, Glasgow.	—
J550. Glasgow, Springburn	(B.D.) ...	Springburn L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1 ...	R. McNeil, 3, Auchentoshan Terrace, Springburn, Glasgow.	G. D. Hardie, M.P., House of Commons, Westminster. S.W.1.
J551. Glasgow, Tradeston	(B.D.) ...	Tradeston, D.L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1 ...	Sylvester Connell, 9, West Scotland Street, Glasgow.	I. D. Fulton, 95, Govan Road, Glasgow, S.S.
J552. Bothwell	(C.D.) ...	Bothwell D.T. & L.C.	...	...	James Forwell, 12, Cadzow Drive, Mossend, Lanark.	—
J553. Coatbridge	(C.D.) ...	Coatbridge & Airdrie T.C. & L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1 ...	John G. Jardine, 41f, Kippen Street, Airdrie.	—
J554. Hamilton	(C.D.) ...	Hamilton D.L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1 ...	Joseph Waugh, County Houses, Cochrane Street, Bellshill, Lanark.	Christopher Rocks, 39, Scott Street, Hamilton.
J555. Lanark	(C.D.) ...	Lanarkshire (South) D.L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1 ...	J. Campbell, Bank House, Lesmahagow, Lanarkshire.	—
J556. Motherwell	(C.D.) ...	Motherwell D.L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1 ...	C. Robertson, 3, Wellington Street, Motherwell.	—
J557. Northern	(C.D.) ...	North Lanark D.L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1 ...	A. Keith, 33, Bridgend, Chryston, Lanarkshire.	J. R. Fotheringham, "Orwell," Bent Road, Hamilton.
J558. Rutherglen	(C.D.) ...	Rutherglen D.L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1 ...	E. Penman, 51, Farmeloan Road, Rutherglen.	—
Linlithgow.						
J559. Linlithgow	(C.D.) ...	West Lothian D.L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1 ...	J. S. Barr, 7, Mid Street, Livingston	

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Constituencies and Index Nos.	*Local Parties or Councils.*	*Affiliation Fees.*	*No. of Votes.*	*Secretaries and Addresses.*	*Delegates and Addresses.*
Stirling and Clackmannan (*continued*).		£ s. d.			
J578. Clackmannan (C.D.) and East Stirling	Clackmannan & Stirling (East) D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	R. Johnstone, Church View, Denny Road, Larbert.	—
J579. Clackmannan (C.D.) and West Stirling	West Stirling L.P.	1 10 0	1	M. Turner, Shirva, Twechar by Glasgow.	—
Universities.					
K580. Cambridge (U.)					—
K581. Cambridge (U.)					—
K582. Combined (U.)					—
K583. Combined (U.)					—
K584. London (U.)	London University L.P.	1 10 0	1	Arthur Southall, 20, St. Aubyn's Mansions, Church Road, London, S.E.19.	H. G. Wells, Easton Glebe, near Dunmow, Essex.
K585. Oxford (U.)					—
K586. Oxford (U.)					—
K587. Wales (U.)	Wales University L.P.			Miss M. W. Kelly, University College, Cathays Park, Cardiff.	—
K588. Scotland (U.)					—
K589. Scotland (U.)					—
K590. Scotland (U.)					—
University Labour Federation	500	6 5 0	1	A. Henderson, junr., 81, Carlisle Mansions, Carlisle Place, London, S.W.1.	Aubrey Clark, 18, Wellesley Road, Chiswick, London, W.4.
Isle of Man	Manx L.P.	4 0 0	1	J. H. Cowley, 3, Railway Terrace, Douglas, Isle of Man.	—

THE LABOUR PARTY

REPORT OF CONFERENCE

The Twenty-third Annual Conference of the Labour Party opened at the Queen's Hall, Langham Place, London, on Tuesday, June 26, 1923, the number of delegates, organisations, and voting power represented being as follows :—

	No.	Delegates.	Votes.
Trade Unions	80	602	3,277,000
Trades Councils and Local Labour Parties	274	294	303,000
Socialist Societies, etc.	5	33	33,000
	359	929	3,613,000

TUESDAY, JUNE 26th

Morning Session

On the motion of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., seconded by Mr. F. O. Roberts, M.P., Mr. Sidney Webb, M.P., was elected to preside over the Conference.

ADDRESSES OF WELCOME.

Mr. T. E. Naylor, J.P. (President of the London Labour Party), said it was his privilege, on behalf of the London Labour Movement, to offer a welcome to the delegates to London. If their welcome seemed, at times, rather cool, he asked the delegates to believe that it was because they were unpractised in the arts of hospitality, and in that respect were unlike their friends in Yorkshire, Lancashire and Scotland. But they were learning, and hoped that after the week's Conference the delegates would have no reason to regret having fixed upon London as the venue of the Conference this year. If they had not provided the delegates with a civic reception, it was not because they had not a Labour Mayor to do the honour. There were half-a-dozen Labour Mayors in London, and it was because they had so many that they were unable to decide as to who should have the honour of giving the civic welcome. The London Labour Party was only ten years old, but he ventured to say they had made some mark upon the political movement in London. On the Labour Party Executive they were able to boast of having two Labour Members of Parliament: they had five members of the London County Council, and they had also the distinction of having upon the Executive the only lady Mayor in the country, and also, he thought, of the only gentleman Mayoress in the country. (Laughter.) Although they had a slight set-back in the Municipal Elections last autumn, they still had three hundred Labour representatives upon the Borough Councils of London; they had twenty members—a strong Labour Party—on the London County Council, and they were hoping, having added nine Members representing London in the House of Commons, that by the time the next General Election came along they would be able to present the then new Premier—Ramsay MacDonald—with a few Cabinet Ministers. The Municipal constitution of London, like the Constitution of the Local Labour Parties, was fearfully and wonderfully made. They had twenty-eight Borough Councils in London, and rather more than that number of Boards of Guardians, and delegates could imagine it was somewhat difficult to keep in close contact with the Movement in all those localities. They would not expect him to refer to the social and economic conditions in London, but in the West of London they could see indulgence in every form of luxury that money could buy, while in the East End they could see suffering and oppressed humanity at its worst. Within a few hundred yards of the building they were meeting in there were the Houses of Parliament, the War Office, the Admiralty, and the less pleasant place, Scotland Yard. What a glorious opportunity for a real, live, full-blooded revolutionary Socialist Congress! He hoped the delegates would consult the local Reception Committee on any matter upon which they required information, because it was their desire that the visit should be a joy to the utmost possible extent. On Thursday the Labour Members of the London County Council were taking the delegates over the new County Hall, which had cost London £4,000,000 to erect—£4,000,000 that perhaps might have been spent to better advantage in other

directions. He asked them to believe that the members of the London Labour Movement were anxious to make the visit of the delegates a success, and they hoped that this Conference would result in a closer agreement, and in a better and a more uniform understanding on all matters making for the unity of the Labour Movement.

Mr. Duncan Carmichael (Secretary of the London Trades Council), said it seemed rather strange that a Scotsman should have to welcome delegates to London, but he supposed, having lived in London for thirty years, he had some claim to speak on behalf of the London Trade Union Movement. They in the Trades Council, although still carrying on the policy adopted sixty years ago, of assisting in organising the workers of London, were in touch with the political Movement, being the founders or the fathers of the London Labour Party; but their task of organising the workers of London could not be understood by anyone who was not closely associated with the life of London. There were the great shops, factories, offices and warehouses, where they had the workers coming in from the outer belt of London, working together during the day, but living miles apart in the evenings and at night-time; and to get them organised they had to depend a great deal upon the work in the outer circles. Well, they had made some progress during the past thirty years, and those who claimed that progress was very slow ought to realise what London was when their present chairman and others initiated the County Council movement. Those who remembered the district which was now known as Kingsway and Aldwych would remember the Clare Market area, Holywell Street and other slum districts in that vicinity, and to-day they saw the great wide highway with magnificent buildings and a new building at the foot of it, which was a credit to London workmen Every man on that job was a Trade Unionist, and they were proud of that building. Mr. Naylor had referred to the heavy expense incurred in building the County Hall. Well, as organised workers, they did not look at the expense; they looked at the splendid workmanship in the interior of the building. They were also proud that the luxuries which were to be seen in Regent Street, Bond Street and Oxford Street—the diamonds had been cut and set by skilled Trade Unionists. The whole of those things which they could see but could not possess had been created, to a great extent, by the organised Labour Movement of London. There were many things of which they were proud in London, and those things they were not proud of they did not want the delegates to see. They did not want delegates to spoil their visit to London by going to the slum areas, which were a disgrace—a disgrace to the workers of London and a disgrace to the citizens of London. What they wanted the delegates to see were the beauty spots—the parks and open spaces. They were proud of Regent's Park, Brockwell Park, Battersea Park, Victoria Park and other places which the workers were able to enjoy. He also wanted them, in the evening, to take a run as far as Richmond, to get on the Terrace at Richmond and look up the Thames Valley, and they would realise that there was something which Londoners could enjoy at a very cheap price. He did not want them to go to Covent Garden market or Billingsgate market and see how things should not be done. It was a disgrace to London that its streets should be so congested round our markets that both time and money were wasted in the way produce was handled. It was well for them to know that while London slept a thousand tons or more of meat on an average was being pitched into Smithfield market by workers; that at Billingsgate, from 3 a.m. onwards, hundreds of tons of fish were being brought four or five miles across London, because the markets had been fixed at places which might have been suitable one hundred years ago, but were entirely unsuitable to-day. All these things Londoners knew, and they were not proud of them, but they believed that the workers of London were the best that could be brought from the provinces, and they believed also that when London woke up, even Parliamentary methods might be too slow, when they got tired of the parasites that were living in the West End. It was this they were steadily working for—that London should not only be the greatest city which the workers had built, but also one which the workers could enjoy. They believed that the Labour Movement, which had been slowly growing during the past thirty years, would soon see its triumph. He hoped the delegates would see the best of London, and that they would enjoy their visit.

Mr. Will Thorne, M.P., then presented the report of the Conference Arrangements Committee, and suggested that after the Chairman had delivered his address, the Conference should immediately discuss the amendment to Clause 9 of the Constitution.

The Conference Arrangements Committee also suggested the following appointments:—

TELLERS.

Neil S. Beaton (*National Union of Shop Assistants, Warehousemen and Clerks*).
J. T. Clatworthy (*Coal Trimmers' Union*).
J. Lunnon (*National Union of Agricultural Workers*).
W. H. Girling (*Municipal Employees' Association*).
John Duthie (*National Union of Vehicle Workers*).
Mrs. E. Palmer, J.P. (*Southampton Trades Council and Labour Party*).
Thomas Kennedy (*Social Democratic Federation*).
John Battle (*Bolton Labour Party*).

SCRUTINEERS.

C. N. Gallie (*Railway Clerks' Association*).
T. G. Newland (*National Union of Book Binders and Machine Rulers*).
John Baker (*British Iron, Steel and Kindred Trades Association*).
G. H. Jones (*Miners' Federation of Great Britain*).
Miss Edith Howse (*Post Office Workers*).
F. Ellis (*Shipconstructors' and Shipwrights' Association*).
E. Berriman (*Bristol Trades Council and Kindred Trades Party*).
I. D. Fulton (*Tradeston Divisional Labour Party*).

A delegate asked, with regard to the starring of certain resolutions on the Agenda, whether delegates were to be prevented from raising questions for three years from the date of a previous decision on the same question having been arrived at by the Conference. It seemed to him a very dangerous proposition and he wished to know whether the Conference endorsed it.

Mr. THORNE pointed out that the Conference Arrangements Committee were only putting into force a Standing Order which was already in existence. They were not taking any new decision in starring certain resolutions, and there was no alternative to the course they had adopted.

The report of the Conference Arrangements Committee was then adopted.

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

Mr. SIDNEY WEBB, M.P., then delivered the Presidential Address, which was as follows :—

It is just ten years since the Annual Conference of the Labour Party was last held in London; and it is natural that we should compare its position then and now. In 1913, after more than a decade of persistent, and often heroic work, the Party counted an affiliated membership of considerably under two millions. It could contest only one-tenth of the constituencies, and in them could poll less than half a million votes. After three General Elections it had returned only 6 per cent. of the House of Commons. Its Parliamentary position was ambiguous. Whilst its principles were already definite enough, its programme was still very incompletely formulated. And up and down the country its organisation was often as shadowy as its programme.

To-day we see the Labour Party with about four million affiliated members, being at once the poorest and quite the largest political organisation in the land; locally organised in all but half a dozen out of the 600 constituencies in Great Britain; placing some 10,000 elected representatives on the various municipal and other local councils; proclaiming not only principles, but also a definitely formulated comprehensive programme over the whole range of home and foreign affairs; placing this programme before the electors in over 400 Parliamentary seats; polling in them alone four and a quarter million votes, being only a million or so fewer than the victorious Unionist Party in the whole country; returning just upon a quarter of the House of Commons; and becoming officially recognised as "His Majesty's Opposition," prepared to form an alternative Ministry whenever called upon to do so. And in the seven months that have elapsed since the General Election, the Labour Party has, in all the contested by-elections, increased its aggregate vote by 10 per cent. and gained two seats. Those who are curious in statistics may be interested to compute that a continuation of the rising curve of Labour votes from the 62,698 of 1900, through the 323,195 of 1906 and the 505,690 of January, 1910, the 2¼ millions of 1918, and the 4¼ millions of 1922, would produce a clear majority of the total votes cast in Great Britain somewhere about 1926. This forecast it is that we have now to make good.

THE TASK BEFORE US.

For our long and detailed programme at the last General Election—more specific, precise and unequivocal than that submitted by any other political party—of which some 5 million copies were printed for distribution to every registered elector in the 416 constituencies in which a Labour candidate was in the field, we polled, in November last, one-third of all the voters in Great Britain. In order to secure such a decisive majority of the whole House of Commons as will make it necessary for the Leader of the Opposition to be entrusted with the duty of forming a Labour Government, we have practically to transform our present one-third of all the voters into two-thirds. We have therefore to convince the bulk of the electors, not that the present Unionist Government is failing to deal successfully with the very grave problems, economic and social, domestic and international, with which the country is confronted, for that is obvious enough, but that these problems can be satisfactorily solved on the principles that we preach. It used to be objected that, however sound might be its principles, the Labour Party was, from inexperience and lack of education, unfit to assume the responsibilities of office. Whatever may have been the case in past years, this is not an accusation that would nowadays be made by any instructed person of candour. In the present House of Commons, comparing parties as wholes, I venture to say that, whilst there are differences of dialect, and sometimes of phraseology, I see no

superiority whatever on the Unionist benches in economic and political knowledge, or eve in the essentials of courtesy and good manners. In acquaintance with the facts of life, an in appreciation of the actual effects of governmental action, the Parliamentary Labour Part is, I think, on an average, considerably ahead of the other parties. It habitually takes, a it seems to me, longer views, and aims at a larger expediency than either Ministers or th rank-and-file on the Government side. It is true that the members of the Labour Party unlike so many Liberals and Unionists, have seldom to their credit years of success in th making of profit. It is not usually remembered, on the other hand, how extensive ha been the experience of at least half of the Labour Members, and how valuable the busines training thereby afforded, in the administration of the vast and ever-growing Consumers Co-operative Movement, and in the highly complicated work of the great Trade Unions As for knowledge and experience of public administration, it might easily be calculated tha the Labour Members have an average of far more years of service on municipal and othe local councils than the members of either the Liberal or the Unionist Party. It is, indeed time that the insolent gibes at the Labour Party for ignorance or incapacity were given up In my brief experience of the House of Commons, it is from the Unionist benches that have heard the most numerous and the most egregious blunders in political economy. An certainly not even the most partial of its supporters would claim that the Treasury Benc has this year distinguished itself, either in finance or in law, in knowledge of internationa affairs or in that instinctive wisdom that we call statesmanship. It is common ground tha the nation's public life appears at the moment barren of political genius of the first rank But speaking merely as a lifelong student of Government, I have no hesitation in sayin that the Parliamentary Labour Party will be able, when the time comes, to take over th responsibilities of office at least as competently as the majority of Ministers of differen parties whose public administration during the last forty years it happens to have been m particular business to scrutinise and study both from inside their offices and from without.

THE IMMORAL TREATIES OF PEACE.

Let us turn now to the grave problems with which the nation is confronted. At the roo of all our present troubles is the state of warlike tension from one end of Europe to th other, which is plainly the outcome of the unsatisfactory treaties by which the war wa ended. The historian of the future cannot fail to record that Paris, in 1919, was a factor of international inefficiency on a quite calamitous scale. To-day this inefficiency is pater to all men. Nearly five years have elapsed since the Armistice. But the necessary complicate economic organisation of Europe as a commercial whole has not yet been restored; foo surpluses and raw materials in one part can only with the utmost difficulty be exchange for the products of labour in other parts; indeed, all sorts of additional barriers to the fre movement of goods, persons and communication have been set up; we have not yet go even anything like a unified system of transport across the political frontier lines that hav been so fantastically drawn across the map of Europe; among the peoples penury an privation almost universally prevail; even the mere material damages to the fields an factories of France and other countries have not been made good. Never perhaps in a history has there been so impressive a failure as that of the statesmen to whom the worl of 1919 entrusted the task of making a real peace. What was the cause of this failure? I has been said, with a great deal of truth, that the blunders embodied in these treati were the direct result of what is termed in theology an invincible ignorance. In spite of a the knowledge and wisdom with which their official subordinates provided the " Big Four, these great men apparently could not divest their minds from the idea that they were fre to choose, irrespective of the hard facts of the situation, what they presumed to think wa politically the best for their several countries or for themselves. Certainly, we of the Labou Party hold that the treaties failed because, almost from end to end, they ignored, on the on hand, economics, and on the other hand morality. I confess to the simple faith that morality like economics, is actually part of the nature of things; and, in great matters and in smal whenever we fail to take into account the nature of things, our calculations and arrangement are inevitably brought to naught. But where the world itself went most wrong in 191 and I think that all countries must share the blame, and the great majority of their citizen was in the spirit with which the problem was approached. We can all see now that Europ could no more be rebuilt upon the passion of hate, the passion of greed, and the passion fear than upon anger and violence. And neither hate nor greed, neither fear nor violenc is brought more into accord with the requirements of economics or of ethics merely by bein national instead of individual.

I say to-day that we ought as a nation to come out of our nationalist illusions of th kind. It is high time that we based our foreign policy, not on what we presume to think ou rights, but on what we can discern to be in the common interests of the world; not on nationa hatred, national greed or even national fear, but on a sense of brotherhood with all men; no on what we may hope to make out of other nations to our own profit, but on how, with ou peculiar gifts and special opportunities, we can best serve humanity as a whole. And a all the nations now discover they are in a very real sense members one of another, we shall fin that brotherhood in whatever best serves humanity as a whole will be, in the long run, mos conducive to the interests of each. What the Labour Party stands for is a policy of mutu

service, as contrasted with a policy of the deliberate pursuit of profit for self—it matters not whether the self to be profited be the individual at the expense of other individuals, or the nation at the expense of other nations.

LABOUR'S FOREIGN POLICY.

Such a foreign policy would promptly assert for this country that leading position in the concert of Europe which the present Government has abandoned. It would tell France plainly that we will go no step further with her in what seems to us a fatal policy of aggression, arising, as it seems, from what the psycho-analysts would call a "fear-complex" unworthy of a great nation. It would accept with cordiality the willingness of the German people, provided the claims to extravagant war indemnities are withdrawn, to make good, up to the limit of economic capacity, the material damage inflicted on the mines and buildings of France and Belgium, and to compensate the civilian victims of bomb or torpedo. It would, for the sake of a general settlement, waive all further claims, and press for a universal cancellation of inter-governmental war debts. It would convert the League of Nations into an organisation absolutely world-wide, seeking to make it in its own sphere as continuously effective as is the International Postal Union. Such a policy would aim persistently and wholeheartedly at the earliest possible restoration to economic prosperity of all the nations of the world, including, as a matter of course, those with whom we were lately at war. It would make continuously for an ever-progressing common limitation of armaments. In my view, it would inspire our advocacy, within the League of Nations, of the establishment of some practicable international currency and some uninterrupted machinery of international remittances, possibly by the intermediation of the International Postal Union itself. It would work towards a universal suppression of customs and passport barriers; or at least their subordination to the far superior interest of unhampered intercommunication; and, assuming that the political particularism of the different states forbids at present a European Customs Union, at least for the establishment of a completely unified railway and canal administration from Astrachan to Algeciras, with undisturbed and untaxed passage of all goods and passengers merely in transit. And along with such an economic policy, there might be urged upon the Governments of Europe the adoption of a common policy of education in internationalism, in elementary schools and universities alike, in substitution for the ludicrously false history and economics still inserted, in the supposed interests of patriotism, in the school books of the world.

MAKING THE WEAKEST PAY FOR THE WAR.

I am not sure that there may not be some truth in the suggestion that it is not so much national particularism as the private interest of international Capitalism that is to-day the main obstacle to such a foreign policy as I have outlined. Certainly, if we turn to our own domestic problems we must, I fear, agree that it is essentially the determination of those who are wealthy to hold to their riches, and to their power over other people's lives, that is standing in the way of social reform. What is going on around us, often unconsciously to those concerned, is, fundamentally, a struggle as to who shall be financially the losers by the war, those who live by owning or those who live by working; and among those who do participate in industry, between those who do the initiating, directing and managing, or those who contribute the manual and routine mental labour. This it is that lies at the back of the almost universal attack upon wages of the past two years, which has extended to establishments and industries that are admittedly making large profits. This attack has already cost the wage-earners something like 700 million pounds a year, or nearly twice the whole of the payment this year in Income Tax. The employers' determination to pull down what they called the "swollen wages of war time" was, indeed, more than once openly avowed in 1919-20, though the opportunity came only in 1921-22. But we see the same thing elsewhere. There is, in all industrial and economic problems and reform projects, a very distinct "ruck up," even among those who were formerly inclined to philanthropy. Whether it be Housing or Education, the Trade Boards Act or the Shop Hours Act, provision for maternity and infancy or provision for the feeble-minded, there is a very decided check to any progress, almost avowedly on the ground that in face of the terrible taxation no more money can be spent without actually lessening the total net income available of the well-to-do class. One public-spirited local administrator put the case quite simply to me. If the County Council, he said, established the new institutions that were required, the increase in rates would compel him to give up his orchid house. This, of course, means that it is the feeble-minded and the mothers and infants, the children and the slum dwellers, the workers in the sweated trades, and generally all the wage-earners, who are to be made to bear the burden of the war debt. This was not the idea, let us say in justice to Mr. Bonar Law, the Chancellor of the Exchequer of 1917. It is not the idea of the economists. It is certainly not the idea of the Labour Party, which must go on asserting that there can be no financial security, and indeed no complete restoration of industrial prosperity in this country, so long as one million pounds have to be taken out of the product of labour each working day, before either wages are paid or profit is made, merely to defray the interest on the war debt. A War Debt Redemption Levy, on fortunes exceeding £5,000 in graduated proportion to the ability to pay, sufficient to redeem the main bulk of the debt, stands as the indispensable step to any stable economic order in this country.

THE INTELLECTUAL CHALLENGE.

There are three dominant features of the economic life of to-day peremptorily demandi the consideration of every statesman, and challenging every political party. There is t almost complete supersession, by subtle forms of trust and monopoly, of that free competiti among capitalist enterprises which used to give the consumer at least some guarantee th prices would oscillate closely around the necessary cost of production. This problem, I fin reduces the candid statesman of either of the older parties privately to despair. He sees solution. There is, in the next place, that equivocal influence, if not sinister dominanc in all important issues, of government, in the newspaper press, and even in educational a social organisation, of the private interests of the owners of great masses of wealth. the form in which it exists to-day this is a new feature. I do not find that such Liber or Unionist Members of the House of Commons as I have talked to on the subject, eve when they recognise its danger, have any idea of how to prevent this illegitimate dominanc And the third of these outstanding economic problems—into which, as it seems to me, bo the others enter—is that of Unemployment; not so much in its present magnitude, whic is exceptional and transient, but in its persistence and universality.

THE BANKRUPTCY OF THE "GOVERNING CLASS."

It would, I suppose, be very rude of us to "butt in" at the domestic recrimination of the conferences of either section of the Liberal Party—or to intrude on those more carefull shrouded interchanges of counsel among the influential personages of the Unionist Party- with any peremptory challenge as to the substance of their respective policies. I fear tha neither Liberalism nor Unionism would abide our questioning. But I may at least put th inquiry before this Conference. What has the Liberal Party—what has Mr. Asquith Mr. Lloyd George—what has the Unionist Party under Mr. Baldwin—to propose to th consumer by way of protection against the now continuous profiteering of the variou capitalist combinations that dominate prices? How does either of these statesmen sugges that the illegitimate and almost limitless power of private wealth in the newspaper Pres and in public administration can be checked? Finally, does either of these parties or thes statesmen believe that the British wage-earners will go on acquiescing in the commo refusal to deal adequately and systematically with the tragedy of nation-wide unemployment It is, I venture to say, in the failure of political leaders even to apply their minds to thes three fundamental economic problems, still less, to permit them to appear in their politica programmes, that stands revealed to-day the bankruptcy of both Liberalism and Conservatism

LABOUR'S HOME POLICY.

The Labour Party at least grapples with these problems in all their ramifications Where the candid Liberal or the honest Unionist admits that he sees no way out, th inquirer who comes to the Labour Party finds that it has principles directly applicable t the very questions about which he is puzzled. And what has become unusual in politica parties, the Labour Party has not only principles but also a practical programme worke out in considerable detail; and a programme which flows out of its principles, and i consistent with these. This consistency between party principles and party programme i indeed a luxury! Nothing strikes me with greater astonishment than the unabashed wa in which Ministers, whether Liberal or Unionist, whenever they are compelled to grapple with a pressing evil, adopt, not an Individualist solution, which is what, in my innocence I used to expect from them, but always and inevitably a Collectivist solution. The polic that they continue to profess is, of course, violently Anti-Collectivist. But whenever they have actually to do anything in their several departments it is always a Collectivist lin that they follow. Naturally, because along this line they lack both faith and knowledge they make a botch. The nation will sooner or later see the wisdom of calling in those doctors who both understand and believe in what they prescribe.

Now, it is not my business here to expound once more the principles of the Labour Party; nor even to recite the titles of the bills and pamphlets in which its practical programme is embodied. Any non-member who sends threepence to the Party Secretary at 33, Eccleston Square, will receive by return of post *Labour and the New Social Order*, in which he will find a comprehensive statement of what the Party stands for. I can best utilise my present opportunity by emphasising for your own consideration certain general features of our position to-day.

"GRADUALNESS."

First let me insist on what our opponents habitually ignore, and indeed, what they seem intellectually incapable of understanding, namely the inevitable gradualness of our scheme of change. The very fact that Socialists have both principles and a programme appears to confuse nearly all their critics. If we state our principles, we are told "That is not practicable." When we recite our programme the objection is "That is not Socialism." But why, because we are idealists, should we be supposed to be idiots? For the Labour Party, it must be plain, Socialism is rooted in political Democracy; which necessarily compels us to recognise that every step towards our goal is dependent on gaining the assent and support of at least a numerical majority of the whole people. Thus, even if we aimed at revolutionising everything at once, we should necessarily be compelled to make each particular change

ly at the time, and to the extent, and in the manner in which ten or fifteen million ctors, in all sorts of conditions, of all sorts of temperaments, from Land's End to the kneys, could be brought to consent to it. How anyone can fear that the British electorate, natever mistakes it may make or may condone, can ever go too fast or too far is incompre-nsible to me. That indeed, is the supremely valuable safeguard of any effective democracy.

But the Labour Party, when in due course it comes to be entrusted with power, will turally not even want to do everything at once. Surely, it must be abundantly manifest any instructed person that, whilst it would be easy to draft proclamations of universal ange, or even enact laws in a single sitting purporting to give a new Heaven and a new arth, the result, the next morning, would be no change at all, unless, indeed, the advent widespread confusion. I remember Mr. Bernard Shaw saying, a whole generation ago, Don't forget that, whilst you may nationalise the railways in one afternoon, it will take long time to transform all the third-class carriages and all the first-class carriages, into cond-class carriages." Once we face the necessity of putting our principles first into lls, to be fought through Committee clause by clause; and then into the appropriate dministrative machinery for carrying them into execution from one end of the Kingdom to ie other—and this is what the Labour Party has done with its Socialism—the inevitability gradualness cannot fail to be appreciated. This translation of Socialism into practicable ojects, to be adopted one after another, is just the task in which we have been engaged r a whole generation, with the result that, on every side, fragments of our proposals have ready been put successfully into operation by Town and County Councils, and the national overnment itself, and have now become accepted as commonplaces by the average man. he whole nation has been imbibing Socialism without realising it! It is now time for ie subconscious to rise into consciousness.

INCREASING RESPONSIBILITY FOR ACT AND WORD.

Let me add a word in passing about our position as a party in this matter. The Labour arty, after more than twenty years' strenuous work, has now attained the position of the fficial Opposition, holding itself out to the electors as the alternative Government, prepared take over the whole administration of the nation as soon as it is called upon to do so. he Party must remember this position, and rise to its responsibilities. We have, from ow onward, to work and speak and act, under the sense of the liability, at any moment, be charged with putting our plans and projects in operation. This does not mean, I uggest, that we should abandon our investigations and researches, whether individual or epartmental, which have proved of the greatest value in putting us ahead of the other olitical parties, or give up refining and enlarging our ideals, or as individuals, cease the xpounding of inspiring visions of what the future might and should unfold. But it does ean, I suggest, that we should not lightly commit ourselves as a party—and we should ot even seek to commit the party as a party—to new or additional projects, or to the etails of reforms, if these belong more appropriately to a stage of greater freedom and less esponsibility.

THE FUTILITY OF VIOLENCE.

This brings me to the suggestion that surely every citizen of our own land must see, n the experience of the past decade, an overwhelming demonstration of the fact that iolence is, and must be, always accursed, injuring both him who does and him who suffers , and futile to both. Violence persuades no one, convinces no one, satisfies no one. Thus, t may produce death, or the acquiescence which is the death of the mind—that is to say iolence may destroy, but it can never construct. Moreover, in our practical British way we an see that, by the very nature of the case, violence can be much more easily and effectively pplied on the Conservative side—to keep things as they are, because this requires only cquiescence—than on the side of change, because every change requires the active participa-ion of the citizen, the adoption of new methods of life and work, or at least the formation f new habits. What has happened in the United States on the one hand, and in Italy on he other, where property, in small holdings as well as great, has successfully used violence gainst the popular cause, are but examples of the general proposition that when it comes o the brutalities of physical force, reaction easily goes one better than the revolutionary nob. It is when the decision is arrived at by counting heads, not by breaking them, that ve get the nearest approach to Government of the people, by the people, for the people. At any rate it is in this faith that the Labour Party is rooted.

THE ABUSE OF AUTHORITY.

Let me add that in my judgment it behoves us to weigh our words when we voice our intuitive objection to the authority of government. We must, of course, be outspoken n our denunciation of every form of governmental tyranny, whether "white," "red," lack or any other colour, at home or abroad, in Asia and Africa as well as in Europe and America. The public opinion of the civilised world—for which in this matter the Labour Party has largely the responsibility—has a real influence, slow moving though it be, ven over the most obdurate of democracies. We have need to exercise the greatest vigilance o detect and at once oppose every instance of the illegal exercise of power to which all Governments, whether democratic or monarchical, municipal or national, are perpetually prone. Even in the Land of Habeas Corpus, as recent instances show, we have by no

means yet recovered all the liberties that we lost during the war. The strenuous ultimately successful fight against the Home Secretary's arbitrary Irish deportations, wh was maintained by the Labour Party, in the House of Commons, in the constituencies in the Courts of Justice, will, I hope, be repeated whenever fresh cases occur.

THE MEANING OF GOVERNMENT.

But whatever is done to safeguard individual liberty, and to safeguard it, also, aga economic and social as well as against governmental tyranny, let us always remember t it is not against government itself that we are protesting. For government is, after only another word for that deliberate co-operation of citizens in a common task wh lies at the root of all our proposals. The alternative to government is not freedom. is the very anarchy of competition, unrestrained and unregulated, from which the wo is still suffering; it is, in short, fighting, whether between individuals, between grou between classes, or between nations; fighting which, even when limited to what we blan call economic weapons, is inevitably destructive of personal liberty on a far greater sc than any governmental tyranny can be. When this fighting takes the form of war we that it destroys civilisation itself. The only alternative to the struggle expressed by sinister maxim, "Every man for himself, and the Devil take the hindmost," is, let remember, exactly that deliberately arranged co-operation among citizens in social ta that we term government. To-day, I make bold to say, what the world needs is not l government but more. This need for a perpetually increasing co-operation in social functio in place of individualist anarchy, springs inevitably from the ever-growing complexity the social life of crowded populations, in which this very co-operation is the condition un which alone individual liberty can be maximised. We enjoy actually greater freedom the highways because there is a Rule of the Road, than we should if everyone drove the whim of the moment dictated. It is because we want more government internationa (and thereby a wider measure of national freedom in any real sense) that we support t League of Nations, and seek to render it both more democratic and more and more effecti as an instrument of world control. At the other end of the scale we ask perpetually greater powers for our Town Councils, and other Local Authorities, and we look to th obtaining an ever-widening sphere for their beneficent administration by which the freed of the mass of the people to live their own lives is so much increased. And even Whitehall, though we grumble at bureaucracy, it is not a diminution but an increase, th in the name of freedom the Labour Party demands in the functions exercised, for instan in connection with mines and railways, shipping and insurance, health and housing or t conditions under which 90 per cent. of the people have to work and live. What we ha always to insist on is that government should, at all points, be effectively democratise that it should be, wherever practicable, entrusted to the local representatives of t community rather than to the necessarily centralised departments at Whitehall; that every branch the widest possible sphere should be assigned to the voluntarily associat Consumers' Co-operative Movement, which, be it remembered, is, to the Socialist, an integ part of Socialism itself; and that everywhere the necessary supervision and control to exercised by Parliament and the Central Government should be supplemented by a steadi increasing participation in management by the vocational organisations of all grades workers concerned. How difficult it is to make the academic philosophers, not to menti Lord Chancellors, understand that vocational organisation is itself an indispensable pa of democratic government—that political democracy without industrial democracy is a shan But subject to these improvements in governmental machinery—improvements which, admit, are of the essence of the case—I repeat that, in my opinion, what the world nee to-day—what Britain needs to-day—what even the Labour Party needs to-day is, not le government but more.

THE SPIRIT THAT GIVETH LIFE.

Finally, let me remind you that there is a higher need even than government, whethe it be the government of a city or the government of our tempers, or the government of ou tongues. It is not upon its plans or its programmes—not even upon its principles or i ideals—that a political party is ultimately judged. It is not upon them or any of the that its measure of success in the continuous appeal to the judgment of the average citize finally depends. The success of the Labour Party in this country depends, more than o anything else, upon the spirit in which we hold our faith, the spirit in which we preser our proposals, the spirit in which we meet our opponents in debate, the spirit in whic we fulfil our own obligations, the spirit in which, with inevitable backslidings, we live ou own lives. We shall not achieve much, whatever changes we can bring about, unless wha we do is done in the spirit of fellowship. For we must always remember that the founde of British Socialism was not Karl Marx but Robert Owen, and that Robert Owen preache not "class war" but the ancient doctrine of human brotherhood—the hope, the faith, th living fact of human fellowship—a faith and a hope reaffirmed in the words of that othe great British Socialist—William Morris—in *The Dream of John Ball*. "Forsooth, brothers fellowship is heaven, and lack of fellowship is hell; fellowship is life, and lack of fellowshi is death; and the deeds that ye do upon the earth, it is for fellowship's sake that ye d them; and the life that is in it, that shall live on and on for ever, and each one of yo part of it, while many a man's life upon the earth from the earth shall wane."

ORDER OF DEBATE.

Mr. Will Thorne, M.P., said that the onference Arrangements Committee recomended that after the debate upon the mendments to the Constitution was conluded, the Conference should proceed to iscuss that part of the Executive Comittee's Report and the resolutions referring) the affiliation of the Communist Party. he delegates of societies responsible for esolutions on the subject insisted upon a esolution from the Barrow Labour Party eing submitted as an amendment to the ecommendations of the Executive.

The report of the Conference Arrangements ommittee was then agreed to.

ELIGIBILITY OF DELEGATES.

The Conference then proceeded to discuss ne amendment to Clause 9 of the Constituon in regard to the condition of eligibility f delegates.

The Chairman called upon the delegate om Maryhill District Labour Party to move ne amendment standing in its name, but no ne was present. He then called upon the elegate from Newcastle (Borough) Labour arty, but this also was not responded to. He nen said the only thing to do was for the xecutive to move its own resolution and ave it for the other to be taken as an mendment.

The Rt. Hon. Arthur Henderson, M.P., nen moved the deletion of Section (b) from lause 9 of the Constitution. The whole lause read as follows :—

> "Condition of eligibility of delegates from constituent bodies to either Local Parties or to any national or local conference of the Labour Party.
>
> (a) Every person nominated to serve as a delegate shall individually accept the Constitution and principles of the Labour Party.
>
> (b) No person shall be eligible as a delegate who is a member of any organisation having for one of its objects the return to Parliament or to any Local Governing Authority of a candidate or candidates other than such as have been endorsed by the Labour Party, or have been approved as running in association with the Labour Party."

He said the question of this new rule, for hich the Executive made itself responsible ast year, had been very carefully re-conidered by the Executive. The rule was rought up, in order, as they thought, to put he Party in the position which they thought ought to occupy in relation to all the other olitical parties. The second part of the rule Clause b) had not only been very much misnderstood, but it had been seriously if not ilfully misrepresented. The Executive were ot, however, influenced by that considerain. What did appeal to them was the act that the new rule was somewhat difficult o administer. In seeking to carry out both he spirit and the letter of the resolution, they found that they created certain anomalies which the Executive had never intended. For instance, they had one case where the individual affected was not only a first-class Labour man but a first-class Socialist. He was an official of the Parliamentary Labour Party, and he was an official of the Conference, being a member of the National Executive; and yet the rule could be so interpreted as to disqualify him from being a delegate to either a Local or a National Conference. That was not the intention of the Executive. They did not seek to protect themselves against their best friends, but they sought to protect themselves from having in the National Conference—and he was afraid in many Local Conferences—representatives of more than one political Party entirely outside the Labour Party. They had to face the difficulties arising out of its administration, and the Executive now wished the Conference to adhere to Clause (a). If they were going to adopt the alteration which was suggested, it was all the more important that Trade Unions, when they were electing delegates to Conferences, should see that the spirit and the letter of Clause (a) were properly carried out, and that every person whom they made themselves responsible for sending to Party Conferences, should accept the Constitution and principles of the Party. He could go back some 20 years in connection with the Conference, and what, he asked, was the fight in the old days? The fight in the old days was to compel everybody to accept the principles and the Constitution and to make those who were to some extent continuing their allegiance to parties that were in existence before the Labour Party came into being—to make them snap that allegiance completely—to make a clean cut and to come in boldly and fully and accept the principles and Constitution of the new Party. Did they intend to adhere to that or not? He hoped they would adhere to it. Whatever be the name of the individual, whatever party he might profess to be associated with, as a political party, he hoped they would honourably carry out Clause (a) and see that if such an individual came to be their representative he accepted both the Constitution and the principles of the Party. Therefore the Executive, with the permission of the Conference, had agreed to abandon Clause (b) and to rely solely upon Clause (a). There was an amendment down in the name of some seven or eight organisations which proposed to insert a substitute for Clause (b). The Executive had very carefully considered that amendment and thought it would be a great mistake to adopt it. They asked the Conference to leave the matter until they got another year's experience. They believed by so doing the delegates would be serving the best interests of the Party.

Mr. J. T. Brownlie (Amalgamated Engineering Union), in seconding the motion, said he understood the rule was intended to allow people who might hold certain political views, but who were duly accredited dele-

gates of their Trade Unions, to attend a Conference without let or hindance. The position in which the Amalgamated Engineers found themselves was somewhat difficult. During the period in which they were engaged in electing representatives in their respective divisions to this Conference, questions were addressed to them as to whether a member of the Communist Party was entitled to be nominated, and the Executive of the Amalgamated Engineering Union answered the question as follows: "So far as we are concerned, we take no cognisance whatsoever whether an individual is a member of the Communist Party or not. Our rules lay down that a person shall have a number of years' membership and other qualifications, and provided he fulfilled these qualifications, with the addition that he paid the Parliamentary levy determined by the organisation according to the Trade Union Act of 1913, he is eligible." That was the basis upon which their delegates were elected. He believed it was true to say that amongst the delegates to that Conference there were avowed members of the Communist Party; they also subscribed to the tenets of the Labour Party and fulfilled the conditions laid down by the rules of the Amalgamated Engineering Union. Therefore they claimed for them the right to be present at the Conference. He understood the object of the new proposal was that their delegates, and other delegates similarly situated, should be allowed to take part in the proceedings, and that being so he seconded the resolution.

Mr. E. SHINWELL, M.P. (Marine Workers), in opposing, said there were two distinct issues involved in this discussion. One was with regard to the attitude of the Communist Party, who were seeking affiliation to the Labour Party.

The CHAIRMAN here interposed, saying that this matter was not being discussed, but would come up later, and Mr. Shinwell was not in order in referring to it.

Mr. SHINWELL said that he was speaking on the resolution moved by Mr. Henderson. The other issue involved was the question of the eligibility of delegates to the Conference who were associated with a Trade Union, which had on its staff certain individuals who had contested Parliamentary elections in opposition to Labour Party candidates. He was not concerned for the moment with the Communist group because, as the Chairman had properly said, that would arise at another time, and if they accepted this part of the clause, it did not seek in any way to exclude other associations from that Conference. What they were concerned with now was the inclusion of an association, the leading official of which had been a Coalition Member of Parliament, and at the recent General Election contested a Parliamentary seat in opposition to the official Labour candidate. That was the issue involved, and he (Mr. Shinwell) was against it. Mr. Henderson had come forward and said, "Let us try this thing again; next year perhaps it will have solved itself." That was not sufficient for their purpose. They had a discussion at t last Conference with regard to this matt and Mr. Henderson promised that the Exe tive would give it immediate considerati This they did, and if delegates would tu to page 85 of the Report they would find th the National Seamen and Firemen's Uni approached the Executive and asked perm sion to remain affiliated to the Conferen while Mr. Havelock Wilson continued to o pose the Labour Party in the House Commons. The Executive said "No," b now they came forward and said th although he is excluded from the Conferen the delegates of that Union could come the Conference if they were willing the selves to accept the Constitution of the Part That position, he maintained, was absur They were concerned here, not with t affiliation of individuals, but with the affil tion of associations, and if there were ass ciations which had not accepted in the spi and the letter all that the Labour Party its Constitution demanded, then they had right to be represented at Party Conferenc at all. He asked the Conference to come a definite conclusion on this matter. It w a much broader question than appeared the surface. They had traitors in the Labo Movement who were not connected wi the Communist Party. He was not so mu concerned about the "Red" in the Labo Movement as he was about the "Yellow and when they had an association in t country, seeking to be affiliated with t premier organisation, which refused to exe a measure of discipline over its leadi official, then they had the right to sa "You must clear out of the Labour Mov ment so far as any official position is co cerned." He asked the Conference to rem this matter back to the Executive if the could not come to a definite conclusion th day. They must not let certain individua ride rough-shod over the Party. He su gested to Mr. Henderson that he was muc more concerned about organisations bein affiliated from the financial standpoint tha whether they were useful to the Labou Movement. The desire of the Movement wa to purify itself against these excresenc which ought never to have been associate with it.

The CHAIRMAN said that before the matt went any further, he desired to give a rulin This resolution was only concerned with t admission of delegates, and naturally the could only be delegates from associatio which were properly affiliated; therefore n discussion on what associations ought to b affiliated or ought not to be affiliated was i order. If an association was affiliate according to the rules, then this discussio would settle whether its delegates cou come to the Conference, and this propos had nothing to do with what associatio should be affiliated. The particular associa tion to which Mr. Shinwell had alluded wa not affiliated, and consequently its delegate could not come to that Conference. If Mr

hinwell wanted to propose a resolution with gard to the conditions of affiliation, that ould have to come forward at another time. Mr. J. Bromley (Locomotive Engineers' nd Firemen's Union), in supporting the xecutive's proposal, said he wished to dis- use the minds of the delegates with regard some of the remarks of the last speaker. e had great sympathy with Mr. Shinwell ith regard to his pet opponent, Mr. Have- ck Wilson, but no one in that Hall, at ny rate, took the slightest notice of him his antics. He reminded Mr. Shinwell nat it was waste of energy to take a steam ammer to crack a nut. This question was ital to many of the organisations repre- nted at the Conference. Certain rules ere made, and if organisations conformed those rules and paid their political fees, neir representatives were eligible for omination. The fact of their being embers of the Independent Labour arty, the Communist Party, or even the onservative Party, did not matter; so long s they conformed to the rules of their ganisation they were bound to be ad- itted as members. If the Conference made mistake and had gone a little too far in ying to protect itself against extreme Yellow" or against extreme "Red," they ght to rectify that mistake now, and not low themselves to be drawn away by the d herring of Havelock Wilson or anyone se. About one-half of his (Mr. Bromley's) owd were members of the Communist arty, but he endeavoured to see that his eople represented their Trade Union. If ie Conference said that these delegates ould be excluded, then he suggested, with l respect, it would be the duty of the her delegates of associations to go out ith them, and that would raise a particu- rly serious issue just at a moment when ey wanted to be united. He appealed to ie delegates to take a common-sense view this matter, and support the suggestion the Executive Committee. Twelve onths would make a great difference, and would be very unwise to split the Con- rence at this juncture, merely on a side sue.

Mr. Henderson said he ought to have entioned at the close of his remarks that, the event of the Conference accepting the xecutive's recommendation, the proposal ould be put into operation at once, and ould apply to that Conference.

A Delegate asked whether, in the event the Executive's resolution being turned own, it would mean that all those dele- ates affected by it would have to withdraw om the Conference, to which the Chair- an replied, amidst laughter, "We will ait and see!"

The motion was put to the Conference, and rried by an overwhelming majority.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

The Conference then proceeded to con- der the Report of the Executive Commit- e.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS.

Mr. J. Hinshelwood (A.E.U.) asked with regard to the paragraphs headed "'Russia'" on page 15, what was intended by the words: "In order to preserve Russia as a support for the Revolution, and to prevent its becoming a focus of the international re- action, the Congress supports the following demands," and so on.

The Chairman replied that delegates would notice this was a phrase in a long list of resolutions which had been adopted by another body. It was submitted in the Re- port simply as a matter of information.

A Delegate asked whether he was to understand that the British representatives supported it.

The Chairman replied that the British delegates all abstained from voting for that particular resolution.

Mr. Hinshelwood asked what was really intended by the first paragraph on Page 16 of the Report, where a reference was made to "the establishment of the Socialist Com- monwealth as their object, and the class struggle, which finds its expression in the independent political and industrial action of the workers, as a means of realising that object."

The Chairman said that if the delegate would look at "Labour and the New Social Order," he would see it all explained by the decision of the Party Conference.

Mr. H. Pollitt (Boilermakers) protested at the levity with which this matter seemed to be treated. This was the Constitution of the new Socialist International, of which they were an important affiliated body, and they had a perfect right to know what they were committed to in the name of the British Labour Party. He wanted to raise a ques- tion on Clause 15, page 17, where it said that if any member of the Executive Committee joined a Government, his membership of the Committee should cease automatically, and if he left the Government his organisation could again appoint him a member of the Committee. Would not that definitely mean that the British Labour Party were also com- mitted to a policy of no co-operation with a Capitalist Government, and if Mr. Henderson joined such a Government he would have to resign?

The Chairman said that if any member of the British Labour Party joined any Government he would cease automatically to be a member of the Executive Committee of the International.

Mr. Pollitt remarked that Adler, in presenting this report, pointed out that it did not necessarily mean that the Socialist International was against a Coalition Govern- ment, but this clause was put in with the definite intention of making it an utter im- possibility for any Executive member to join a Capitalist Government.

The Chairman said whatever the intention was, it was quite certain it did absolutely prevent any member of any organisation

from sitting on the Executive Committee of the International if he was a member of any Government whatever.

Mr. Ernest Thurtle (Shoreditch L.P.) referred to the paragraph headed "Relations with Russia," and wished to know whether the Executive Committee had taken any action against the Rt. Hon. J. R. Clynes in regard to the article which he had written for the *Financial Times*—an article which was a direct incitement to the Government to break off relations with Russia.

The Chairman said he could not allow that to go without a protest. The article referred to, which he had seen, did not carry such an implication.

Mr. Bram Longstaffe (Barrow L.P.), referring to the section dealing with the "Invasion of the Ruhr," on page 20, deplored the statement contained therein, and also deplored the fact that the Labour forces in this country were so undecided that while one very powerful section advocated the withdrawal of British troops from Cologne, another section advocated their retention. It supported the United States in their demand for an impartial tribunal to go into the question and it also stated, although the Movement was not committed to the policy or the principles—certainly not the policy—of the League of Nations, that they were prepared to leave the Ruhr situation in the hands of the League of Nations. They knew that the League of Nations was an organisation which had been created by the capitalist nations of Europe for the purpose of controlling their affairs instead of leaving it to the people themselves.

The Chairman here called the speaker to order, saying they could not discuss the policy of the League of Nations, which was a body they had supported over and over again.

Mr. Longstaffe, continuing, said he protested against the inaction of the National Joint Council and the Executive of the Party on the Ruhr situation. He suggested that the Conference should devote at any rate a small amount of time to a discussion of these things which the Executive had been deliberating for twelve months.

The Chairman said there was no attempt to prevent delegates discussing anything of which notice had been sent in, and when they had disposed of the Executive Report there would be time for the discussion of anything of which notice had been given.

Mr. H. Pollitt (Boilermakers) said that this Report was presented to the delegates for their consideration, and he claimed they had a right to criticise the action of the British Labour Movement in regard to the invasion of the Ruhr Valley. There were at least five delegates at the Conference who were present when Mr. Fimmen came over from Germany to ask for the help of the British working class if the French marched into the Ruhr, but nothing had been done. Mr. Thomas had asked what would be the effect of the withdrawal of the British troops, and secondly what would be the effect of international demonstration, but just beca they had the inevitable reply from the G mans and Belgians, no step was taken make this a burning issue. The Brit Commission had suppressed the Commu papers in Cologne during the strikes. Lab people had never been made to realise t the present policy of the French Governm meant starvation. The Labour Party not done a single thing. What had been effect of this French invasion? The wa of the Germans were one-fourth of what t were in pre-war times. The time would co when the German capitalists would ask British troops to suppress the Gern workers. He hoped the Conference wo refer the whole question back to the Exe tive, that it be looked upon as a vote censure, and that they be instructed definit to convene demonstrations.

The Chairman said he had no wish intervene in the debate, but he thought was only right to point out that nearly the statements made by Mr. Pollitt w inaccurate, and that the action taken been in the closest possible accord with Fimmen and the Ruhr workmen. It was very difficult situation, and they had not b able to do more than they had done.

Rt. Hon. J. H. Thomas, M.P. (Natio Union of Railwaymen), said that the qu tions put by him to Mr. Fimmen were at the request of the British Delegati They did not desire to desert the Germ workers, but they did want to do someth that would really help them, and he ask the Conference whether there could be a thing fairer or better than saying to representative of the men, "Will it help y if we take a certain course?" That w put to the German representatives, a their answer was: "For God's sake, st your Party advocating the withdrawal British troops! British troops are our o salvation at this moment! With the Briti troops withdrawn, effect will be given i mediately to what the French intend With regard to a strike, if Mr. Pollitt cou tell them that he could order even the wh of the Boilermakers to strike, he (M Thomas) would be surprised, but it wou take a much cleverer man than Mr. Poll to give an order for 25 millions of worke to strike and get it obeyed. The Germ workers had got one other enemy than t one which had been mentioned. It w quite true they had the French Imperiali and the German Militarist, but the Germa Trade Union Movement had a great danger at this moment, and that came fro the Communists. They had got to face t fact that the German Trade Union Mov ment was in a difficulty, and so far fro thinking that the British Trade Union Mov ment had deserted them, they appreciat what the Movement in Britain had done.

Mr. J. H. Hudson (I.L.P.) said he agre with the Report, but he thought that furth consideration ought now to be given to t

uestion of the withdrawal of British oops from the Rhine, because the situation ad considerably changed since the time hen this reference was made in the Report.

The CHAIRMAN called Mr. Hudson's attention to the fact that this was a report of hat had already been done. If he wanted mething further to be done, there was the solution on Foreign Policy, which would ve him the opportunity he desired.

Mr. J. SEXTON, M.P. (Transport Workers), peaking on a paragraph in the report of the esearch Department (page 37) said he ould like to see the Executive making perectly sure that the people who accepted the onstitution and principles of the Party were lways prepared to support them. He had ound, for instance, that Labour Members ad gone forth to make possible night workng in bakeries.

The CHAIRMAN said that it was not in rder to raise that point at that stage, but could arise on a resolution on the subect.

Mr. C. PRIESTLY (Manchester and Salord L.P.) said he wanted to register the rotest of his branch against the philosophy nderlying the Manifesto issued by the arty at the General Election. It lacked magination and anticipation of what was ecessary for the guidance of those workng in the constituencies. There was a tacit ecognition of Imperialism, and Imperialism as a political attempt to defeat International Labour. Any responsible Executive f the Labour Party ought to realise that t ought not to associate itself with any of he tenets of International Capitalism. Then t tacitly recognised International Capitalsm in the form of reparations. He wished o remind the delegates that the working lasses in every country were the victims of eparations, as reparations could only be got ut of the life-blood of the working classes. When the Trade Union Movement was passng through its great economic crisis, the abour Party Executive—who were the poliical custodians of the Trade Union Movenent—recognised the bastard philosophy of capitalist government, and had issued a Manifesto which struck at the fundamental oots of the principles of the Labour Party.

NATIONAL AGENT'S REPORT.

On the National Agent's Report (page 50) Mr. Pollitt called attention to a letter sent by a prominent member of the Labour Party (Col. Wedgwood) wishing success to a man who was opposing a Labour Candidate.

Mr. HENDERSON replied that the explanation Col. Wedgwood gave was that he was not aware at the time he sent his communication that there was a Labour Candidate in the field.

Mr. POLLITT said that such a thing ought not to be possible.

The CHAIRMAN replied that as a matter of fact that matter had been dealt with by the Parliamentary Party in a disciplinary manner at its first meeting.

A DELEGATE, referring to the by-election at Newcastle (East), asked whether the Executive had been able to re-unite the Constituency after the disaffection caused by Mrs. Bell, the wife of the late Member, not being accepted as a candidate.

Mr. HENDERSON thought the best evidence of the unity of the constituency for his candidature was the increase of the majority by 1,000.

A DELEGATE asked what attitude the Labour Party took towards those candidates who repudiated the Capital Levy during the election.

The CHAIRMAN said that that matter was dealt with by the Executive Committee, and the evidence showed that the facts as stated were very often quite incorrect.

Mr. REGINALD BISHOP (St. Pancras Borough L.P. and T.C.), referring to the Edge Hill election (page 55), said that during the election a printed statement was issued from Mr. William Graham, M.P. (Central Edinburgh), to the effect that the workers should vote for Major Hills "because, although a political opponent, he had always been a good democrat." It was quite possible that Mr. Graham was not aware that a Labour Candidate was being run, but he wished to know whether it was the policy of the Labour Party to allow Labour Members of Parliament to support Tory Candidates.

Mr. HENDERSON said he did not know whether the delegates claimed to have been quoting Mr. Graham when he said that he had recommended the electors in Edge Hill to vote for Major Hills, but what really happened was that before there was any by-election, Mr. Graham had made a statement of a complimentary character with regard to Major Hills, and Major Hills, being an astute electioneer, made use of that statement. Mr. Graham had no idea when he made the statement that it would be used for electioneering purposes.

Mr. J. WILLIAMS (A.E.U.), on the paragraph on page 60 referring to the Organisation of Women, said it appeared to him that while the Executive Committee could boast that they had very successfully increased the membership of the women inside the Labour Party, and the paragraph spoke in deprecatory language of the anti-Labour organisations which attempted to organise women on a non-political basis, at the same time that they were issuing these reports there were members of the Party who were addressing them in a most eloquent manner from the platform of such organisations, and this left the women in the various constituencies wondering where they were. The effect was such that they in Birkenhead had been having a very strenuous fight for their Women's Section, owing to the fact that many of their women belonged to the Women's Citizens' Association, and the Women's Citizens' Association, by some accident or other, chose from time to time to fight a Labour seat on the Local Councils. When

they asked their women to withdraw from the Women's Citizens' Association they had brought against them all kinds of statements made by this member of the Executive and that member of the Executive, and to follow it all one would have to be an encyclopædia of political theory. He suggested that the Executive Committee might issue a definite statement that no woman could be a member of the Women's Citizens' Association and also of the Labour Party. It was only by such a definite lead that their work in the constituencies would be made effective and the Party become strong in the organisation of women.

Councillor Mrs. MADDOCKS (Hampstead Labour Party) said the men themselves were principally responsible for this position. It was up to the men in their own homes to teach what was the proper attitude and not to come there and criticise what the women were doing.

A DELEGATE protested at the inaction of the Consultative Council of the Ministry of Health (page 82). He thought it was a great shame, after a Committee had been formed to carry out certain work, that it should not meet.

The CHAIRMAN said the Conference would remember that this was a Government Committee on which the Labour Party had some women representatives. They had tried to get the Committee to meet, and they ultimately withdrew their members.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

Mr. A. J. COOK (Miners' Federation), referring to the paragraph at the top of page 85, asked whether the Executive did or did not select Mr. Lansbury and the Chairman, since the last Conference, to meet the Communist leaders to discuss affiliation. He put that question because Mr. Hodges had made the statement at the Miners' Conference. It had been reported that they had both come to the conclusion that there were no lines of accommodation and they could not be accepted.

Mr. HENDERSON replied that it would be remembered that at the Edinburgh Conference the Executive Committee presented a full report of the discussions that had taken place between the deputation appointed by the National Executive and the representatives of the Communist Party. He thought the statement occupied about ten pages of the Report, but it applied to the year which was dealt with at the Edinburgh Conference and not to this year.

Mr. COOK asked whether that meant that there had been no meeting and therefore the statement which Mr. Hodges made was incorrect.

Mr. FRANK HODGES said that Mr. Cook was under a misapprehension. The report which was embodied in last year's Report of the Executive Committee was the one to which he had referred.

Mr. BRAM LONGSTAFFE (Barrow L.P.) moved, as an amendment to the Report:

"That the application of the Communist Party be accepted."

He wanted the members of the Conference to approach this matter in a spirit they had not hitherto adopted. The Conference had already admitted that they made a blunder last year with regard to the eligibility of delegates, and they had now agreed to rectify that blunder, and in consequence of that the position in regard to the Communist Party was altered. This was a serious matter. If it was war against the Communist Party, let them be clear that it was war; but if it was peace they should declare definitely for peace, and let the resolution be carried, not in words only but in spirit also. He did not want to indulge in personalities in discussing the matter, but he invited the Conference to take a retrospective view of the last few years. The Industrial Movement had broken down and the Movement their fathers had fought and bled for—and they had now only to hand down something of the wreckage which was won by their sires in a bygone day. As a member of the Labour Party and of no other Party he could speak impartially, and he had no other reason for supporting the Communist application than the fact that the Communists were members of the working-class organisation. They might attempt to exclude men from the Movement because they did not like their arguments, and attempt to exclude members of the Communist Party, but in spite of their resolution, in spite of their cold-shouldering, when they had done everything, these men still remained an integral part of the working-class movement of the country and could not be ignored. He invited the delegates in a reasonable spirit to consider this question and all it meant. He did not want the Conference to be rushed into something which they would regret twelve months hence. Provided the Communist Party were prepared to accept the Constitution of the Labour Party they should be admitted to affiliation, and then, if they were not satisfied in twelve months' time they could be thrown out and he would assist them in doing it. They should at any rate give the Communists a trial. He thought it was a matter of so much importance that even if they had a Special Conference on this question alone it would not be amiss. He maintained that the Executive Committee were to blame for misleading the Labour Movement on this matter at the last Conference. The psychology of the Conference was influenced by the introduction of the resolution on the Social Revolutionaries of Russia—a matter that had no right to be introduced. He wanted to put before the Conference the demand of the Communist Party for affiliation, and he appealed to the Executive Committee to give a chance for once to the rank and file to decide the matter. By admitting the Communist Party the

vould knit the whole Labour and Socialist lovement together, and be able to present united front.

Mr. Reginald Bishop (St. Pancras L.P.), n seconding the motion, said that his Party upported the application because they ealised that the Communist Party was not hat it was looked upon as by many of the fficials of the Labour Party. It was an ctive and virile section of the working class ovement, and if its support were with-rawn from the Labour Party, in many in-tances the Labour Party would collapse like house of cards. He was referring to cer-ain localities where the Communist Party as really the successor of other parties, like he Social Democratic Federation; and in any instances the Communist Party con-isted of the same people as the S.D.F.—eople who had helped to build up the Move-ent in the past. It had been said that the ommunist Party would not accept the Con-titution of the Labour Party, but he would emind the delegates that at the last General lection they withdrew their candidates in very instance. That, in itself, was suffi-ient evidence that they were prepared to bide loyally by the discipline of the Labour arty. Prejudice was aroused last year by he statement that the Communists were in-uenced by the Asiatic mind, but since then abour Party leaders had been meeting a entleman of Asiatic mind. That remark as introduced last year to try to influence he voting. They were also told that the ommunists were the slaves of Russia, imply because they were part of the Inter-ational which met in Moscow. No doubt here were Socialists walking about the treets of Berlin who were now saying that he supporters of the new International were he slaves of London. The capitalist Press as telling the same kind of half-truths and es about them. If it was stated that the ommunist Party were not prepared to ac-ept the Constitution, he wanted to hear efinitely from the members of the Labour arty how and when they had refused to ccept it. They could only judge them by heir actions, and in every locality where the abour Party had been friendly they had ound the Communist Party was prepared to ork day in and day out to assure the suc-ess of the Labour Party candidates. They nly asked for the Communist the same ights as the Party granted to the Inde-endent Labour Party and the Social Demo-ratic Federation.

Mr. Frank Hodges (Miners' Federation) aid that last year he opposed the resolution or the affiliation of the Communist Party to he Labour Party, not for any personal easons, and not for any historical reasons n the sense of the happenings in Russia. He took up his stand against affiliation on urely theoretical grounds. He said then, nd he repeated now, that if it was to be a attle of ideas, that battle would go on, hether it went on inside or outside the ovement. The war of ideas would continue. But at this moment the Communist Party was based upon a Constitution which was the direct antithesis of the Labour Party Constitution, and that being so, it would be madness for those of them who believed in political democracy, to have affiliated to their body those who declared that political democracy was of no avail. It was on that ground alone he took his stand. Those who had been affiliated and were now affiliated to the Labour Party, such as the Independent Labour Party, the Local Labour Parties and other groups such as the Fabian Society, had a belief in the fundamental principle of political democracy, a belief in Parliamentary institutions and in Parliamentary action. The I.L.P. might think that the Labour Party did not move as fast as it ought, but it still believed that the government they desired was a political government—a Parliamentary government with certain social consequences. Everyone who was an adherent to the Labour Party and its Constitution accepted the principle that our political institutions were the best means of expressing our national aspirations. The Communist Party avowedly did not accept that point of view. It declared first of all in the Constitution laid down in their Third International that the purpose of the Communist within any party was to destroy that party. He could only quote from the Constitution of the Communist Party—not the British Communist Party—because they were, so to speak, the children of the Moscow Party. The declaration read: "Every Communist member must remember that he is not a 'legislator' bound to seek arrangements with other legislators, but an agitator of the Party, detailed into the enemy's camp in order there to carry out the orders of the Party. The Communist member is answerable, not to the scattered masses of his constituents, but to his own Communist Party whether legal or illegal." How could a man openly and honourably come into their Party, and declare for the purpose of coming in that he could support the Constitution, when, in order to be loyal to the Labour Party Constitution he must be disloyal to the original Moscow Constitution in which he believed? He (Mr. Hodges) gave such a man the credit for accepting the Moscow thesis, but when he read that thesis, and understood its purpose, he could not give such a man credit for open honesty if he came into the Labour Party. Russia had nothing to teach the political democracy of the Western world. British institutions had grown up in accordance very largely with Britain's own peculiar history, and if anybody could show him where Russia could give to Western civilisation ideas better than those that had been adopted by them, he would be delighted for that man to come and state his case, because that would be an intellectual argument. For them in the Labour Party, who believed in political democracy, there was no limit to the power inherent in their political institutions. They could accomplish all if they had the

will, and they could accomplish it with a maximum amount of freedom for the human mind. They in the Labour Party abhorred the very element of dictation. To them everything was the expression of the human mind and spirit, and he would not accept dictates from anybody, unless those dictates arose from superior judgment and superior knowledge of the world. Of all the Labour Movements of the world the British was the best; so much was that the case that their comrades in other countries looked upon the British Labour Movement, first as the most disciplined, second as the nearest to power, and thirdly as the most capable of maintaining power when it got it. He wanted them to be worthy of the British Labour Movement, and they could only be worthy as they stood true to their political institutions.

Mr. H. POLLITT (Boilermakers), in supporting the Barrow resolution, said that the British Labour Movement was doomed without the help of the International Labour Movement. The Labour Movement in any country was absolutely futile without the help of the Labour Movements in every other country of the world. This question, he maintained, should not be discussed with the narrow Asiatic mind, which Mr. Hodges referred to last time. There were deep, fundamental, theoretical differences between the leaders of the British Labour Party and the leaders of the Communist Party. There were deep theoretical differences between the men who were on the platform. Why, then, he asked, were they in the Labour Party? Because they believed it afforded them the best expression for advancing the interests of the working class. The working class movement, he maintained, was not advancing but was being defeated. If there was room in the Party for the Social Democratic Federation, there was surely room for the Communist Party. Although Russia had nothing to teach Mr. Hodges, yet Russia would be the bulwark of the Social Revolution. He knew that this Conference would reject the application, but he would remind the delegates that last year they stood on the floor of this Conference with seven members, while to-day there were 38, and next year there would be 100. They were not being defeated by the rank and file, but by the Press campaign of Mr. Hodges and Mr. MacDonald.

Mr. W. J. BROWN (Civil Service Clerical Association) said it would be possible to oppose the application for affiliation of the Communist Party on many grounds, but he was quite prepared to argue against it on the grounds with which Mr. Pollitt himself had furnished them in the course of his speech. Mr. Pollitt had argued that because the Industrial Movement had suffered defeat during the last three or four years, that that was a reason why they should admit the Communist Party into affiliation. It was deplorably true that in the last two or three years the Movement had suffered reverses from one end of the country to the other, and nobody who appreciated what had happened desired to minimise those rever in the least; but he would like the Conf ence to note that of all the working classes Europe the British had suffered the lea Certainly it had suffered far less serious feats than was the case in other Europe countries, where, in addition to the strug with the employers, the working class h been defeated from within by the strug with the Communist Party. There was Labour Movement in France to-day, and th was due very largely to the work of Mr. P litt's friends. Mr. Pollitt had also argu that because Russia was the bulwark of t Revolution, that was a reason why the Co munist Party should be taken into the Brit Labour Party. Revolution might have be necessary, desirable, inevitable in Russia, b conditions in Russia were not conditions England, and he was not prepared to acce ready-made methods devised with referen to one set of conditions and try to adapt th to another set of conditions whether th fitted or not. There was always in democra movements a tendency to say "For Go sake let us get together; for God's sake us forget our differences." One saw t same tendency in the churches, and o noted the result of that tendency. The r sult of saying, "Let us forget all the poin in our creeds upon which we differ," w that eventually there was no creed left differ about. He suggested to the Conferen that the test they had got to apply to th application was not the test of whether t Communists were part of the working-cla movement or not. He was not sure that t Conservative working men's clubs would n come in under that same definition—n whether they were good fellows. That w not the test, but rather did they broad agree with the objects that the Labour Par had in view, and did they believe in t preservation of the principles which t Labour Party had at heart.

Mr. S. SAKLATVALA, M.P., appealed to th Conference to come to an understanding this matter, and he said he appealed to th Communist part of it just as much as to th Labour part of it. If they wanted to und the mistakes and misrepresentations of th past three years, it was absolutely useless put all the blame on one side and to loo upon the other side as blameless. He realise one thing — and he admitted it — tha the British Labour Movement was, after al a great movement and it was not going collapse like a house of cards. He also ad mitted—and not for tactical reasons—tha their Russian friends and comrades had, tim and again, found in the British Labour Part good friends and good supporters. That, hov ever, was not the question. If the Britis Labour Party had misunderstood the purpo of the Communist Party, if it had misinte preted the idea of the Communist Party, whic was not, as Mr. Frank Hodges had said, tha they were opposed to political action, bu that they possessed less faith in its succe than other members of the Labour Part

en he put it to the delegates, it was erely a difference of opinion on a political int and not of a fundamental character, d it was quite possible—he had found it in his own case—to accept the Constitun of the Labour Party, to work and serve e Labour Movement in this country and be at the service of the working-class ganisation, from Trade Unions to Comnist branches, if they only made up their nds to fight with sincerity. The Comnist Party only desired to work with the bour Party, and he appealed to the Conence to give them a chance.

Mr. JACK JONES, M.P. (N.U. of General orkers), said that the argument which r. Saklatvala had advanced practically ounted to saying that the Communists of reat Britain were not the same as the Comnists of Russia—that they were of a ferent quality and pursuing different ctics; but what he wanted to know was o were the Communists going to take their ders from—the British Labour Party or e Communist Party in Moscow. It was ssible to argue against the points which d been advanced, but the thing he wanted e delegates to realise was that hundreds of e members of the S.D.F.—the Party to ich he was proud to belong—were being secuted by these friends of freedom; that ndreds of them were in prison for protesti against the doctrines of these people who d they were the only things that mattered. the Communist Party were prepared to ept the Constitution, the policy, and the ogramme of the Labour Party without any alifications he would vote for them at e. Whatever their differences internally ght be there was one thing which would te them, and that was the necessity for nding four square to all the winds that w. He protested against these people ning in there in white sheets with promises loyalty, while at the same time, in their ade Unions, they were doing their best to ow discredit upon the Party.

The CHAIRMAN at this point said that the nference would now have to decide ether they would take the vote at once or the debate stand over until the following . They had had three speeches on each e, but if desired, the matter could be ther debated the following morning.

A motion

That the question be now put

s moved and seconded from different parts the hall, and on it being put to the ting it was carried by a large majority.

card vote was then taken on the Barrow olution, with the following result:—

For the resolution	366,000
Against the resolution ...	2,880,000
Majority against	2,514,000

he Conference then adjourned until dnesday morning.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 27th.

Morning Session.

The Conference proceeded with the consideration of the Report of the Executive Committee.

REDUCTION OF INTEREST ON WAR LOAN.

Mr. NEIL MACLEAN, M.P. (Workers' Union), asked whether it was proposed to take the discussion on the proposed Reduction of Interest payable on War Loan Stock (page 86) at that stage of the Report, or on the Appendix which appeared at the end of the Report.

The CHAIRMAN replied that the Appendix was simply furnished for information, and any discussion on the matter must be taken on the paragraph in the Report.

Mr. MACLEAN said he did not propose to discuss the question, because the Report had been in the hands of the delegates for less than a week, and it was absolutely impossible to deal with the matter adequately at such short notice. He proposed, therefore, that this question should be referred for another year to the new Executive Committee. He was taking this attitude because those who were responsible for advocating this proposal had, during the past year, been absolutely loyal to the decision of last year's Conference, and had ceased to make any reference to the matter on the platform or in the Press, and during the Election no reference was made to it at all. The matter, in their opinion, had been reserved for consideration by a Committee, and they felt themselves loyally bound to wait until that Committee had reported. The Committee had now made its report, the report being issued, not separately, but together with this Annual Report, and delegates had not had sufficient time to consider it. Therefore, as a matter of convenience, he moved that it be referred back. Delegates would remember that at the Conference last year the question was not discussed in any way, but the motion was referred back. He moved that the matter be referred back for another year, and that in the interval the report be circulated to affiliated Societies so that they could discuss the matter and bring it up at the next Conference. If that were done he could promise that they would be as loyal during the coming year as they had been in the past, and they could then have the matter discussed at the next Conference in a manner which would do credit to the Conference.

Mr. J. RAMSAY MACDONALD, M.P., said the Executive Committee desired to meet Mr. Maclean's very reasonable proposal, but it was desirable that they should be quite clear where they were before they did so. If the Conference accepted the Report with the Appendix, it was just in exactly the same position as if it accepted Mr. Neil Maclean's proposal for a reference back. They would simply receive the report, and next year those who were in favour of a reduction of

interest could put down a resolution on the paper. They simply received the report today as a piece of information on the result of the Committee's labours, and he suggested to Mr. Maclean that he should leave it where it was, and he could give notice now that next year a resolution would be put down on paper which would raise the whole question. If that were agreed to it would not be necessary to discuss the matter at all at that stage.

Mr. MACLEAN said that if the Report were adopted with the Appendix, those who differed from the Committee's findings would feel bound to discuss them. He wanted the matter left in such a way that there was going to be no agitation one way or the other, and therefore he had moved that it be referred back. He wished to have the Chairman's ruling on the point.

The CHAIRMAN said that this Appendix was presented simply for information, and next year the delegates would be in exactly the same position as they were in now. Somebody would have to give notice of a resolution. It was a matter of no consequence whether they accepted this report or not. At the last Conference they were directed to bring up a report, and the Executive Committee was not deserving of any censure for having carried out the decision of the Conference. They were not asking for approval of it, and if Mr. Maclean did not wish the Appendix printed it need not be printed. If they referred the paragraph back it really meant that Mr. Maclean thought the Executive ought not to have reported.

Mr. J. RAMSAY MACDONALD, M.P., said that if this was merely referred back, then, in the Final Report, they could not include the Appendix upon the Rate of Interest paid on War Loans, and so it would disappear altogether from the Report of the Conference. That would be the only effect of Mr. Maclean's motion. His suggestion was that Mr. Maclean having made his statement, they should now accept this as a report and give notice that next year they would have a resolution on the Agenda. In the meantime the report would go out and be circulated with the Report of the Conference, so that everyone interested would have the whole of the facts before them in preparation for a full discussion next year.

Mr. MACLEAN said that that was all very well, but the whole field would be open during the year for discussion.

The CHAIRMAN : That is what you want.

Mr. MACLEAN said if that was the position, very well, but he did not want to discuss it on the public platform. If the course suggested by Mr. MacDonald were adopted, it would relieve them from the duty of remaining silent on this question, and they could go out and propagate their ideas with regard to the Reduction of War Loan Interest.

The CHAIRMAN said this report was presented by order of the Edinburgh Conference for the information of the delegates.

Mr. MACLEAN : And discussion.

The CHAIRMAN said obviously that was intention. They could discuss it in their organisations, but he did not suppose Maclean was going out into the publi say that the Conference wanted this or other. The Executive desired that the gates should discuss it in their own org sations between now and next year, so they could arrive at a proper conclusion regard to it.

The matter was then allowed to drop.

The CHAIRMAN said that at the botto page 86 there was a paragraph relatin the report which was ordered last year the Drink Question, and asked whether delegates were prepared to accept that graph, including the report referred which had been issued separately.

Mr. TOM-KENNEDY (S.D.F.) asked that Conference should be assured from the form that the adoption of the report w not in any way prejudice the propagand any affiliated society of the general prin of the National Ownership and Contr the Liquor Trade.

The CHAIRMAN replied that he had authority to interpret the English langu The report was a very lengthy one, a very clear one, and he should have tho that the fact that he (the Chairman) signed the report would at once be acce as an answer to Mr. Kennedy's questio

The Conference then proceeded to sider the Parliamentary Report.

MR. NEWBOLD AND THE PART WHIP.

Mr. S. ELSBURY (Tailors and Gar Workers) desired, in the absence of Barrow delegate, to move the followin solution on the Agenda :—

> "This Conference herewith dec that the time is opportune for an att to be made to secure a united f amongst the Labour Members in House of Commons. We deplore scenes which occur from time to time tween different sections of the wor representatives, in face of the enemy, suggest that as the first step towar better understanding the Whips of Labour Party be extended to Mr. Wa Newbold, M.P."

He believed it would be in the best inte of the Labour Party to remove the bo from Mr. Newbold.

A DELEGATE here rose to a point of o as to whether a delegate of another should be allowed to move a resolution w was down in the name of someone else.

The CHAIRMAN replied that the Co ence Arrangements Committee had dec that the question should be dealt wit this paragraph, and consequently any gate could deal with the subject. He ur stood the delegate was dealing with paragraph in the Report. As a matte fact, resolutions ought only to be move the organisations sending them in, but it quite in order to discuss paragraphs in Report.

Mr. Elsbury said that in that case he could simply speak on the paragraph which stated that Mr. Newbold's application for the Party Whips could not be conceded. He was rather astonished at this, and would like to know the reason why the application from Mr. Newbold could not be conceded. It appeared to him that simply because Mr. Newbold happened to be a member of the Communist Party was quite irrelevant when they were considering Parliamentary procedure. He could understand the refusal of an application of that kind if they were certain by experience that Mr. Newbold would not support the Labour Party resolutions. He believed he was correct in saying that the only crime Mr. Newbold had committed in the House of Commons was that he was an extremist in the direction of desiring to abolish the hellish capitalist system perhaps a little sooner than some of the rest of the Members of the Party believed to be practicable, but that on all matters he had supported the Labour Party resolutions as a minimum of what he desired. If they were going to bar the support of people who were extremists, then, he thought, there was even a greater case for barring certain Members of Parliament who were extreme on the right. He was simply amazed to find that a Party which was pledged to oppose Capitalism would allow gentlemen of the type of certain individuals he would not name to remain with them.

At this point there were cries of "Name" from all parts of the hall.

Mr. Elsbury then said if they really wanted the name of one of them he could mention the Rt. Hon. J. H. Thomas. He (Mr. Elsbury) dabbled a little in wireless, and the other day over the machine he heard a most outrageous speech—a speech in which the right honourable gentleman declared that "Strife between masters and men is largely the result of no confidence. What is wanted on both sides is more confidence," and he finished up by saying that some workers wanted to get as much wages as possible for as little work as possible, but, happily," said the right honourable gentleman, "they are but a small minority." They sent out Party Whips to extremists in that direction, who assured the capitalist class in their books on the future of the Labour Government that, so far as the Monarchy was concerned, King George and the Prince of Wales need not fear—that the Labour Party subscribed to the Monarchy as much as the Party of the day. So far as Empire was concerned, Mr. Thomas and other Members at the top subscribed to the ideals of Empire. In other words, the man who was extreme in the direction of the right wing was accepted while they objected to a man on the left like Mr. Newbold. They had heard on Tuesday of an instance where a Labour Member of Parliament had actually lent support to a candidate who was opposing a Labour Party candidate, and the only answer that could be given was, "It is true, but they were our friends, and we did not know they opposed our men." He was afraid that friendship with many of these Members of Parliament—these aristocratic individuals—was not doing their Members much good. If it was a question of respectability he could understand why they objected to Mr. Newbold. Perhaps he was not as respectable as some of the people that they hobnobbed with, but to his mind there was a great need for the support of an individual like Mr. Newbold, although he was not a Member of the Labour Party. After the withdrawal yesterday of Clause (b) of the New Rule, there was no excuse for not acceding to Mr. Newbold's request and making him one of the group in the House of Commons. The Labour Party was a Party that ought to embrace not only the right wing elements, composed largely of eleventh hour converts, who perhaps had not yet entirely left their Liberalism behind, but should be composed of all elements, and Mr. Newbold's record both outside and inside the House of Commons justified them in believing that they would certainly benefit as a Party by having him in their ranks. To his mind, if they were going to get on as a Party in the future, they would have to take in more of the elements which Mr. Newbold represented and shed more of the type he had mentioned.

Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., said it would be for the convenience of the Conference if he at once stated the reasons why they could not agree to the admission of Mr. Newbold. He could assure Mr. Elsbury that it was not because Mr. Newbold was away on the left that they would not have him, because, as a matter of fact, he was not on the left. His mild conduct in the House of Commons had been a model to many other Members on both sides. Nor was it because he was not respectable. The greatest contribution which Mr. Newbold had made to Parliamentary procedure had been a new method of bowing to the Speaker. In that respect, too, he was a perfect model of decorum, and he (Mr. MacDonald) would be only too delighted in that respect to welcome Mr. Newbold. The reason was elsewhere. It was simply this. Whether he was to the right or to the left, or whether his decorum was good or bad, Mr. Newbold did not believe in the Labour Party. Mr. Newbold had attacked the Labour Party. Not in detail. He did not object to that, and the Labour Party did not object to that. There was plenty of room for them to disagree in detail, but Mr. Newbold's deviation was not that at all. Mr. Newbold said "I do not believe in you at all. I do not believe in your principles. I do not believe in your methods, and all I want to do is to come inside because I am instructed by my own authorities to do my best to change you altogether and put you on a completely new basis." No Party could accept that. In the country he had attacked them as a Party and individually, and in the constituencies he had done as effective work as Tory candidates and Tory speakers. He (Mr. MacDonald) thought that this matter would be coming up on the following day, and

therefore he had not brought with him one or two extracts which he had proposed to read, but he had one which would show exactly why it was impossible to give Mr. Newbold the Party Whips at the present time. In a speech delivered on April 9 last in Aberdeen Mr. Newbold said, in reply to a question, that one of the reasons why he did not believe in the Labour Party was that "during the period of transition it was necessary to establish in this country a dictatorship of the working class which knew what it wanted, where it was going, and how to get there." That was fundamentally opposed to the conception of the Labour Party when it got into office, as he hoped it very soon would do. Apart from that, Mr. Newbold went on to say in reply to a question—and he wished the Conference to note this very carefully: "The reason why I applied as a member of the Communist Party for the Whip of the Labour Party was that it is the international policy of the Communist Party to seek affiliation with the Labour Party." (That was on Moscow instructions.) "It is our policy to keep within the ranks of the Labour Movement, not, however, because we have any belief in the policy and programme of the Labour Party as at present carried out. We do not at the present time believe that their policy is right, and we do not like their leadership." Therefore, said Mr. Newbold, "I am going inside." He thought that was enough, and he hoped the Conference would accept the decision they had come to, not in any hostile spirit and not in any exclusive spirit, but because Mr. Newbold's declared position made it impossible for them to issue their Whips to him and make themselves responsible for his actions.

Mr. T. W. Higgins (Locomotive Engineers and Firemen) asked if Mr. Newbold had ever voted against the Labour Party. They had differences of opinion, but in the final issue they found that they were only divided against the capitalists, and, therefore, he thought, they could not debar Mr. Newbold.

Mr. MacDonald replied that there were some Liberals who had never voted against the Labour Party.

Councillor E. Tanner (East Ham Labour Party) seconded Mr. Elsbury's motion. He said they had listened to a very plausible speech from Mr. MacDonald, but he would remind the delegates that the Labour Party consisted of the members of the Labour Party and not the Parliamentary Group or those who at the present time dominated the Parliamentary Group. The opposition to Mr. Newbold was not in the Party as a Party, but was in that particular clique that at the present time dominated the Parliamentary Group. He thought the criticism which Mr. Newbold had indulged in at the expense of these people was justified up to the hilt. The trouble with that Conference was that they had not got down to realities. They had been talking about questions from the Parliamentary point of view, but he asked them to come to the real question, which was the emancipation of the worki class. The objective of the Labour Par was the Co-operative Commonwealth. So people forgot that. Mr. Thomas forgot because he said he was not a Socialist. M Newbold did not forget that the object the Labour Party was the Co-operative Co monwealth, and Mr. Newbold was one the few who were above suspicion in th respect. He asked them to judge of Mr. Ne bold by his own record. He asked them remember the time when Parliament w opened, when Mr. Newbold took his se and he referred to the opening of Parl ment, in which the official Opposition w recognised, as a "tom-fool show." He w sure in that Mr. Newbold had expressed t real working-class attitude. He had broug into the arena the struggle which had be going on outside. That had been the ten of his speeches during the short period had been in the House. Mr. MacDonald h complimented Mr. Newbold on his good haviour, but in doing so he had struck a j ring note which was particularly objectio able to the rank and file of the Labour Part who, after all, made the policy of the Part

Mr. A. Seaton (Union of Post Off Workers) said it always struck him du ing these and similar discussions th when the Communists got into the Conferences they were wonderfully mi people, and nothing like the people th met outside. He supported the pa graph in the Report for the very reas given by the last speaker. Mr. Tanner h said that the rank and file members of t Labour Party made the policy of the Labo Party, and he wanted to remind them th time and again the Conference had refus the application of the Communists for a liation. That being so, it seemed to him th the Parliamentary Party was perfectly rig in refusing to issue the Whips to a memb of a Party that the Conference h declined to admit for affiliation. The Pa liamentary Party, he maintained, had int preted the policy of the Party in the corre sense. It seemed impossible to admit a m like Mr. Newbold, who lost no opportunity attacking their people both inside and ou side the House of Commons.

Mr. Reginald Bishop (St. Pancras L.H supported the attitude of the Barrow Labo Party, in the first place because it was abs lutely essential, in his opinion, that t workers' representatives in the House Commons should show a united front to t capitalist class. When the debate on Soci ism came up in the House of Commo the British Government did not put up M Baldwin, but they put up Sir Alfred Mon a National Liberal. They recognised t necessity for all the elements of the ca talist class to unite in order to attack t Labour Party and the working class gen ally. There were some people in the Labo Party who seemed to forget that. Mr. Ne bold, whatever they might say against hi was after all the elected representative of t

workers; and not in the way that Mr. Bonar Law was the representative of the workers of Glasgow, because Mr. Newbold was elected through the support of the Motherwell Trades' Council, and through the support of the organised Party at Motherwell. He had on his platform several of the present Scottish Members of Parliament, including Mr. J. C. Welsh. Those people assisted him because they realised that he would be a valuable asset to the Labour Party. In 1918 Mr. Newbold would have had the official speakers of the Labour Party and the I.L.P. They were told that Mr. Newbold criticised the Labour Party; they were led to understand that he was very rude to the Labour Party, but he had criticised the Labour Party both from the platform and from the benches in the House of Commons simply because he was unable to express his views inside of the ranks of the Labour Party. They had been told that he was anxious to get in so that his party might dominate the Labour Party, but it should be remembered that the I.L.P. got into the Labour Party with the object of dominating the Party.

A DELEGATE here rose and said that the Independent Labour Party had really formed the Labour Party.

At this point there was a considerable interruption, and several delegates moved

"*That the question be now put.*"

This was duly seconded and agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN said that technically, unless there was any representative from Barrow present, he could not put the resolution standing in their name, but would have to put the paragraph in the Report.

Mr. BRAM LONGSTAFFE (Barrow L.P.) then rose and formally moved the resolution.

Mr. ELSBURY seconded the motion and a card vote was taken, the following result being afterwards announced :—

For the resolution	219,000
Against the resolution.....	2,227,000
Majority against	2,008,000

CONFERENCE ARRANGEMENTS COMMITTEE'S REPORT.

Mr. WILL THORNE, M.P., in presenting a supplementary report of the Conference Arrangements Committee, said that Mr. John E. Swan had retired from the candidature for the Executive Committee under the Local Constituency Organisation Section; and Mr. Ben Spoor, M.P., had withdrawn from that of the Conference Arrangements Committee.

The Committee also desired him to say that the resolution and the amendment on "Delegation to Labour Party Conferences" were out of order because they were amendments to the Constitution, and they contended that if any organisation wanted to alter the Constitution they should do so by deletion or insertion, or by making a proposition for a new Clause.

The resolutions on "Party Agents and Party Organisations" had all been withdrawn, and the resolution on "Local Labour Party Organisation" was out of order for the reason given in the other cases—that it was an alteration to the Constitution.

With regard to the Resolution on "Internationalism," the Conference Arrangements Committee recommended that the York resolution should be discussed, the other resolution on the same subject and the amendment thereto being out of order, as the matter had been discussed last year. A delegate had stated that at Brighton a resolution was passed to the effect that if any delegate or delegates were outside the hall when a discussion started they should not be allowed to come inside the hall until after the discussion, and he had asked the Conference Arrangements Committee to report as to whether it was desirable that such a resolution should be acted upon at this Conference. He (Mr. Thorne) did not think that would be a proper thing to do, and if the delegates agreed with him he would not report anything about it.

A DELEGATE asked why the amendment to the resolution on Internationalism was ruled out of order, and Mr. Thorne replied that it was because it was an amendment to a resolution which had been starred.

Mr. E. HEATON (Newark D.L.P.) said the Chairman of the Conference Arrangements Committee had stated that all the resolutions on Party Organisations had been withdrawn, but he wished to say that the resolution in the name of Newark Labour Party had not been withdrawn.

Mr. THORNE replied that the member of the Conference Arrangements Committee who had had this matter in hand had reported that this question was withdrawn, and he (Mr. Thorne) had reported accordingly.

Mr. ELSBURY (Tailors and Garments Workers) asked on what ground the Conference Arrangements Committee had decided to delete the International resolution standing in the name of North Leeds.

The CHAIRMAN replied that it was starred and, therefore, ruled out under the Standing Orders.

The supplementary report of the Conference Arrangements Committee was then adopted, and consideration of the Parliamentary Report was resumed.

AMENDMENT TO THE KING'S SPEECH.

Mr. ELSBURY referred to the amendment to the King's Speech on page 103, and asked why the Party did not state the economic fact that the grave and dangerous condition of affairs was due, not only to wars and troubles in the Near East, but almost completely to the hellish capitalist system. There was a golden opportunity for pointing out the truth, but they had worded their Opposition amendment to the Address in such a way as to make it appear that unemployment and future wars were largely due

to the dangerous condition of affairs in Europe and the Near East. The Party knew that this was not simply ambiguous, it was not true. Without war at all, unemployment was an inherent result of the capitalist system, and they ought to avail themselves of every opportunity to point that out. In the "Labour Speakers' Handbook," with a foreword by Mr. Henderson, there was a statement from the Little Welsh Wizard, Lloyd George, and they quoted him as saying that during the war the workers had been removed for four and a half years from the terrible dread of unemployment, and that only those who have lived in an industrial home could realise what a horror that prospect was. It stated "for four and a half years that had been eliminated from their lives; it has been taken away from their lives, but now peace has been established and the spectre reappears." As a matter of fact, without any war at all except the class war, unemployment was bound to increase, and there was no other solution than the obvious one of scrapping the cause of war and unemployment—the system of private ownership. It appeared to him a mistake to follow the phraseology of those who did not understand economics.

A DELEGATE asked whether it was in order to have a series of economic lectures on every point that was raised. They were out of place among the converted in that Conference, and he submitted that there was plenty of opportunity outside for the delivery of lectures on economics. Mr. Elsbury might also use some of his energy in enlarging the circulation of the *Daily Herald*, without coming there and trying to lecture people who had been members of the I.L.P. for 25 years and therefore did not need to listen to his lectures.

Mr. A. SEATON (Post Office Workers) drew attention to the paragraph on page 108, and said that the cases referred to were not only those which affected ex-Service men, but also non-Service men and women. As the secretary of the organisation which was principally concerned in the matter, he wished to take the opportunity of thanking the Party, on behalf of his members, for the action they had taken in the House of Commons when the matter was discussed. It was true that amongst the votes cast against the Government there were some Liberals, and by some extraordinary accident some Conservatives also, but the overwhelming vote which made the defeat of the Government possible was that of the Labour Party. He hoped the result would convince not only ex-Service Civil Servants, but all Civil Servants, that it was to the Labour Party they must look for help.

Mr. ELSBURY said he had it on the authority of the *Daily Herald* that the whole of the Members rose up and sang as one man "The Red Flag." It was a splendid exhibition of harmony, and he wished to know whether they intended singing that splendid song in the future.

The CHAIRMAN (speaking amidst laughte said it was out of order to discuss the music merits of "The Red Flag."

Mr. J. RAMSAY MACDONALD, M.P., sai he agreed that the heading of the paragrap ought to be changed. They would find fro the paragraph below it that the debate ha a very much wider scope than the headi indicated, and in the final form the headi would be changed so as to make it much mo comprehensive. With regard to the ne paragraph, "Army Annual Bill," if delegat who were inclined to criticise the Party ha been present, they would have been cheer to have heard the speeches made from t Labour Benches during that long and wea night.

THE PARLIAMENTARY PARTY CONGRATULATED.

A DELEGATE said that, in view of the sple did fight put up by the Labour Party again the Army Annual Bill, he would like know whether they might take it as settled thing that it would be part of t Labour Party's definite policy to aboli the death penalty in connection with milita law.

The CHAIRMAN said he was not authoris to state the policy of the Party on the su ject. It had been put down for discussi repeatedly.

Another DELEGATE said he wished to co gratulate the Parliamentary Party on t fight they made for the ex-Service men a others, but he would like them to be ve vigilant in the near future, because the was very grave fear that men who were r jected—although they were again and aga examined for the Army when they offe themselves for military service—would thrown out because they had never serve

Mr. MACDONALD replied that they had th before them now, and if there we specific cases they would always be gl to hear about them, and fight them out far as they possibly could.

Mr. C. H. WILKINSON (Locomotive En neers and Firemen) asked a question wi regard to "War Pensions," referred to page 111. He said there were many men w were thought heroes during the war, b who had since been cruelly left alone. Th widows or wives had asked the Governme or the officials for help, but they had be cast aside. There seemed no alternative b to go to a solicitor, but having no money th had gone to some Local Labour Party a they had been turned down because the Lo Labour Party had no representation on t Pensions Committee. The War Pensio Committees were generally composed of m on the other side who had no sympathy wi these people. He would like some defin guidance on the point.

Mr. MACDONALD said that if there w one question they had hammered in mo than any other it was this question of t ex-Service men and their pensions. Only t week before last they had a full-dress atta on the Pensions Ministry on the very po

of the Local Pensions Committees. They had watched these new regulations, and they had an officer specially retained in one of the rooms of the House of Commons in connection with this work, in addition to three or four of their own men who were fully occupied almost every day in investigating cases sent in. He wished it were possible for Major Tryon, the Pensions Minister, to attend and tell the delegates how much he had been bothered by the Labour Party and how much effective work they had compelled his department to do.

A DELEGATE said it was not so much a question of the personnel of the Committees as that little by little the powers of the Local War Pensions Committee had been absolutely destroyed.

The CHAIRMAN said it was out of order to raise that question as it referred to a policy and not to what the Party had done.

The DELEGATE said he only wanted to ask whether it was part of the policy of the Labour Party to endeavour to get the powers of the Local Pensions Committees reinstated, instead of the Party being merely a machine for recording protests.

Mr. MACDONALD replied that that was exactly the point they made in the last debate—to restore the power to the Local Pensions Committees. Member after Member got up and made that point, and they carried it to the division lobby.

Mr. T. W. HIGGINS (Locomotive Engineers and Firemen), referring to the paragraph on Russia (page 111), saying "The Party fully realises the importance of maintaining and developing trade relations with Russia, and will press this view on every occasion when the necessity arises," said he happened to be "listening in" last night and was very much surprised that the Patriarch—

The CHAIRMAN here called the delegate to order and said he could not allow a discussion on the question of the Patriarch. It was the conduct of the Parliamentary Party, and what the Party had done that they were considering.

A DELEGATE congratulated the Parliamentary Party on the gallant stand they had taken on the Special Constables' Bill. The fight that the Party had put up was brilliant, and it was splendid to be in the Strangers' Gallery and watch the Labour Members rise and oppose this Bill. Those living in London were in the unique position of being able to get to the House of Commons and watch the fight which the Parliamentary Party put up on every occasion. If other members had the same opportunity, he ventured to think they would not come to the Conference and criticise the Party as some of them had done that day. He hoped the Party would not let the matter rest where it was. As a railwayman he recognised that the Special Constables' Bill was damaging to railwaymen throughout the country, he regretted the lack of interest shown in this Bill by their local organisations. They had failed to back up the Parliamentary Party in the House of Commons, and it was no wonder they were defeated.

Mr. FRANK H. EDWARDS (Bury Labour Party), referring to the matter of War Pensions, suggested to the Parliamentary Party that the time of many Members would be saved and their correspondence considerably lightened if the Parliamentary Party would arrange for specific information to be supplied to Labour Party Agents and Local Party Secretaries so that they would be able to deal locally with ex-Service men's grievances.

Mr. MACDONALD said that this was a matter for Eccleston Square to deal with, and not the Parliamentary Party. He suggested that the delegate should put his views before the authorities at the Head Office.

Another DELEGATE expressed his appreciation of the efforts of the Parliamentary Party in regard to Old Age Pensions, and especially what they had done to reduce the opposition against the iniquity of imposing a tax upon applicants for Old Age Pensions. He wished to know whether the Party had entirely confined their efforts to this phase of the question. The Edinburgh Conference wanted the age limit reduced and the amount of pensions increased, but, notwithstanding that, he was bound to say that in his opinion the Party had done right in concentrating upon this particular iniquity. He wished to know if any further efforts, beyond those indicated in the Report, had been taken by the Party.

Mr. MACDONALD said that the opportunities for bringing up this question more frequently had not presented themselves this Session. They had taken what they considered to be the most practical first step in putting down the resolution they had reported, but they had forgotten nothing, and were just waiting for an opportunity—which in the condition of Parliamentary work did not present itself so often as they would like—for advancing their views on Old Age Pensions.

Another DELEGATE said that, while appreciating the work of the Parliamentary Party, he regretted that in the motions placed before the Party the age limit had not taken precedence to the means of living. As one who had been a representative on a Pensions Committee for the past fifteen years, he was firmly convinced that it was of paramount importance to the workers as a whole, in view of the fact that both capitalistic employers and State employers largely dispensed with workers in industry at as early an age as fifty-five. He submitted to the Parliamentary Party that they should pay great attention to this, and having regard, in the words of Dr. Macnamara, to the effect that they became national wastage at sixty, members should strenuously fight that the age limit be reduced from seventy to sixty. Having regard to the fact also that from the Poor Law side it would be a con-

siderable saving. As one who had to administer the Act he found that the means of living was quite secondary to age.

Councillor W. Few, J.P. (Cambridge Labour Party), congratulated the Parliamentary Party for what they had endeavoured to do on behalf of those people who were in receipt of an Army pension. He referred to a case at Cambridge of an old age pensioner whose pension was reduced by 2s. per week because he had an income of £26 per annum. He would like a case like that to be included.

The Chairman said that that was included in the resolution which they had moved. They had made a fight on that very point.

Mr. J. J. Vaughan (Bethnal Green Labour Party), referring to page 113 of the Report, contended that the Government, through the Ministry of Health, was undermining the powers of the Local Authorities. Mr. Hodges had said yesterday that the Constitution of this country was such that they could get all they desired in a constitutional manner; but in this matter the Government itself was violating the Constitution of the country. He suggested to the Parliamentary Labour Party that they should pay serious attention to the attempt that was being made by the Government to undermine the powers of the Local Authorities throughout Great Britain. They should watch the proceedings that were taking place in the High Courts, principally the House of Lords, and see to it that the great principle which they had always believed to be the right of every municipal authority, to pay what wages they thought right to their employees, should be continued.

Mr. MacDonald said the point was being watched very carefully, and if the delegates would turn to page 112 of the Report they would see a list of Bills which the Party had introduced, and there was one entitled "Local Authorities (Enabling) Bill." The intention of that was to give the Local Authorities full rights within statutory limits, which would not be interfered with by the Ministry of Health.

Mr. G. McNamara (Wigan Weavers), referring to the paragraph on Workmen's Compensation (page 114), asked what was being done to improve the method and basis of compensation. At the present time it was calculated on twelve months' wages.

The Chairman said delegates must not use that opportunity to ask for information, or they would never get through the business.

Mr. MacDonald said that their Bill on that subject got a second reading. After that the Government introduced a Bill, and the Government Bill was now in Committee, with their men in great force. The Bill was not out of Committee yet, but as a result of the fight that their representatives had put up the Bill had been materially altered for their benefit. As soon as the Bill emerged from Committee they would see the alterations, and although they were not what they would like, he was sure a great many of the delegates would add to the blushes of the Parliamentary Party at the next Conference when they saw what had been accomplished.

Mr. H. M. Medland (A.E.U.), referring to page 115, said he noticed that the speakers who had offered congratulations to the Parliamentary Labour Party got on best of all, and therefore he wanted to congratulate the Members of the Party for their broad mindedness in allowing themselves to accept invitations through political opponents to dine with the Prince of Wales and also with Lady Astor. He asked the Parliamentary Labour Party to remember that in Lady Astor's constituency there were 10,000 Labour men and women who were trying to kick her out, while some Members of the Party were trying to establish her.

Mr. Neil Maclean, M.P., said the delegate should be sure of his ground before making statements of that kind. Surely a Labour M.P. was not expected to come to that Conference and ask whether he should accept an invitation he had received from his personal friends. He personally would not go to such functions, but he would strenuously object to the Conference interfering with him. They needed to be more broad minded.

A Delegate protested against the delay which had taken place in the presentation of the Report to the constituent bodies. He said that early last week he wrote to Eccleston Square asking for the Executive Report and he had only received it by the first post on Tuesday morning, which left him no opportunity of placing it before his Party and no opportunity of considering it himself. He urged that in future the Executive Report should be circulated to all concerned much earlier.

Mr. Henderson admitted the force of the complaint with regard to the delay in issuing the Executive Committee's Report, but he asked the delegates to remember that they strove to get in the latest information, and if they would examine the Report they would find a considerable amount of information regarding a Conference which was held for the formation of the International only a few weeks ago. They had to choose between trying to get the Report as near up to the date of the Conference as possible, or sending it out minus that information two or three weeks before the Conference was held. The point, however, would be borne in mind and if they could manage to let the delegates have it 14 or 21 days before the opening of the Conference next year, it would be done.

A Delegate said there was nothing in the Report to indicate the attitude of the Executive towards certain members of the Party who were Parliamentary candidates and who had turned down the Capital Levy policy of the Party.

The Chairman here called the Delegate to order, but he persisted in speaking. He said this was the only opportunity they had of raising the question in Conference to find

but what the National Executive thought of the conduct of these men whose attitude had caused workers to leave the ranks of the Party in disgust.

Mr. HENDERSON said that only two, or at the most three cases were directly brought to the notice of the Executive, and all the three were written to. In fact, in addition to the three being written to, he had spoken to them personally, and there was not one of them who would admit that he turned down the Capital Levy during his campaign. One of them had said that he pointed out in his speeches there was considerable difficulty in applying it, but he had never turned it down, while another challenged the statement that he had turned it down in any way.

A DELEGATE said that the member in question had stated that the Capital Levy was not the policy of the British Labour Party yet. Members of the Labour Party had left the ranks of the Party, and would not work for the return of their candidates because of that attitude.

Rev. P. H. OSMOND (Winchester) said they had had it in Winchester, where Col. Hoare had completely turned down the Capital Levy.

Mr. HENDERSON replied that the case mentioned by the last speaker had been brought to their notice, and an intimation had been sent to Col. Hoare that as long as he maintained that attitude he could not be one of the Party's candidates.

Mr. ELSBURY asked whether it was not common knowledge that Mr. Ben Tillett repudiated the Capital Levy at Salford and dissociated himself from the Labour Party's policy.

Mr. HENDERSON said that the case ought to have been reported to the Executive. If the matter was regarded as so unimportant that no constituency organisation and no Party organisation reported it to the Executive, it was not their business to take it up. There was no excuse for not reporting it in view of the fact that every delegate seemed to know all about it. They were not going out to hunt for these cases.

A DELEGATE said that he had officially reported a case of this kind, and the only letter he got was an acknowledgment of the communication.

The CHAIRMAN said that it was really a matter for the constituencies themselves in choosing their candidates.

Mr. ELSBURY asked whether, now that a protest had been made, Mr. Henderson would treat Mr. Ben Tillett in the same way as he had treated Col. Hoare.

The CHAIRMAN said the Executive Committee did not take action, and ought not to take action, unless some matter was, on evidence, brought before it. They did not take notice of tittle-tattle.

The Report of the Executive Committee was then adopted.

PARTY ADMINISTRATION

The Conference proceeded to consider the resolutions on the Agenda.

The CHAIRMAN called upon the East Islington Labour Party to move its resolution on "Individual Membership," but no one answered to the call.

BY-ELECTIONS.

Mr. H. BLACK (Stepney Labour Party and Trades Council) moved :—

> "That this Conference instructs the Labour Party Executive to put forward a Labour Candidate in every by-election that takes place."

He said that his Council were contesting the amendment put forward by the Ipswich Trades Council. Now that the Party had become His Majesty's Opposition, his Council felt that it was the duty of the Party to contest any and every by-election. They had always been told that there was no difference between the Liberals and the Tories, and yet, when they had a by-election with the Liberals and Tories fighting each other, Labour stood on one side and let them fight it out. For His Majesty's Opposition that was not good enough. It would be seen from the few by-elections that had taken place since the last General Election that it was a wise policy to contest by-elections as they occurred. When the Local Labour Party wanted to contest Mitcham at the recent by-election, he understood there was quite a lot of cold water thrown on the local enthusiasts who suggested the idea, and it was not until after Mr. Chuter Ede told them that if they did not run him as the official Labour Candidate he would run as an unofficial candidate that he received the official blessing from Eccleston Square. Mitcham was a terrible constituency, and no one ever thought of winning it, but yet Mr. Chuter Ede was returned. What had happened in Mitcham would happen in other places, although he was aware that some people would point to Tiverton as an example the other way. There was nothing too hard for them, and if they had the will they would win every election they contested.

Mr. F. JONES (Greenwich L.P.), in seconding the resolution, said that even in cases where they knew they had no chance whatever it would be good policy to fight, because it had always been found that during a fight they made a large number of new converts. When there was an election on it was possible to arouse the interest of the electors to an extent which was not possible at other times.

Mr. HENDERSON said that nothing would give the Executive greater satisfaction than to be in the position to contest every by-election. The Executive would yield to no one in their desire to contest these elections, but the Executive was not the only party concerned. He wondered if the Local Parties realised their responsibilities with regard to by-elections. Did the resolution mean that whether the Local Party be large or small,

whether it be active or indifferent, it made no difference, and the Executive had to decide, merely because for one cause or another a by-election occurred—they had to say "Yes, a fight must be decided upon willy-nilly"? He was certain they would be having complaints if they followed that line, and people would be saying there was something like a dictatorship at 33, Eccleston Square. Then they could not fight by-elections without incurring expenses, and, as some of their friends knew, by-elections were more costly even than General Elections in the same constituencies, because they had a greater force to fight against. Two or three constituencies had been vacant lately. Take Ludlow, for instance. He ventured to say that they had never analysed a constituency more carefully than they did that of Ludlow. After they had investigated the position very carefully, they came to the conclusion that it was inadvisable to fight, and they had to try to get the Local Labour Party to get ready for the General Election. They replied to that effect to the request of the Independent Labour Party to put up a candidate and sanction a fight, and that decision was shared in the first instance by representatives of the I.L.P. When a candidate was forthcoming, however, the contest received official sanction. Mitcham had been referred to. The mover had said that cold water had been thrown upon the Local Labour Party, but he wished to say that it was Central Office action that led to the opening up of the inquiry, and that organised the meeting out of which the Mitcham fight came. The election would not, he believed, have been fought at all, had not the Executive taken the steps they did. They put the representative of the Central Office in charge of the Election, and yet, he supposed because someone had written it in the paper, or someone had "tittle-tattled" about it, and because it was "again the Government," they turned up that morning and said that cold water had been thrown on it. Delegates could take it from him that, without any resolution being carried, it would be the policy of the Labour Party, as it had been the policy for twenty years or more, to fight by-elections, because no one realised their value more than those at the Head Office and the officials in connection with the Parliamentary Party. They would take the local forces into consideration, and unless they thought it was absolutely hopeless, or because the Local Party could not give the undertaking that they would be financially responsible, and because they felt that they had not the funds—they had to look well at the funds especially after a General Election, and he would tell the delegates more about that in the afternoon—but with that qualification they might depend upon it every by-election would be fought because it was only right, now that the Party had become the Official Opposition, they should fight. But he reminded the delegates there would be cases where it would be better not to fight but to prepare for the following General Election.

Mr. W. T Harris (Ipswich and District T.C. and L.P.) moved the following amendment:—

Line 3: Substitute "any" for "every" and after "place" add "where they deem such action to be expedient."

He said that his branch were quite prepared to leave the question of whether they would fight or not fight to the discretion of the National Executive.

Mr. J. E. Williams (A.E.U.) moved

The previous question,

which on being put to the Conference was carried by a large majority.

The Chairman then called on the Portsmouth Trades Council and Labour Party to move the resolution of which it had given notice on "Government Employees and Parliamentary Candidatures," but no representative being present it was dropped.

The same thing occurred with regard to the resolution of the Wimbledon, Merton and Morden Labour Party on the resolution proposing a "Speakers' Panel."

LOCAL GOVERNMENT POLICY.

Dr. Somerville Hastings (Epsom D.L.P.) moved the following resolution:—

Having in mind the present lack of a general common policy for Labour in matters which are due to be dealt with by City, Town and District and Parish Councils and other Administrative Authorities, this Conference of the Labour Party instructs the Executive Committee to consider the advisability of organising Regional Conferences of representatives of Labour on such Authorities, with a view to such policy being formulated, and for general consultative purposes.

He said that if Labour was to become the principal power in the State it would be necessary to improve the local machinery for administration, and this was the more important when they remembered that a great many Local Government laws were permissive only, and could be put into operation or not as the Local Authority thought desirable. Many Labour men and women who became representatives on Local Councils found themselves in a good deal of difficulty when they were suddenly confronted with a question which perhaps they had not carefully considered, and it seemed to the Party at Epsom who had had experience in Local Councils—where they were only a small minority—that it would be very desirable if Local Conferences could be called and various lines of policy could be discussed and considered. They had come across various concrete examples, particularly where their members had been suddenly confronted with a situation where it was possible to put work out on contract or to do it by direct labour. Without perhaps knowing quite what they were doing they adopted the contract scheme; whereas the concentrated opinion of the local Labour people of the neighbourhood would have enabled them to see the error of

their ways and would have induced them to adopt what, on consideration, had proved to be a wiser Labour policy.

Mr. A. Ambler (A.E.U.), in seconding the resolution, thought that Conferences would be invaluable from the standpoint of imparting information derived from experience gained by members who had served on local bodies. Secondly, he thought it would tend to some kind of uniformity of policy. It would also assist in focussing public attention on many pressing social questions of the day. He thought it would be a fine thing for the Movement generally throughout the country, if at some agreed time the Labour members on all the local housing authorities throughout the country should bring forward, on their respective bodies, the question of housing. It could be preceded by a Conference, where members could give expression to opinions which would be invaluable to many members who previously might be unaware of what had been done in other areas than their own. They had a national policy, and what was now wanted was a uniform policy on these local bodies.

Mr. Henderson said the Executive were in very full agreement with the desire that everything should be done to secure a uniform policy for the Party's representatives on local governing bodies. They had shown their desire and their intention by organising a Special Conference of local representatives at Derby. They had also considered the recommendations of the Conference, and on page 66 of the Report, which they had just adopted, they would find these words: "After full consideration, the Executive were of the opinion that a Local Government Conference should be held, say, in the autumn of 1924, but that if any matter of urgent importance in relation to Local Government rendered it necessary, a Special Conference should be called in the interval." They had even gone a little farther. They had been very carefully considering whether they could not provide a Local Government Bulletin of information, and they were hoping to make arrangements presently for the issue of such a publication. They might—for reasons he need not explain there—have to ask their friends in the Fabian Society to take it in hand for a time; but that would not matter so long as the local representatives got the Bulletin; eventually the Party could take it over and make it an official organ. He hoped, with these explanations, the mover and seconder would leave matters where they were for the time being in the hope that the policy of the Executive would bring about the objects they had in view.

Dr. Somerville Hastings thanked Mr. Henderson for his reply, but said that the Report referred to a Central Conference, while what they were wanting were Regional Conferences.

Mr. Fotheringham (Miners' Federation) said that the Scottish Divisional Council had been having such Conferences for years, and he was surprised the time of the Conference should be wasted in considering the matter.

Councillor W. J. Armstrong (Leeds L.P.) said that Dr. Hastings had been speaking of Regional Conferences, which this resolution provided for, while Mr. Henderson's reply dealt entirely with a National Conference. He was of opinion, like Dr. Hastings and other delegates, that Regional Conferences would be useful. They might be told that certain towns or districts could combine and call a Conference themselves, but he wanted to suggest that that would not be as likely to be successful as if a Regional Conference was arranged by the National Executive. They had tried it in their own district two or three years ago, and they found that if Leeds took the initiative Bradford was jealous, and if Bradford took the initiative they in Leeds would, to some extent, be jealous. That would be avoided if the National Executive took the matter up.

Mr. A. Scott (Tottenham Trades Council and Labour Party) said that if a National Conference of local governing bodies had been convened, as Mr. Henderson stated it had, it had evidently failed in its main purpose of disseminating news. He thought the regional method was the only method that was going to ensure success. They must not forget that there were often local circumstances which might make it necessary for policies to differ. One realised how necessary it was that the knowledge gained by the Parliamentary Party and the ideals which prompted the Party in its policy on housing, for instance, should be disseminated to the local organisations. Because the Labour Party was only in its infancy—25 years of political life was very short—it had been forced to put people into authority without arming those people with the necessary knowledge required to carry out the responsibilities of the Labour Movement on the Local Authorities. Because of that it seemed to him, if they were going to prove their worth as a Labour Party in the country, they had got to show that there was a uniform policy from the Parliamentary Party, through the Executive, and down to their representatives on the Local Authorities. They should never forget what a big handicap it would be if the reactionaries were in a majority on the Local Authorities when the Labour Party had a majority in the House of Commons.

It was moved and seconded and agreed to:

"That the question be now put."

On the motion of the Epsom Divisional Labour Party being put to the Conference it was carried by a show of hands.

RESEARCH.

Alderman W. H. Green, J.P. (Deptford Labour Party), moved the following:—

"With a view to assisting the Parliamentary Party, and supplementing the work of the Research Department, this Conference recommends the Executive Committee to consider the advisability of urging the setting up of Information Committees in the Local Labour Parties."

He said that while they had, to their own knowledge, and on the admission of their political opponents, the finest political machine in the country, there was one direction in which a material improvement could be made, and that was in the establishment of an improved Research Department. While he did not wish it for a moment to be thought that he lacked appreciation of the efforts of the present Research Department, he did feel, and his Party felt, that if the Local Labour Parties could be induced to work in co-operation with the National Executive in supplying information, a very valuable Department would result. As a delegate to the Conference at Derby, he appreciated what had been done with regard to supplying information to Local Parties, and their resolution, while endorsing the Derby resolution, went farther, and suggested that certain Parties might be induced to undertake the supply of information to the Executive.

Mr. G. TAMS (London Society of Compositors) seconded the motion. He said that the discussion on the previous resolution had shown the necessity for members of the Party having information at hand. He seconded the resolution because it provided the means whereby the people in the Party could be educated in the principles of the Party before an election came on.

A DELEGATE thought they were wasting time in discussing the matter as they had already a Research Department in connection with their own organisation and also in connection with the Trades Union Congress. He moved

The previous question,

which on being put was carried by a large majority.

Mr. ERNEST HESKETT (Ilkeston D.L.P.) moved the following resolution :—

> " That this Conference adopts a National badge, preferable, a red rose on white enamel."

He said he was extremely pleased when he saw the advertisement in the *Daily Herald* asking for designs for a Party badge.

The CHAIRMAN said that that had already been agreed upon by passing the Executive Committee's Report. He suggested, therefore, that the resolution should be withdrawn.

This was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN then called upon the York Labour Party to move its resolution on " Internationalism " (page 15), but no delegate was present to do so.

STATE OWNERSHIP AND JOINT CONTROL

Mr. E. T. PALMER (Prudential Staff Union) moved the following resolution :—

> " That in view of the Party policy of State Ownership and Joint Control, no Parliamentary Bill dealing with any industry be presented to Parliament by the Party without previous consultation and approval of the Unions concerned in the particular industry."

He said that this resolution recognise that it was the policy of the Party to plac State Ownership in opposition to the cap talist system now obtaining, and in movin the resolution his Union felt bound to tak the line laid down by the Chairman in hi speech of the previous day. They were pre pared to accept the procedure laid down b the Chairman that they should take one in dustry at a time. The Conference woul readily recognise that whilst some industrie would lend themselves quite readily an quite easily to State Ownership and Contro the matter would be far more complex an difficult when they came to apply it to othe industries. For that reason his Unio wanted it laid down by the Conference a a first principle and as a first considératio that the Unions concerned in such industrie should be taken into consultation to th fullest possible extent. He was prepared t accept the amendment which was down in th name of the North Kensington Trades Coun cil and Labour Party.

The motion was formally seconded.

A DELEGATE, in opposing the resolution said it was not put forward with quite s honest an intention as was supposed. H knew the insurance business inside and out side, and unfortunately, the greater part o those employed were generally simpl voicing the opinions of the directors.

Mr. RAMSAY MACDONALD, M.P., said thi resolution was drawn upon the assumptio that everyone who was going to support i was in favour of the Nationalisation of thei industry. He hoped that was assumed so fa as the Insurance Agents were concerned, an he asked them that they would not only com and consult the Party when the Party wa taking the initiative, but also when the themselves were taking the initiative. The had had the greatest trouble with an Insur ance Bill which had just gone through th House of Commons, because they had foun themselves beset on the right and on the left He would like their insurance friends t state also that before any Union took actio upon a Bill it should consult the Labou Party, and adopt the line decided by th Labour Movement. So far as this resolutio was concerned, delegates might depend upo it that whether miners, cotton operatives, en gineers or others were concerned, they woul never dream of introducing any Bill relatin to a particular industry without coming t that industry and taking their views.

The previous question

was then moved, and on being put wa carried by a large majority.

Mr. WILL THORNE, M.P., speaking on be half of the Conference Arrangements Com mittee, said that they had had an applica tion, signed by a number of delegates and or ganisations, presented by Mr. Lansbury ask ing for a resolution to be submitted to th Conference upon the statement made by th

Government the previous day proposing to increase the Air Force. A resolution had been submitted and the Conference Arrangements Committee would have it printed and circulated.

The report of the Conference Arrangements Committee was adopted and the Conference then adjourned.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 27th.

Afternoon Session.

PARTY FINANCE.

Mr. Robert Young, M.P. (Auditor), in presenting the accounts, said that the income for the year was £43,254 0s. 5d., to which had to be added the Trading Account from Literature £8,467 13s. 1½d., giving a total income of £51,721 13s. 6½d. There was a balance of £23,033 3s. 6d., brought from December 31, 1921, making a total of £74,754 17s. 0½d. On the expenditure side the total was £56,953 0s. 8d., to which had to be added the Literature Expenditure of £13,829 16s. 6½d. He drew attention to the fact that the Executive Committee, in their Report, explained why the balance at the end of last year was considerably less than the year before. There was a balance at the Bank of £3,971 19s. 10d., and they had literature stock in hand valued at £5,361. He had only to add, in relation to these accounts, that the Financial Department at the Head Office merited their most cordial commendation. It was a very great pleasure indeed to find that the financial side of the Movement, to which the Auditors had to give their attention, was thoroughly up-to-date. It reflected the greatest credit not only upon those particularly responsible but on the whole of the staff. He moved the adoption of the accounts.

Mr. William D. Small (Auditor) formally seconded the motion.

A Delegate referred to the loss which had occurred in the Literature Account, and asked whether some steps could not be taken to avoid it.

Mr. George Lansbury, M.P., said he had been connected with the Joint Literature Sub-committee for two or three years, and the one thing that caused loss in that Department was that many of the Local Parties and the affiliated Trade Unions would not, or did not send orders, and make the selling of the Party's literature part of their propaganda work. There was no reason why every Local Labour Party should not have its own Literature Committee. There was no reason why there should be the slightest loss on the Literature Department, and there would not be if the members of the Local Labour Parties were enthusiastic in selling the literature.

Mr. H. H. Elvin (Southend L.P.) suggested publishing from time to time in the *Daily Herald* a list of the literature which the Party had to sell. He thought if that were done they would get rid of a good deal more literature than at present.

A Delegate asked how many men were employed in the capacity of national organisers.

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., replied that there were nine men and nine women, and included in the amount of £10,738 were the travelling expenses of these organisers.

The accounts were then unanimously adopted.

Mr. Arthur Henderson, M.P., said that one of the reasons why it was suggested that they should discuss financial matters in a special session was that they wanted to bring to the notice of the delegates not only the position of their finances as regards the past, but to take into consideration their position with regard to the future. This year, for the first time in the history of the Party, their Parliamentary Report was presented as representing the Official Opposition to His Majesty's Government. It ought to be unnecessary to remind delegates that the next step was from Opposition to Government itself. He believed it was the desire of every delegate present that at the next appeal to the country they should be in a position to take that next step. The Chairman, in his admirable address, had spoken about the Party being on the threshold of power. They had now to enter in, but he was not sure that many of them had given serious consideration to the difficulty which presented itself. They had reported to the Conference that the General Election and the *Daily Herald*—about which more would be said presently—had absorbed practically the whole of the balance with which they began their work last year. Now, if they were going to take the next step he wanted to bring it home to them that they could only be successful by making a much greater inroad into the less likely constituencies than they had been able to do up to the present. If they could strike a line across the country, they would find that the Party secured three million votes on one side of that line, and one million votes on the other side of the line. Now, on the side of the line from which they got their one million votes, there were a vast number of what might be called rural or semi-rural constituencies, where they had but touched the fringe of the work they had to accomplish. On the other side of the line, where there was a denser population—in the urban and city centres—it was comparatively easy to do the work. They had got such a hold, the Trade Unions were so strong, the Local Labour Parties were so numerous, the Women's Sections were growing week by week, and month by month, that there the work caused them little or no anxiety. But when they came to the other side of the line they had struggling little bands of very loyal and faithful workers trying to carry on the work under most difficult circumstances, but crippled for money at every turn. The Executive faced this position a little time ago, and determined to appoint regional officers. As delegates were aware, they

had a man and a woman regional officer in every district in the country. They determined to assist them as much as they could by appointing a number of propagandists. Here he wished to say that they had had most excellent testimony from all parts of the country, urban as well as rural, as to the effective and efficient service which their propagandists had been rendering since their appointment. But with all the assistance they could give through their propagandists or through their regional officers, there was still a vast amount of work waiting to be done and which could only be done if they could devise some special means to enable the work to be carried on. Those means, in his judgment, would have to be independent of the income they were receiving to carry on the ordinary work of the Party. This was a work in which the urban centres would have to give a little assistance, and, if might be, have to make a little sacrifice for the rural and semi-rural constituencies, if all their stalwarts, if the rank and file of the great centres, desired to see the Party pass over the threshold, and take possession of the reins of government at the next General Election. Now, if the position of industry had been different from what it was at the present time, he had no hesitation in saying he would have done his level best to have persuaded the Executive to come to the Conference and ask for an increase in the affiliation fees; but industry was very bad, the slump had had its effect. The great masses represented in that Conference had to bear the burden of the economic slump by reduced wages to the extent of many million pounds per week. What was more, they were also having to carry the burden of the prolonged unemployment to which thousands and hundreds of thousands of their members had been subjected, not for one year but in some cases for two years, without having an opportunity to work either to help themselves or their Unions. Therefore that idea, for the time being, had to be relinquished. He was wondering, however, whether, having made them aware of the position, having put before them the idea that at the next Election they should seek to capture the reins of government, they could not go back to their Local Labour Parties and affiliated organisations, and during the next few months talk the matter over in such a way that they would be prepared to take part in some general, simultaneous effort in order to raise a Fighting Fund for the Party. In his judgment, as one who had watched the progress of the Party from the time its Parliamentary membership was four until it had now become 146, if they had had a Fighting Fund—if the Executive had had anything like £50,000 at its disposal at the last General Election—he believed, great as was the improvement they did achieve, the improvement would have been still greater. simple reason that they had not the money to assist the poorer districts, who had not the wherewithal to support their own candidates. Therefore they ought to begin at once; it was no use waiting until they were within sight of another General Election. If they were in earnest, if they thought they could only get the ideals and principles they stood for put into operation by having a Labour Government in power, then it was worth some sacrifice on the part of the urban workers to assist the semi-rural constituencies in order to help them to achieve that object. He hoped, at an early date, the new Executive would sit down and face the position, and communicate with all the Local Parties. He wanted delegates to prepare the way so that when the scheme came along—and he would like to see it as near as possible a simultaneous affair—they would be ready for it. It might take the form of a great Carnival. If they could have their flag days for other purposes, and collections from house to house for other purposes, was there any reason why they should not test the four million voters, and see how far they would give their assistance for a Fighting Fund so that at the next General Election they would be prepared to go valiantly forward and show they were determined to pass from Opposition to Government? He urged them to take this matter up, and when they were giving their report to their constituent bodies, to talk it over in all the meetings of their sections and prepare the way so that when they came together next year they would have stepped so far forward that they would be able to congratulate each other that, in the event of a General Election, they would run not 450 candidates, but as near as possible a candidate in every constituency in the country.

Mr. J. Foster (West Ham L.P.) said he was very glad to hear that the Executive had come to the conclusion that the Local Labour Parties might be of some use to them. They had been taking the wrong line when they depended entirely on the Trade Unions for support. There was not the slightest doubt financial support could be got in that direction, but at the same time the Local Labour Parties had not been called upon hitherto to do their part. He quite agreed that the Local Labour Parties ought to do more than they had done, but the way to get to them had, of course, to be seriously considered. He was not, himself, in favour of flag days. He believed rather in the personal sacrifice of the members, but when they came to some of the constituencies where the Labour Party had a great majority, such as Will Thorne's constituency of Plaistow or Jack Jones's constituency of Silvertown—they were all dockers who belonged to the Labour Party there—it was possible to get them to do a good deal more than they had done. The British Labour Party had not yet touched the imagination of the working class. They voted for the Labour Candidate because they believed they ought to follow their ticket, but that was all. They had to get beyond that stage. He believed the money was there, and they had to go to the

Labour Parties to get it. If such constituencies as these could return three candidates out of four it seemed to him they ought to be able to do something for the National Labour Party. The whole financial system of the Party appeared to him to be bad. They had Unions which were only responsible as Unions for their own candidates, whereas they ought to be pooling the whole of the funds. Unfortunately they wanted to be represented as Unions and not simply as members of the Labour Party.

Councillor Few, J.P. (Cambridge Labour Party), said that Mr. Henderson had pointed to the fact that taking a straight line through the country they had three million votes at the last General Election on one side, and only one million on the other side, but he would like the delegates to look at the figures of the Cambridgeshire election as given on page 70 of the Report. There it would be noticed that in a three-cornered fight the Tory got 9,846 votes, the Liberal 6,942 and the Labour candidate 9,167. This particular constituency was fought without a penny piece from the Central Office, and it showed what could be done in the rural constituencies. There was plenty of scope for gaining seats in the rural districts if they had sufficient money to fight them effectively. He thought that those in the urban districts should get together and see what they could do to bring the workers together and in that way help to bring about the success of the Party.

Councillor W. H. Ayles (I.L.P.) said he was glad that this question of raising a National Fund had been brought forward, because he felt sure it would be good for the whole of the National Movement. He was afraid they were often inclined to depend too much upon the money of the larger Unions to finance their candidates, especially in the urban centres, with the result that those constituencies did very little to recognise their obligations to the Party as a National Party, and they became selfish and self-centred. He was quite convinced that large sums of money could be obtained from their members and from sympathisers quite apart from that which was obtained from the Trades Unions. The 50 constituencies fought by the Independent Labour Party at the last election were fought almost entirely upon the contributions of members of the I.L.P. and sympathisers with the Labour Party in the localities, and he thought those localities were not alone in containing men and women who were prepared to make some sacrifice for the success of the Labour Party and the advent of a Labour Government. Therefore, by adopting a scheme such as Mr. Henderson had mentioned, by appealing to all those constituencies, whether they were financed by Trade Unions or not, to put forth their moral and economic strength in order to build up the National Movement, and provide candidates for the weaker constituencies, they would add to the strength of the Movement, and give the whole Party a sense of dignity and oneness that they could not expect to have otherwise.

Mr. F. J. Hopkins (East Dorset L.P.) said if they wanted to get money it was frequently stated they must get a parson on the job. He had had 20 years' experience as a minister, and churches always had either national or local financial problems. He was not going to suggest to Mr. Henderson that he could start again with his 2,000,000 Shillings Fund, for however clever they might be, they were not going to succeed by making paper schemes. They wanted something that was going to strike the imagination of their people, and the imagination of the people was not going to be struck by sending out pamphlets from Eccleston Square to the Local Party officers. They needed to begin there and then and inaugurate that afternoon, in that very session, the Fund to which Mr. Henderson had referred. Badly off as they were, the delegates present could do something. His was a district where their Trade Union and affiliation fees amounted in all to £12 a year, but last year they managed to raise about £400. Their income from individual members ranged from £3 to £4 10s. per week, and their membership fees were collected weekly. The people were ready to pay weekly, but to collect it the divisions needed organising. Mention had been made that morning of contesting every seat, but he would remind the delegates that there were divisions all over the country where there was not a single Local Labour Party. They needed to organise those divisions, but it could not be done from the Head Office, and the local people could not do it without some help. They were never going to be a Government until the whole of the rural districts were effectually organised. They wanted someone, in this financial campaign, to give them a big lead. He had given up a great deal to come into the Labour Party. He gave up £150 a year straight away to come in because he believed that these were the decisive years, and that within a few years Labour would get control. With that prospect in view it was necessary that everyone in the Movement should do his utmost. He had left the pulpit in order to get down among the people. Badly off as he was, he was prepared to give his pound towards the fund, and he wished to say to the gentlemen who were their leaders that they should do in this matter as was done in every great movement—give the rank and file a lead, and let the Fund be started that day, and let everyone make a real sacrifice. Then, if he could go back to the Dorset constituencies, where they could not afford an organiser, and say "the Fund is actually started, and in the Conference contributions amounting to so much were made," they could get on with the job. He also suggested that they should find someone who would be put in charge of this particular job at the Central Office. If they could find the right man, or the right woman, and start right away, he believed the thing could be done, and he could tell the leaders of the Party that if they only gave them the chance they could win the South for Labour.

Mr. F. A. JARMAN (Tiverton Divisional Labour Party) said he was very glad this subject had been raised, and especially that a lead had been given from the platform, from which he least expected it. As a representative from a rural constituency pure and simple, he knew only too well the troubles, the trials and the difficulties that beset those few individuals who had taken upon themselves the task of organising the agricultural workers, who in some districts were hardly removed from the old feudal system, dominated by the squires and sometimes by the parsons. Those were some of the difficulties with which they had to contend, and on the top of it was an absolute lack of Trade Union organisation. He wanted to say straight away that, so far as they were concerned, they wanted no spoon-feeding. They wanted some little help at this juncture to put them on their feet, and then they were prepared to feed themselves. If they allowed the rural constituencies to continue in the condition they were in they were not only going to be an obstacle to the advent of a Labour Government, but an absolute menace to the Labour Party.

Mr. GEORGE EDWARDS (Agricultural Workers), speaking from the rural point of view, said he was very pleased that that question had been raised that afternoon. There was a feeling amongst the rural constituencies, which he was glad to say was being dissipated, that the urban people were out of touch with the rural workers. If those people could have been present that opinion would have been entirely dispersed. He wanted to impress upon the Conference the difficulty under which rural constituencies were fought. The very constituency which he had represented, and which, if life was preserved he was going to fight again, although he was 73, was a most difficult one to contest. To begin with it was 40 miles across. People living in the urban districts had not the remotest idea what it meant to fight a constituency of that kind. Besides its vast area, and the amount of labour needed to be put in to fight it, there were disadvantages which were far greater. First of all, they had the landlord, who was not a democrat by any means; and he would go so far as to say that joining hands with the landlord in many constituencies, they had not only the Established Church parson, but a good many other religious leaders who ought to know better, especially as the candidate, very often, was one of themselves. They had experienced that in the last election. One of the statements that was made in the more isolated districts—and he wanted them to understand that the only information many rural people had was contained in some Tory rag or some other paper nearly as bad—one of the statements made about himself and about his friend Mr. Taylor, who fought Sir Richard Winfrey in the neighbouring constituency—and it was made too late for it to be contradicted—was the lying statement that they were Bolshevists in disguise, and that they were in favour of the nationalisation of women. They wanted propaganda t counteract such lying statements, for thos were the kind of statements that were bein made to the people living in isolated district and generally made only a few days befor an election took place. These difficultie could be overcome if there was the same en thusiasm when the Conference was over a was then being displayed. There should b a determination to enlighten rural people i regard to the policy of the Party and th great humane principles they held. If tha were done he was perfectly satisfied that a the next election they could redeem the past and become a great asset to the Labour Move ment by sending to the House of Commons large number of men and women to represen the rural districts and the great industry o agriculture.

Mr. J. RAMSAY MACDONALD, M.P., sai that they were now up against the bigges problem that the Party had got to face. The could get 140 or 150 Members elected to th House of Commons on the lines they ha hitherto pursued, but they could not possibl get 340 or 350, and their problem was, hov were they going to get 350 Labour Member returned? It was no use talking about form ing a Labour Government with any backin less than that. It meant that the presen 144 had to be not only doubled, but very nearly trebled. No sane person would under take to form a Government with a majorit of about half a dozen, or which, perhaps did not exist at all. They had to get a absolute majority of the House of Common before a Labour Government would stand a ghost of a chance of pleasing its people wit its work, and a Government that did no please its Party with its work had bette remain in Opposition. How was it to b done? He believed that the Unions, when trade returned, would do more than they had done, but he would leave that on one side When they began to think of what had been done, they could not be ungrateful to the Trade Unions which had done so much to enable the Party to come to its present posi tion. That had been so from the very early days, when he had had to go to some of his old friends whom he was glad to see in front of him—when they used to have to go to the Miners in particular, who had stood so magnificently by the Party through thick and thin, to the Engineers, to the Steel Smelters —and that Union was a great standby in those days—and they never could be too grateful to the organised Industrial Movement for the way it had stood by the Political Movement and enabled it to attain the position it now occupied. But they had got to do more. Some of their friends of the Local Labour Parties said that all they wanted was a pooling of the funds, but if they worked that out they would find that it would not go far enough. What they wanted was new money, and, therefore, he associated himself completely with Mr. Hopkins in his admirable speech on the subject of "raising the wind." As he was speaking, he (Mr. MacDonald) looked round about, and he

should say, judging by their appearance that afternoon, that they were worth—what? £2,000? (A Voice: "What about the platform?") He did not see the platform. He did not know how much the delegates were going to add to that as a result of a survey of the platform. But, looking at those he saw in front of him, he was sure they were worth £2,000. He noticed a friend who had come in whilst the debate was going on, and he felt sure that he could act as an underwriter. (Laughter.) It was good business. If people were raising a loan they said what they wanted, and then went to an underwriter, and the underwriter said, "Well, I will guarantee you get it." He was quite sure his friend would say he would make good everything that came short of £2,000. (Laughter.) But he suggested to the Conference that their clerical friend, who had had so much experience in this, was perfectly right, and, although he had had no opportunity of consulting his colleagues, he thought he was speaking for them when he said that they would all do their best there and then to make an attempt to create a substantial beginning, and they ought certainly to get into four figures They were trying to do their best in the House of Commons. They could not always please everyone, but they were very glad they pleased them as much as they did. But their work must be supplemented by a political fund which would enable them not only to put candidates in the field, but when they were in the field to give them financial support, so that their fights might be effectively carried out. He, therefore, appealed to the delegates there and then to do the best they could. He did not quite know what the best method would be, but he remembered that in certain other movements the method they adopted was to call out names—the generous-minded people of the audience to call out their names with a more stentorian voice than the Chairman had got, so that there could be no mistake in taking them down, and attached to those names certain sums, which, when the process was over, amounted to a very considerable sum. If they did that, well and good, but, if not, he wished to draw their attention to the fact that the agenda was interleaved, and there was plenty of space not only for entering a subscription, but even for making a will—(laughter)—and if they did either one or the other they would help the Party very much. (Renewed laughter.) He was looking ahead, because the Labour Party was not only going to exist, but its needs were going to exist throughout their lifetime. He was afraid they would not be able to put it on such a footing that they would never require to beg any more. But it was a good, healthy thing to beg. A Party that was not in debt was a Party that was likely to become very comfortable, and with a comfortable Party they were not going to make much headway. Again he looked at them, and he was quite sure if he might divide his first figure—they would be ashamed if anything less than £1,000 was raised that afternoon. He was not good at that sort of thing at all. (Laughter.) His friend Mr. Henderson wanted to arouse religious rivalry. He was a Wesleyan, not a good Presbyterian like himself, who was not accustomed to this sort of thing. In the Presbyterian Church they gave their subscriptions when they went in at the church doors, so that he was not accustomed to public appeals for money. Speaking seriously, he said that they were working hard in the House of Commons, and were giving up a lot of things, sometimes sitting from ten o'clock in the morning to ten o'clock in the evening, to twelve o'clock, to one o'clock, and even to six o'clock the next morning. They were going to do their best, and to see that the Parliamentary Labour Party was really helping the Labour Party in the country. They were going to do their level best to give the Party a fine chance for propaganda, to give it a fine opportunity for showing to the people that a Labour Government was going to be a practical Government, a good Government, and a reliable Government—a Government that was going to deliver the goods, and if they would help the Parliamentary Party in the way suggested, it would not only hearten them, but would also be fulfilling one of the most pressing needs that the Labour Party could now call upon them to fulfil.

Mr. J. T. Brownlie (A.E.U.) said that after listening to that appeal he would suggest that Mr. Hopkins should go round and collect the shekels there and then! (Laughter.)

The Chairman said he was going to call for the tellers, because it seemed to him this was too big a matter for any one person to undertake. He wanted everybody present who could do anything, small or great, to write his name down, or, if he preferred it, to put his cash in; otherwise, to give his name and address and the sum he was prepared to subscribe. He asked the Conference whether it desired that that should be done, and the proposition was carried by an almost unanimous vote.

Mr. MacDonald said that he was so far right in his estimate of the capacity of the Conference that a friend had already said he would contribute £250!

Major Dermot Freyer (Huntingdon) said, as one who fought an agricultural constituency at the last Election, he had a suggestion to make which he thought might facilitate Labour Candidates being returned for rural areas. He fought a constituency which was almost entirely agricultural and rural, and the Trade Union which covered the agricultural and rural worker had an organiser living in the constituency. After the campaign had been launched, and after he had appointed that particular organiser as his sub-agent in the division, the Union telegraphed withdrawing the organiser into another area. He hoped the Trade Unions would try, where a contest was being fought, to keep their workers in the constituency,

even though the candidate might not be the candidate of the particular Union concerned.

Mr. Ernest Thurtle (Shoreditch T.C. and L.P.) suggested, even at the risk of shocking the "Nonconformist Conscience" in the Conference, that an effective way of raising money for the Party would be by means of a sweepstake. He observed a certain amount of amusement on the platform, but, while he did not think the means were necessarily justified by the end, it might be worth while for the National Executive Committee to clear their minds of a certain amount of ethical squeamishness and embark upon a Labour Sweepstake. If a Conservative Association in a County Division could raise £10,000 by this means, it should be possible for the National Labour Movement to raise at least £100,000 for the National Labour Party by the same means.

Mr. Hopkins said that the speeches so far had not been directed to any particular resolution, although they had just agreed to make a collection. He thought they ought to have a resolution, and moved:

That a Fund be inaugurated, and the Executive Committee be instructed to take into consideration the various suggestions which had been made, including the sweepstake, and prepare a scheme for the raising of a sum adequate to the purposes of the Party.

A Delegate formally seconded the motion.

The Rt. Hon. J. R. Clynes, M.P., said he was quite willing, of course, like the rest, to make a contribution, but he did not think it would suffice to rely simply upon voluntary effort. He was afraid if they did they would exact money only from the same circle of men and women who were constantly assisting the Movement by voluntary sacrifices. He wanted to see some very special effort made under the heading of this subject of finance, which might partake, say, of the raising of money through a carnival and fête, concert or party, meeting or whist drive, or a thousand such other efforts of a social demonstrative character. He believed that that, if done at the right time and in the right spirit, at the psychological moment, would raise a great deal, but, in addition to what they might collect in this manner, he believed that the occasion was great enough for them to consider not merely the raising of money by voluntary means, but also raising money by special levies. They talked of exacting money from capital for national needs. They wanted to levy capital for the needs of the nation, and he thought this was a moment when they could justly levy Labour for the needs of Labour. Of course they paid year by year for the ordinary needs of the Party, but here was a very special need. £10,000, £20,000, £50,000, it might be, would not meet the necessity of this occasion, and what he wished to see was that the Executive should receive from some such body as this power to impose a special levy, just for the one year, which would be supplementary to their normal payments, and let that levy be the nucleus of the great Fund which was to be raised. Then from that they could go out to reach the hundreds and thousands of men and women who did not regularly make a sacrifice, who did not regularly pay contributions. He thought that was the line that should be pursued, not along one road but along many; that they should not merely depend upon voluntary assistance, but that, in short, they must make those pay who never pay until they are made to. He believed that in an organisation like theirs, if the right moment was chosen, and the right form of appeal was made, they would be willing to double their contributions for one year, and he suggested that an appeal on those lines should be made.

Mr. C. T. Cramp said that emphasis had been laid—and quite rightly—on the difficulty which arose owing to the national Trade Unions restricting their political funds to their own candidates, and he suggested that if the method which was adopted by the National Union of Railwaymen were considered by the National Party organisation they might be able to do something more from the Trade Union side than they were doing at the present time for non-Trade Union candidates. In the N.U.R. they did not centralise all their political funds at the head office. Two-thirds of the amount collected for political purposes was used to finance the Union's own candidates, while one-third was returned to the branches that collected it, and they had perfect freedom, which they exercised fully, in supporting other candidates. He thought that would be a very good thing, and put the Movement on a better basis than it was on at the present time. He was not altogether in favour of sporadic efforts such as they had witnessed that afternoon. He did not think they ought to be indulged in by a great Party like theirs. He did not like to think that any delegate who had come there should feel a little sorry for himself because he was not able to do what he otherwise would do. He would far rather the Movement did the thing handsomely and in order than depend upon catch-penny methods.

Mr. B. Brooke (Assurance Workers) said that in the opening of the discussion it was clearly pointed out that the future of the Labour Party depended upon a stable and largely-increased income. He wished to say on behalf of the despised insurance workers that a little experience of industrial assurance was absolutely necessary. Because of the poverty of the working people, the insurance agents had found that 75 per cent. of them had no money left on Mondays. If the Labour Party was going to be put upon a sound basis, they would have to erect machinery similar to that used in industrial assurance, and collect the subscriptions regularly. He was confident that their people were willing to pay, and it was only the means for regularly collecting the money that was wanted. The people who voted Labour would pay for their politics, because they were tired of being patronised by the

capitalists. He therefore urged the Executive Committee to take into consideration some properly organised system for collecting subscriptions from the working people.

Mr. E. Bevin (Transport Workers), commenting on the statement that organisers had been withdrawn from a constituency by a Trade Union at a critical moment, appealed to the Labour Party to try to organise matters in future elections in such a way that this would be avoided. He said that very often it was not the fault of the Unions at all. When a candidate was selected, or if there was special propaganda in any given area, the Unions could very often arrange to give their services if there was a proper organisation to get that service. If a local organiser had entered into a political arrangement, unknown to his central office, the Union could not be blamed for doing, quite unconsciously, what the delegate had complained of. Service was very often as valuable as money, and sometimes more so, and he would advise candidates and Local Labour Parties to try to arrange this business through their central offices, so that in the event of a special effort when they wanted the loan of a particular official, the Union concerned would know about it and would not be cutting across the Local Party and upsetting arrangements by withdrawing an official who was needed.

The resolution moved by Mr. Hopkins was then put to the Conference and carried.

THE "DAILY HERALD."

The Rt. Hon. Arthur Henderson, M.P., said he regretted exceedingly that it was necessary again to bring before the Conference the position of the *Daily Herald*. Those who attended the Edinburgh Conference, and those who attended the Southport Trades Union Congress would remember it had been reported that the two National Committees had agreed that the time had arrived when they should take over the *Daily Herald*, and make it the organ of the entire Labour Movement. That step was taken immediately after the decision of the Congress had been reached. They then had to face the position of the paper, and all who were concerned in its management came to the conclusion that, in order to secure success, they must first of all reduce the price of the paper from what it was then, 2d. per copy, down to 1d. This was done and the circulation reached the figure of 278,000 as against 138,000 when they were selling at the higher price. They pointed out, both at Edinburgh and at Southport, that even when they reduced the price of the paper to 1d., it was absolutely essential, before it could become a paying proposition or anything like a paying proposition, that they should have to have a circulation of half a million copies. They therefore set to work, in order to secure that figure, the entire organising machinery of the Head Office and the Labour Party, calling in the National Agent, the regional officers and all the other officials, who were called upon to render what assistance they could to bring this about. They supplied the whole of the Movement with statements showing sales and other figures. They also showed the minimum circulation that was required in different areas in order that those different areas might contribute their quota of the 500,000 daily circulation that was required to make it a paying proposition. They had also quite a large number of public meetings and demonstrations at which information was supplied and speeches were delivered. This was extensively done, especially during the election. In addition to that they had appointed, through the General Council of the Trades Union Congress, what was described as "the *Daily Herald* Development Committee." The Chairmanship of that Committee was entrusted to Mr. Arthur Pugh, the Secretary of the Steel Smelters' Federation—and he wished to say in passing that the Directors felt they could not pay too high a tribute to the devoted services of Mr. Arthur Pugh and the Committee that had been assisting him in the work. One of the things which they undertook to do was to try to induce the Unions to capitalise the additional 2d. per member voted at the Southport Congress for a period of five years. If all the Unions had responded that would have provided a sum of £80,000. The Labour Party Executive Committee had also agreed that it would endeavour to capitalise its quota of £8,000 per year to cover the individual members that were not covered in the Trades Union Congress affiliation. For the five years that would have represented a sum of £40,000, making a total of £120,000 in the capitalised fund. This work was very well in hand; in fact, he ought candidly to admit that if the fund had not been fairly well advanced the *Daily Herald* would have been out of existence before now. But they were not content with that. The Development Committee, realising what they were up against immediately the price of the paper was reduced from 2d. to a 1d. per copy, set about to investigate the cost of production in connection with the paper. It was found that if they only published one edition each day, they could do it at much less cost than publishing, as they were compelled to do now, three separate editions of the paper. For instance, in order to supply Scotland and the North of England they had to go to press at a very early hour. That was the first edition. Immediately, or as soon after as possible, they had to publish the second edition, and then they had, as delegates in London would know, what they called "the late morning edition," in which the latest possible news was given up to the time of going to press. They did not go to press with that edition, or, in fact, with either of the other two editions, until they were absolutely compelled to do so in order to secure distribution in the various areas. Moreover, so anxious were the Board of Directors to do everything they possibly could, that they accepted the services of Messrs. Clifford Allen and Norman Angell, who were practical men in

connection with newspaper production and distribution. The services of both had been most useful in the suggestions they had made, and the advice they had tendered from time to time to the Board of Directors. Then a few weeks ago Mr. Tom Shaw, who had been elected as a Director in the early days when they took the matter over, felt, as he was removing from Lancashire, and as he was one of the joint secretaries of the new International, that he should be relieved, and the Board unanimously agreed to elect Mr. Clifford Allen to the vacant seat on the Directorate. After considerable discussion the Development Committee recommended the raising of the fund to which he had referred, with the special object of securing, first of all an increased paper, an improved paper, an enlarged paper, and to carry on the necessary intensive publicity campaign that was essential to make it a success. Well, the enlarged paper appeared—on most days it consisted of twelve pages—and was issued first of all on May 1. On that occasion they printed 351,400 copies, but he ought to say that 22,000 of that number were specially ordered and paid for by Local Labour organisations. He regretted to say, however, that notwithstanding the enlarged paper, notwithstanding the very much improved paper—which he thought no delegate would be prepared to challenge—they had found that the circulation seriously declined, and that instead of being able to maintain the 351,400 of May 1, they had to report with regret that the latest figure—this week—amounted to only 285,900 copies. Now what did that bring them to? They could not enlarge the paper from eight pages to twelve pages without entering upon very serious increased costs, and so the increase to twelve pages immediately increased the weekly loss from between £1,400 and £1,500 to approximately £2,800. With such a loss, even if they had the whole of the £120,000 in their possession—which they had not—with such a loss it was only a matter of a few weeks, or a limited number of months, when the fund would be once more exhausted? And then they would be in a different and, unfortunately, a worse position than they had ever been in before, because they had mortgaged five years of the Trade Unions' increased affiliation fee of 2d. per head and £8,000 per year of the Fund that the Party Executive were prepared, by the authority of the Edinburgh Conference, to contribute to keep the *Herald* going. They had estimates given to them that if they could capitalise the amount, and that if they could increase the paper to twelve pages, in six months the circulation should rise to a certain point; but, what was far more important, was that, as a result of the increased circulation, they could not only expect to get further advertisements, but they could expect a substantial increase in the price they would be able to charge for existing advertisements, so that it was unnecessary for him to stay to explain that the policy to increase the circulation had not only eaten very deeply into the money they were expected to contribute; it had gone beyond that, and eaten much deeper, because of their failure to obtain the estimated increased revenue not only from circulation, but also from the increased price they could charge for advertisements. It had already been reported to the delegates, through the financial statement, that the Labour Party itself had contributed a considerable sum of money to keep the *Herald* going, but he wanted to give them the exact figure. Since January, 1922, they had contributed £20,500 to the maintenance of the *Herald*, and they were pledged to provide £8,000 a year for five years. In order to try to capitalise their £40,000 they had again the very valuable assistance of Mr. Clifford Allen, who, with Mr. George Lansbury, was now very diligently occupied in endeavouring to raise loans for, at any rate, one-half of the £40,000, so that their contribution could be capitalised, and they would pay back the £20,000 or £40,000, as the case might be, at the rate of £8,000 a year. Another point he wished to make was that as they went along and were compelled to face their difficulties, they had a good many suggestions made to them, one being that the best thing they could do was to imitate the capitalist Press and plunge into the insurance business. While some of the directors were a little disposed to that method, others deprecated going into what he believed had proved to be, so far as some capitalist papers were concerned, a very uncertain method of securing circulation. They felt—they might be too idealistic—but some of them felt that, at any rate, so far as the great Labour Movement was concerned, it was an exceedingly doubtful method of trying to get their rank and file to take the paper, which ought, first of all—should he not say first and last?—to be taken because it was the finest weapon that the workers could hope for in giving publicity to its own principles and ideals. So, after a most careful consideration—after conference with their experts—a unanimous decision was taken by the Board not to entertain that method of trying to extend the circulation of the paper. It had been reported to him that morning—it seemed almost incredible—that a representative of the *Daily Herald*, who was selling papers at the entrance of the Hall, was approached by some delegates, who went forward to purchase the paper, and did not know what price they had to pay. (Cries of "Name.") It seemed almost incredible, and yet the individual who was selling the papers thought he could do no better—having an idea that this matter was coming up that afternoon—than come at once and report to the Chairman and directors, so that the Conference could be informed of the position of some of the delegates. Notwithstanding that, he hoped most of the delegates were aware that they had introduced a pledge scheme. Pledges were not very acceptable to some people. He was not talking about pawnbrokers, but was thinking about other pledges! But here was a pledge that asked

hem, not to avoid purchasing another paper, ut if they wanted two papers to see that hey always got the *Herald* first. That ledge scheme was in operation, but it was oving very slowly. They had circulated, e understood, over three million pledge ards, and it seemed almost beyond compre- ension that they should have three million ards circulated, that they should have over hree million people represented at that Con- erence, that they should have four million eople represented at the Trades Union Con- ress, that they should receive nearly four illion five hundred thousand votes at the eneral Election, and should have to come o that Conference and report that on Mon- ay, in spite of all their efforts, they had a ross circulation of only 280,900 copies. He ad nothing more to say. The delegates had nstructed the two Committees last year to ake this property over. So far as one part f the property was concerned—the Victoria ouse Printing Co.—that was fairly satis- actory, but the *Daily Herald* was in as nsatisfactory a position as it could be, and hough they might say that Mr. Lansbury nd his friends, since they first tried to rganise the paper, had cried "Wolf, wolf!" ver and over again, at the risk of being harged with crying "Wolf!" again, he ould say with all earnestness of which he as capable that it would be impossible to eep the paper going even beyond the Trades nion Congress if the circulation remained t anything like it was at that moment. He id not know that the directors could do ore. He had told the delegates that, with xpert assistance, they had investigated both ides of the matter. They had improved the aper, but if there were those present who ould give them suggestions, he was sure the oard would most seriously consider them. ut how they could go on for many more onths paying a loss of £2,700 or £2,800 a eek, with their fund gradually going down, e could not understand, and the directors, n his advice, said that this statement had o be made. In fact it was months since he uggested that they should put on one page f the *Daily Herald* for about a week that he paper would close down by a certain ate if the Labour Movement did not make p its mind to give it a circulation of be- ween 450,000 and 500,000 copies a day, and hey might have to do that yet. They were ound to let the Movement know where they ere. It was their paper, and as he had aid at Edinburgh, it was not worth carry- ng on if they could not get the circulation of 00,000 copies a day. He appealed to them ot to go away from that meeting hugging he conviction that the directors could carry n much longer unless they had a circulation hich would make the paper a paying roperty.

After several delegates had put forward arious complaints and suggestions,

Mr. GEORGE LANSBURY, M.P., said he was ery glad indeed that someone other than he ad had to make the statement which Mr. Henderson had put before them that after- noon, because, for a good many years, he had been going round begging money to keep the *Daily Herald* going. When the Move- ment took the paper over, they thought—he thought in his youthful dreams—that their troubles were all over, but a friend of his had just reminded him that probably a lot of other people thought likewise, and that, therefore, there was nothing else to be done, that the paper would run along all right. He believed that that was one reason why they had not gone ahead as they ought. He wished to clear up two points. A comrade had said that he had been let down about posters. He hoped that anyone who got that experience again would write direct to him at once, and he would look into it and see what had happened. So far as he knew, every man in the office and out of the office had got orders to go wherever there was a demonstration or a meeting and show the *Daily Herald* bills. As to the quotas for the different districts, every district had had sent to it, first of all the sales in that par- ticular district, and then the quota that they ought to be selling. Every district official and many branch officials knew those figures, and therefore knew, not only what they were selling but what they ought to be selling. There was, therefore, no excuse for any Local Labour Party saying they did not know. He would, however, see that they got those figures again. What Mr. Henderson had said was perfectly true. It was now or never with this paper. He (Mr. Lansbury) had said that lots of times, and they had not believed him because they thought that somehow they would get over it. This time it was different. He did not know any more private people he could go to, and he could not see how the Unions, having mortgaged five years of their affiliation fees, would be able to do any more. Now, what had they got to do in order to avert disaster? Simply to get people to buy the paper, but first of all to buy it them- selves. It was all very well to shout "Name." He could not give them the names of the delegates at Edinburgh who did not know the price, nor of the delegates there, but at both places the same thing had happened. Everybody present at the Confer- ence should take the paper every day, and they should also get someone else to take it every day. No doubt a great many of them had done so, but there were a lot more who ought to do it. Last September he resigned from the editorship because he thought it was a good thing to have a change, and he be- lieved the change had been amply justified by the improvement of the paper. The next thing the directors did was to make him general manager, and he wished to say that personally he was prepared to work on the Board of Directors or off the Board of Directors, as general manager or not as general manager. He would do any- thing, for money or without money, in order to help the *Herald* go. If he thought that by getting out he could help the paper, he

would get out without the least hesitation. He wished everyone to understand that. He wished to say that he thought the paper was served—leaving himself out—by as devoted a band of men and women as they would find in the country. He could say that of them because he had worked with them all these years. They had got their faults, and occasionally he jumped on them, and they jumped on him, but they worked, not merely for money—they did that obviously—but they worked also for the Cause and for the *Daily Herald* itself. Therefore he wanted to put this to the delegates. First of all they must have a daily paper. If this paper died, then in three months, in one month, they would see the difference in the capitalist Press. They should make no mistake about that. It was not really what the *Daily Herald* said or did not say; it was not the amount of the circulation that mattered in this connection; the real thing was that while the *Daily Herald* was there, it was a corrective to the misrepresentations of the other papers. They dared not go the length they otherwise would. The delegates must therefore keep in mind the fact that if they let the *Daily Herald* die, they would have to start again. He noticed they often gave him a good cheer when the *Daily Herald* was mentioned, but he wished them to realise that in the *Daily Herald* there was the life-blood of tens of thousands of poor men and poor women, some of whom had sacrificed everything in order to make it possible for the workers to have a daily paper. If they let it die they would be crushing out the enthusiasm of tens of thousands of these poor men and women. They ought, as members of the Party, to stand by it; not in the sense of giving it more money, but in the sense of buying it and getting other people to buy it day by day. The great pledge scheme of Mr. Norman Angell's had taken weeks and weeks to think out. He asked them to go into their branches, their workshops, their Socialist Societies, and get the members to sign the pledge that if they bought a paper at all, the first one they would buy would be the *Daily Herald*. They had three million cards out, and it would be strange if they could not get 500,000 of their members to fill them in, pledging themselves to buy the *Daily Herald*. He wanted to appeal to them to decide that from now onwards each man and woman would realise it was imperative they should have a paper, and it was their duty to help to keep it going. In that paper there were the sacrifices of tens of thousands of men and women who had provided them with a property which, if it was put upon the market, would fetch a considerable sum of money from anybody who wanted to run a paper. They had got that, and therefore instead of letting it down and having to start all over again six months afterwards, let them make one more final effort so that the paper should not die, but that before September its circulation should be doubled.

In bringing the Session to a close after further brief discussion, Mr. HENDERSON announced that the result of the appeal for funds earlier in the afternoon was that promises had been handed in amounting to £767 11s. 6d., and cash had been sent in amounting to £148 19s. 3½d., making a total of £916 10s. 9½d. He thought that was a very excellent response, and he was quite certain, when the Executive Committee took the matter up, this would be a great lead to the whole of the Local Labour Parties and the affiliated organisations from one end of the land to the other.

The Conference then adjourned for the day.

THURSDAY, JUNE 28th.

Morning Session.

AMENDMENTS TO STANDING ORDERS.

Rt. Hon. ARTHUR HENDERSON, M.P., on behalf of the Executive Committee, moved the following addition to Standing Order No. 2 :—

That the number of Resolutions forwarded by any affiliated organisation for discussion at the Annual Conference shall not exceed three.

He hoped there would be no time taken up in discussing this resolution, which was necessitated by the fact that some organisations persisted in sending in a large number of resolutions. It was thought, with the increase of the Party and the desirability of giving equality of opportunity in the Conference, that the number should not exceed three.

Mr. J. H. HUDSON (I.L.P.) seconded the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

RESULT OF THE BALLOTS.

Mr. JOHN BAKER, on behalf of the Scrutineers, reported the result of the Elections as follows :—

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

NATIONAL SOCIETIES SECTION.

Elected :

J. R. Clynes, M.P. (N.U. of General Workers)	2,612,000
Frank Hodges (Miners' Federation)	2,497,000
F. W. Jowett, M.P. (I.L.P.) ...	2,388,000
C. T. Cramp (N.U.R.)	2,361,000
A. G. Cameron (Amal. Society of Woodworkers)	2,246,000
Sidney Webb, M.P. (Fabian Soc.)	2,199,000
F. O. Roberts, M.P. (Typographical Association)	2,164,000
W. Adamson, M.P. (Miners' Federation)	1,760,000
Jack Jones, M.P. (S.D.F.) ...	1,737,000
Robert Williams (Amal. Marine Workers' Union)	1,617,000
W. H. Hutchinson (A.E.U.) ...	1,593,000
Edward Duxbury (United Textile Factory Workers' Association)..	1,507,000
W. R. Smith (Boot and Shoe Operatives)	1,458,000

The unsuccessful candidates were :—

Tom Griffiths, M.P. (British Iron, Steel and Kindred Trades Association)	1,453,000
C. G. Ammon, M.P. (Union of Post Office Workers)	1,400,000
J. Sexton, M.P. (Transport and General Workers' Union) ...	1,240,000
Joseph Compton (National Union of Vehicle Builders)	1,165,000
W. J. Brown (Civil Service Clerical Association)	650,000
P. J. Tevenan (Municipal Employees' Association)	535,000
H. Nixon (Blastfurnacemen and Kindred Trades)...	467,000
George Lathan (Railway Clerks' Association)	448,000
Charles Duncan, M.P. (The Workers' Union)	399,000
J. R. Leslie (Nat. Amal. Union of Shop Assistants, etc.)	191,000
S. J. W. Morgan (Asylum Workers' Union)	38,000

Local Constituency Organisations.

Elected :

George Lansbury, M.P. (Bow and and Bromley L.P.)	2,012,000
R. J. Davies, M.P. (Withington L.P.)	1,454,000
W. Lawther (Blaydon D.L.P.) ...	1,367,000
Herbert Morrison (London L.P.)	1,321,000
T. I. Mardy Jones, M.P. (Pontypridd D.L.P.)	1,106,000

The unsuccessful candidates were :—

Neil Maclean, M.P. (Govan D.L.P.)	843,000
F. Swift (Frome D.L.P.) ...	804,000
Gabriel Price (Hemsworth D.L.P.)	804,000
Duncan Carmichael (London Trades Council)	787,000
Morgan Jones, M.P. (Caerphilly D.L.P.)	691,000
Ben C. Spoor, M.P. (Bishop Auckland D.L.P.)	550,000
David Adams, M.P. (Newcastle (West) D.L.P.)	451,000
John Cape (Spennymoor D.L.P.)	420,000
E. C. Porton (North Kensington T.C. and L.P.)	337,000
H. H. Elvin (Southend-on-Sea T.C. and L.P.)	298,000
T. C. Wedgwood, M.P. (Stoke-on-Trent (Borough) L.P.)	290,000
J. Dallas (St. Albans D.L.P.) ...	249,000
John Scurr (South Poplar Local L.P.)	199,000
S. P. Viant (Willesden (Borough) L.P.)	114,000
T. Ashworth (City of Bradford L.P.)	107,000
W. R. Raynes (Derby L.P.) ...	106,000
D. Williams, M.P. (Swansea Labour Association)	101,000
J. W. Muir, M.P. (Maryhill D.L.P.)	101,000
J. E. Swan (Barnard Castle D.L.P.)	83,000
V. L. McEntee, M.P. (Walthamstow L.P.)	76,000
R. M. Gentry (West Fulham L.P.)	69,000
Mrs. V. M. Crawford (St. Marylebone L.P.)	66,000
D. Leigh Aman (East Hants (Petersfield) L.P.)	63,000
Bram Longstaffe (Barrow L.P.) ...	50,000
B. Skene Mackay (Hampstead L.P.)	40,000
A. Lockwood (Reading T.C. and L.P.)	39,000
L. Haden Guest (North Division Southwark L.P.)	36,000
F. Berriman (Bristol Borough L.P.)	33,000
J. Herriots (Sedgefield D.L.P.)...	25,000
H. B. Morgan (Greenwich L.P.)	15,000
Jas. Marley (St. Pancras L.P. and T.C.)	14,000
Mrs. Hooper (Wimbledon, Merton and Morden L.P.)	13,000
H. Bainbridge (Houghton-le-Spring D.L.P.)	12,000
T. Smith (Colchester D.L.P.) ...	10,000
J. M. Allen (Wandsworth L.P. and T.C.)	9,000
A. Gordon (Brighton and Hove L.P.)	7,000
S. V. Pearson (North Norfolk D.L.P.)	6,000
Sidney Smith (South West Hull D.L.P.)	5,000
R. Browell (Wansbeck D.L.P.) ...	5,000
F. D. Fitzgerald (Brixton D.L.P.)	4,000
P. Hodes (Bromley D.L.P.) ...	3,000

Women's Section.

Elected :

Miss A. Susan Lawrence (Fabian Society)	2,370,000
Mrs. F. H. Bell (The Workers' Union)	2,211,000
Dr. Ethel Bentham (North Kensington T.C. and L.P.)	2,211,000
Mrs. Agnes Dollan (I.L.P.) ...	1,848,000

The unsuccessful candidates were :—

Mrs. Ada Salter (London L.P.)...	1,245,000
Mrs. Mary Laverick (Wansbeck D.L.P.)	1,048,000
Miss M. J. Symons (National Union of General Workers) ...	768,000
Mrs. Mary Bell (Hemsworth D.L.P.)	394,000
Mrs. E. Mottram (Leigh and District T. and L.C.)	362,000
Mrs. J. A. March (South Poplar L.P.)	190,000
Mrs. M. Arran (Wandsworth L.P. and T.C.)	36,000

TREASURER.

There being no other nomination Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., was declared elected.

AUDITORS.

Elected :

Robert Young, M.P. (A.E.U.)...	2,467,000
T. Trotter (Miners' Federation)...	1,169,000

The unsuccessful candidates were :—

H. H. Elvin (Hamptead L.P.) ...	751,000
T. H. Gill (Railway Clerks' Association)	721,000
T. F. Richards (Boot and Shoe Operatives)	614,000
Wm. Thomasson (United Textile Factory Workers' Association)...	464,000
H. A. Hind (The Workers' Union)	75,000
Frank Lee (North-East Derbyshire D.L.P.)	71,000
J. G. Davies (Swansea Labour Association)	34,000
Wm. Whiteley (Sedgefield D.L.P.)	34,000
John Aspinall (Hemsworth D.L.P.)	11,000

CONFERENCE ARRANGEMENTS COMMITTEE.

Elected :

John Hill, J.P. (Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders)	2,388,000
W. Thorne, M.P. (National Union of General Workers)	1,996,000
John Marchbank (N.U.R.) ...	1,320,000
Robert Dennison (British Iron Steel and K.T. Association) ...	1,178,000
J. H. Hudson (I.L.P.)	1,167,000

The unsuccessful candidates were :—

Charles Gill (Bristol Borough L.P.)	995,000
E. L. Poulton (Boot and Shoe Operatives)	895,000
James Bell (United Textile Factory Workers' Association) ...	871,000
John Cape (Barnard Castle D.L.P)	861,000
George A. Griffiths (Hemsworth D.L.P.)	814,000
H. G. Hall (Broxtowe D.L.P.) ...	810,000
A. H. Smethurst (A.E.U.) ...	472,000
A. G. Gossling (Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers) ...	369,000
Ben C. Spoor, M.P. (Sedgefield D.L.P.)	353,000
Jim Hill (Southend-on-Sea T.C. and L.P.)	319,000
Allan A. H. Findlay (United Patternmakers' Association) ...	224,000
Tom Ashworth (City of Bradford L.P.)	198,000
S. Hirst (Transport and General Workers' Union)	179,000
Miss F. M. Henderson (St. Albans D.L.P.)	173,000
T. W. Burden (Railway Clerks' Association)	134,000
C. Maher (The Workers' Union)	57,000
R. Allan (Wansbeck D.L.P.) ...	22,000

REPRESENTATION ON THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE.

The Conference then continued the co sideration of amendments to Standi Orders.

STANDING ORDER 4.—NATIONAL EXECUTIVE.—CLAUSE 1.

The Clause, as it stood, was as follows :

The National Executive shall be elect by the Annual Conference, as a whole, a shall consist, apart from the Treasurer, (a) 13 representatives of the affiliat organisations; (b) five representatives the Local Labour Parties; and (c) fo women. The Executive shall be elected b ballot vote on the card basis from thr lists of nominations confined to delegat appointed to attend the Annual Confe ence.

Mr. Lawrence Anderson (Glasgow Trad and Labour Council) moved the followin addition to Standing Order No. 4 :—

Line 5: After " organisations " add th words : " of the 13 representatives fo must be bona-fide members of a Trad Union actually working at their trades c entitled to, or in receipt of, donatio benefits as laid down by the rules of the trade organisation, and/or the Nationa Insurance Acts. (Part 2.)"

He said his Council contended that ther ought to be direct representation from th workshops, because it was felt that th members of the Executive, as it was a present constituted, were too far remove from the actual working conditions and the did not understand the psychology of th working class. It was therefore propose that there should be four representative who were actually working at their trade o entitled to or in receipt of donation benefits

Councillor Isaac Crabtree, J.P. (Oldhar T. and L.C.), formally seconded the motion

Mr. C. T. Cramp (N.U. Railwaymen opposed the resolution on behalf of th Executive Committee. He said there wer two reasons for opposing it. One wa because they thought it was theoretically unsound, and the other because it wa absolutely unworkable in practice. If th proposition were carried—even if it could b put into operation—it would rule out al Members of Parliament, and all Trad Union officers, and confine it to men an women who would be brought in from thei various trades. He thought that would b a very difficult thing to do. It was already difficult, in some trades and occupations, fo men and women to obtain the necessary tim to devote to business of this description and he was afraid it would be exceedingly difficult to find candidates in all trades and occupations who would fall within this rule It would be particularly hard in the case of women members, who obviously were not organised in the same way as the men, and had to rely to a large extent on their Trade

Union officers. Even if they carried the resolution it could not be put into operation for another reason. They did not say all representatives, but only four out of the thirteen, and if the resolution were carried the question would at once arise as to which should be the organisations nominating men working at their trades, and which should be the organisations nominating others. The difficulty would arise at the nomination stage. If all the organisations nominated men and women working at their trades, one might say that would be well, but if all the organisations treated themselves as being those entitled to nominate, then the nominations would not achieve the object aimed at. It would be quite unworkable. One appreciated the spirit in which the resolution was moved, and he took it it had the same design as the resolution passed at the Trades Union Congress some years ago; but it went further than that, inasmuch as it ruled out—which the Trades Congress resolution did not—the Trades Union officers who were elected to represent their members. He did not know the case in all the Unions, but in the case of the Railwaymen's Unions there were quite a large number—running into thousands—of men who had left the railway service but who still retained their membership, and among them were some of the most enthusiastic of their political supporters who were working very hard in the Movement. A resolution such as this would absolutely exclude men of that description. Although the intention of the mover of this resolution was no doubt quite good, he was sure it would prove to be unworkable in practice.

Mr. F. G. Pell (Woolwich T.C.) supported the resolution. He said his Council had discussed this matter at some length and had come to the conclusion that it was necessary to get the atmosphere of the workshop into the Executive. They were quite aware that the officials of the Unions and the officials were would oppose it, but he claimed that the officials who were holding office were too far removed from the men, and the only way to obviate that was to adopt the suggestion made in this resolution.

Mr. E. Manne (Stoke Newington) moved the following amendment to the Glasgow proposal :—

Line 7 : Delete all after " organisation."

He said that while they were in agreement with the general principle set forth in the resolution, they thought it would not be fair if they were going to enable men and women receiving National Health Insurance relief to come on to the Executive who at the same time might not be members of any Trade Union.

The amendment was formally seconded.

A resolution

That the vote be now taken

was carried, and the amendment moved by Stoke Newington, on being put to the Conference, was lost.

The resolution of the Glasgow Trades and Labour Council was also defeated.

There were cries for a card vote, but Mr. Anderson declined to support this, saying they would be absolutely wiped out on a card vote.

The Chairman said that a further resolution in the name of the Glasgow Trades Council was really the same thing over again, and asked whether they could not dispense with the discussion on it.

The resolution was as follows :—

Line 6 : After " Parties " add the words : " of the five representatives three must be bona-fide members actually working at their trades or entitled to, or in receipt of, donation benefit, as laid down by the rules of their trade organisations, and/or the National Insurance Acts. (Part 2)."

Line 7 : After " women," add the words : " two of whom must be bona-fide members actually working at their trades or entitled to, or in receipt of, donation benefit, as laid down by the rules of their trade organisations, and/or the National Insurance Acts. (Part 2)."

The previous question

was moved, seconded and carried.

STANDING ORDER 4.—NATIONAL EXECUTIVE.—CLAUSE 2.

The Clause, as it stood, was as follows :

Each affiliated national organisation shall be entitled to nominate one candidate for List A; and two candidates if the membership exceeds 500,000. *Each candidate must be a bona-fide member of the organisation by which he or she is nominated.*

Mr. Anderson (Glasgow Trades and Labour Council) said he did not suppose it was any use speaking to the amendments that had been tabled to double the number of candidates that any society could nominate. The Conference had already wiped them out.

The Chairman said he understood this resolution was not moved, and therefore it would drop.

NATIONAL FINANCE.

Mr. C. G. Ammon, M.P. (Post Office Workers) moved the following resolution on behalf of the Executive :—

That this Conference protests against the financial policy of the present Government in maintaining the annual expenditure on armaments at so colossal a figure as 120 *millions, in failing to pay off a large proportion of the War Debt, in cutting down the urgently required social services and in continuing the excessive taxes on the food of the people.*

The Conference declares that the policy of the Labour Party on National Finance is to redeem a substantial portion of the National Debt by a Capital Levy, on a graduated scale, on fortunes of from £5,000 *upwards. With the saving in annual interest and sinking fund thereby effected, and with other economies, notably on arma-*

ments, and by the Taxation of Land Values, it will be immediately practicable:—

(a) To abolish the food taxes, viz., sugar, tea, coffee, cocoa, dried fruits, etc.

(b) To lighten the burden of the Income Tax by raising the exemption limit, increasing the abatements and lowering the rate of the tax.

(c) To abolish the Entertainment Tax and Corporation Profits Tax.

(d) To provide money for much needed Social Expenditure; in all these ways greatly improving the Home Trade by increasing the demand for clothing, furniture, and other manufactures for domestic consumption or use.

The Conference urges upon the Labour Party in Parliament, in default of a Capital Levy, to press for the abolition of the taxes on food before any other relief in taxation is given, as the food taxes press most heavily on the poorest people and lower standards of consumption.

He said the Conference would observe that the resolution fell in three parts. First there was a protest against the continued waste of national finance on armament expenditure, and inferentially pointing out the impossibility, under those circumstances, of trying to pay off a large part of the war debt. It was absolutely futile, he said, for people to continue singing "The Hymn of Hate" to the tune of either the "Marseillaise" or "Rule, Britannia." They desired, in their programme, to point out to a wider public that while the country continued along those lines there could be no hope for national solvency, nor could there be any possibility of the end of war. The next part of the resolution emphasised and laid down once again as an integral part of Labour finance, as an immediate relief of national indebtedness, the application of the Capital Levy, and in that they proceeded to set out briefly and concisely exactly what was the amount they would begin with, and what would be entailed by the application of this measure of finance. It would be well to remind both their friends and their critics that this was proposed by the Board of Inland Revenue in 1919 with respect to taxing war profits. The Labour Party Executive therefore argued, that what seemed to be a practical scheme by the Board of Inland Revenue was none the less practical when proposed by the Labour Party or others with the object of relieving the burden of national indebtedness, and with the endeavour to find ways and means for forwarding social and national reform, to reduce taxation, to reduce taxes on foodstuffs, and so set free, as far as possible, trade and commerce in order that the wheels of industry might be set running. It was suggested also that by the application of the Capital Levy there would be an immediate reduction of the War Debt by at least three thousand millions, and he learned that within the last day or two the experts who had been giving great consid tion to this problem were of the opinion t even to-day the amount of debt that wo be reduced would exceed the three thous millions already laid down by those chi responsible for framing and putting forw this particular scheme. Not only would do that, but it would also allow them to m a considerable reduction in the food tax and in other necessaries of life essential the common people; it would relieve burden of Income Tax by raising the lo rate limit, and so give a better chance to lower middle and artisan classes. In ad tion there would be a relief—one which th had fought for in the House of Commons the Budget debate—in respect of Income T and Corporation Profits Tax. He knew th was some misunderstanding and some cr cism with respect to the last, but it should remembered that in a large measure t tax took the place of the super-taxes wh were paid in other directions, and it w hoped that it would relieve, to a certain e tent, the tax on industry and, in a measu equalise the burden of taxation as far as p sible between the landed and the industr community. The next point in the reso tion was that while there was opposition and misunderstanding of the Capital Lev pending the time of its application, th must urge the Labour Party in Parliame to press upon the Government the need remit the taxes on essential commoditi such as tea and sugar. These were t essential points of the proposal contained the resolution. The Capital Levy was t centre stone of the whole fabric of the policy, and so far from withdrawing fro or apologising for its introduction the claimed that time had shown the wisdom the Party in introducing it. They still i tended to keep it as an integral part of t programme, no matter what criticism migh be brought against it. They could still sa to the other parties, "Give us your alterna tive scheme." Up to now no other propos had been brought forward whereby the grea burden of indebtedness could be effectivel grappled with and an opportunity provide for setting industry running again, or woul relieve the great army of unemployed whic they were going to have in a more or les degree until this matter was settled.

Mr. C. PRIESTLEY (Manchester Boroug Labour Party), in seconding the motion, sai they were sometimes asked where the mone would come from to pay this Capital Levy Well, they knew perfectly well where th money was. According to the Inland Revenu Commissioners, the rich to-day were richer because they had four thousand million more than they had before the war. He sug gested they should follow that money becaus it had been obtained by the exploitation o the country in the country's need. Thos people who opposed the Capital Levy did not understand the term "capital." Hi capital was his labour power embodied in hi personality. The members of the workin

ass had had their wages reduced and that as their return. The wages of the working ass were down £14,000,000 per week, and ney were all affected by it. Multiplied by ne number of weeks in the year, it would be en what a large amount they had contri-ted towards reconstruction. He objected, owever, to the clause in the last paragraph the resolution, because they had no right accommodate their political views to the onomic philosophy of other people. They ould stick to the Capital Levy and then the arty would receive the support of the work-g class.

Mr. Seymour Cocks (Balham and Tooting abour Party) moved the following amend-ent :—

Line 18 : Delete " and by the Taxation of Land Values."

e said he was instructed by his Party to ove the deletion of the Taxation of Land alues, although he was not in agreement ith it himself.

Mr. J. E. Williams (A.E.U.) seconded the nendment because he believed that the axation of Land Values was, in itself, an mission of right to the ownership of the nd. That admission owed its chief origin Radical sources. Taxation of the Land d been tried in some degree, and had oved to be a failure. Nothing had been id, but a good deal had been seen of how e land had been dealt with during inflation finance in this country. Farmers had en compelled to purchase their holdings hile the compeller walked away with the swag." There was no Socialist who would mit the ownership of this common heritage r one moment, and if that were so why ould they, as a Labour Party, waste valu-le time in chasing a phantom of this de-ription? What was there to stop them, der a Labour Government, from declaring at inasmuch as this land was never bought t was stolen, they would return it to the ople in the same way it was taken from em. There was nothing unjust about that, d there was nothing immoral about it. iere might be something respectable in king about taxing it, but that would not tisfy the workers. Inasmuch as they be-ved in a levy on capital which was accumu-ed through the vicissitudes of industry d the game of international finance—inas-ch as they had been bold enough to de-re that belief, they should also be bold ough to declare that land as the economic sis of production belonged to the people d not to the landed proprietors.

Mr. J. E. Swan (Miners' Federation) sup-rted the resolution in the name of his ecutive. He thought it was quite com-ehensive and worthy of the consideration the whole of the Labour Party. They had d abundance of evidence, even from a vernment Department—without making y observations upon the Capital Levy, which he presumed, for the most part they were agreed upon—that such a proposal was quite justifiable. Even the Chancellor of the Exchequer last year supplied data to the House of Commons showing that whereas in 1913 the incomes of these people totalled £1,100,000,000, and in 1914 they were £1,167,000,000, they had risen by the end of the financial year 1923 to be £3,000,000,000. In the light of that fact there was absolutely no justification for the enormous indirect taxation that was being imposed on the masses of the people, thereby curtailing and reducing the value of their wages. In replying to the leader of the Labour Party when he criticised the Budget, and likewise in replying to Mr. Snowden, the Chancellor of the Exchequer told the House of Commons that, seeing they had been so generous last year in making a reduction in the tea duty, and thereby increasing the value of wages, they could not make further reductions. What were the facts? It would be interesting to notice how much Labour got by concessions in the way of indirect taxation as compared with what was given to the wealthy classes by relief from super-taxation. According to the figures given in the House of Commons by the Chancellor of the Exchequer last year, whereas in one category they had 189 persons with over £100,000 a year, to whom they had given concessions amounting to £5,000 a year, to the wife of the worker he had given a concession on the tea duty which amounted to 4d. or 4½d. That was £96 a week to the people with £100,000 a year, and yet the Chancellor had told Mr. MacDonald and Mr. Snowden that he could not do any more for the poor this year. To the same rich people he had given over £2,500 a year by the 6d. reduction in the tax, making another £48 a week, while nothing was given to the workers. He hoped this resolution would have the full support of the Conference, and that the Members in the House would try to bring home to the Treasury how little had been given to the working class, and how much had been given to those who had more wealth now than before the war. He believed that in the future this was where they would have to centralise their work—to see that the workers were properly treated in the way of indirect taxation.

Another Delegate did not believe that the Taxation of Land Values offered anything like what the Labour Party were justified in asking for. He would like to move that a Committee of Inquiry be appointed to investigate the effect of Taxation of Land Values on Unemployment.

The Chairman asked whether the delegate was speaking to the amendment which proposed to leave out the Taxation of Land Values?

The Delegate replied that he was, because he did not believe the Taxation of Land Values offered anything like a good substitute for what was necessary.

Mrs. E. PALMER, J.P. (Southampton T.C. and L.P.), opposed the deletion of the Taxation of Land Values. She had hoped that on this question they might have had unanimity of opinion, because it seemed so fundamental that land should be taxed if they applied taxation at all. The same arguments used against the Taxation of Land Values might equally well be applied to the Capital Levy, because the argument put forward was that they were practically admitting the right of ownership to the land if they taxed it. Well they were bound, at the present time, to admit the right of ownership to the land, and their only means of securing some of its value was by taxation. They did not recognise by the proposal of a Capital Levy that the owners of wealth had necessarily any right to it, but they did say that the only chance of getting some of it was to tax it by a Capital Levy. She was sure the landowners would be be delighted if they knew that the Labour Party had wiped the Taxation of Land Values out of their programme. It would be a good thing if they could tax land up to 20s. in the £. She cared not what ownership they admitted so long as they got the revenue for the use of the people.

The amendment was then put to the meeting and lost.

Mr. SEYMOUR COCKS then moved the following amendment :—

> Line 27 (*c*): Delete " and Corporation Profits Tax."

He said they would prefer to see any money that the Capital Levy produced used for social reform or in still further reducing the Income Tax.

The amendment was not seconded.

Mr. F. E. GARDNER (Uxbridge D.L.P.) proposed the following amendment :—

> Delete " (c) " and substitute : " To base the Entertainment Tax upon an equal proportion of the ticket-price throughout, and to abolish the Corporation Profits Tax."

He said he moved this amendment on behalf of his Party because they believed that it was not possible at the present time to abolish the Entertainment Tax entirely, and they were of opinion that if it were based, as stated in the amendment, on an equal proportion of the ticket-price throughout, it would be beneficial to those who were not so wealthy.

The amendment was formally seconded, but on being put to the Conference it was lost.

The main resolution was then submitted and was carried with only two or three dissentients.

CONFERENCE ARRANGEMENTS COMMITTEE'S REPORT.

Mr. W. THORNE, M.P., in submitting a further report from the Conference Arrangements Committee, said that the Central Unemployed Workers' Committee had asked for permission to make a collection from the delegates, and the Committee recommended th they should take a retiring collection. I understood that arrangements would be ma accordingly, and he hoped the delegat would be as generous as possible.

Resolutions on " Hours of Labour " cou not be discussed because a decision h already been arrived at on the matter at t Edinburgh Conference in 1922.

The Report of the Conference Arrang ments Committee was adopted.

THE NEW FIGHTING FUND.

Mr. ARTHUR HENDERSON said that tho delegates who were present on the previo afternoon would agree that an importa decision was taken, and it was considere desirable and only right that those delegat who were absent should be " let into t know." First of all, a very full stateme was made with regard to the future inte tions of the Party and the need for maki early preparations for the next General Ele tion. After the matter had been discussed, resolution to the following general effect w unanimously agreed upon :—

> *That this Conference inaugurates Special Election Fund, to be controlled a used by the Executive, to assist Division Labour Parties, and instructs the Exec tive to prepare a scheme, and organise t means to raise a sum adequate to carry o the proposal.*

They would see there that the desire w to assist those Local Labour Parties that ha not the good fortune to work in great urba centres where they could more easily obtai candidates who had the support of the pol tical funds of the Trade Unions. They wer agreed, now the Party had become H Majesty's Opposition, that the next step wa towards Government, and in order to captur the reins of government it was necessary t capture the rural and semi-rural constitu encies. This Fund was to assist in that direc tion, and eventually they were going to sub mit a scheme to the whole of the Movemen and the Local Labour Parties from one en of the land to the other. In order to sho the intentions of the delegates it had bee decided that the Fund should be inaugurate at once, and the sum of £916 10s. 9½d. ha been either promised or paid during the Con ference. His object in letting those delegate who were absent " into the know," he hoped was obvious—sufficiently obvious that the would be already getting their pencils an papers ready. He was sure those delegate who had been absent would like to have th honour of sharing in this business, and there fore he invited them to fill up the papers and hand them to the tellers before the present Session closed. He was certain they would give such a lead to the Movement by this spontaneous action that before the General Election came along the Executive would be in a better position than it had ever yet occupied to face what would be the most important General Election in the history of the Party.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION.

Mr. A. J. Cook (Miners' Federation) then moved the following resolution:—

That the Government be urged to amend the Workmen's Compensation Act as follows —

(i.) Compensation to be paid from the first day of the accident.

(ii.) In the case of day-wage workers the amount of compensation for total incapacity shall be equal to the pre-accident weekly wage in accordance with the grade of work the injured person was engaged in. This to apply to all workmen now receiving compensation.

(iii.) In the case of pieceworkers, the amount of compensation for total incapacity shall be equal to the average earnings during the twelve months immediately preceding the date of accident.

(iv.) In the case of light employment the compensation shall be equal to the full difference between the wages the disabled man is earning and the pre-accident weekly wage or weekly average earnings, as per (ii.) and (iii.).

(v.) In the case of fatal accidents, a lump sum shall be awarded to the widow of the deceased, whether or not there are children, £500. Where there is only a single child to provide for, the amount shall be 10s. per week. Where there is more than one child, the second shall receive 7s. 6d. a week, and 6s. for every other child dependant, until it attains the age of 16. Where there is no widow or children but there are other total dependants, the payment shall be £500.

(vi.) That the schedule of industrial diseases be extended to include phthisis, rheumatism, yellow jaundice, affection of the eyes or nerves, boils, or any other disease which can be proved to have been wholly or partially due to the nature of the employment.

(vii.) That compensation shall not be stopped or reduced until the injured person has been examined by a Medical Board with a minimum of three, and in case recommendation for light work is made such must be obtainable at the place where the person resides.

Further, that in the event of an early Election, the Labour Party make the amendment of the Compensation Act one of the chief planks of its programme, with a view to having embodied in the Act the above particular proposals, and generally follow the lines of the Report of the Departmental Committee on Workmen's Compensation.

In moving this resolution the Miners' Federation were not in any way criticising the Labour Party, for in fact they wished to thank the Parliamentary Party for their activity in the House of Commons. The Labour victories at the last General Election had saved the miners from having their compensation reduced from 35s. But the miners appealed to the rest of the Labour Movement because they were affected more than any other body, and the miners were in a peculiar position on account of the expenditure they incurred in connection with these matters. The toll of the miners last year was over 1,100—an increase of 345 on 1921. There were, in round figures, 160,000 of their men maimed every year in the mines. He wanted to put it to the delegates that the treatment of these men during unemployment, both by Tory Governments and Liberal Governments was a standing disgrace to the present capitalist system. Here they saw the soullessness and the iniquity of the capitalist system. Since 1921 they had had to fight nearly every case in the County Courts. He had known boys and girls with brilliant scholastic prospects, who, if they had been given the chance, would have shown themselves equal to the best brains in the country, but who had been obliged to be taken from school because their fathers had been killed in the mines. He had seen widows' houses sold up after they had suffered the tragedy of losing the bread-winner. This question was one which would have justified a strike over and over again. There was no question that it affected miners particularly, but it affected other industries as well. If it affected the miners alone they could not get the desired reform. The man who had had an accident needed help, and at present he had to live on collections instead of being able to get justice from the industry in which he was maimed. He had read with joy of the activity of the Labour Members of Parliament on this great question, and he wanted to thank them for what they had done. Promises from the other parties they had had. The Coalition promises had amounted to nothing, and the Tories followed with the same result. There were numbers of people who talked about the cost. He had been wondering, as a miners' leader, when reading Government reports of the money that had been brought in through the Insurance Act, whether the people knew the way it had been spent. Did the Press of this country state the profits made out of the life-blood of the insured men? He wished to read them an extract from a Government Report, which said:

> For example, it appears from the returns furnished by the Companies to the Board of Trade in respect of Employers' Liability Insurance, that after making the necessary adjustments in respect of unexpired risks, the profits were £8,061,276.

Eight millions made by the Insurance Companies; but how was it spent? This was what a Government Report said—not the statement of an extremist:

> Of this sum only £2,971,275 was allocated to the payment of compensation, including legal and medical expenses.

Would the *Morning Post* publish that? Would the *Daily Mail?* No! This Government Report showed that £2,785,648 was spent in payment of commission, while

£2,384,230 out of the £8,000,000 was set aside for profits. It also showed that the cost to the mining industry in 1921 was 3.2d. per ton. There was enough money being made by these Companies to pay the whole of the costs of what the miners were asking for. He knew from experience the tragedy of this thing. He knew the tragedy of losing, not only a loved one but a bread-winner as well. He had had the unpleasant task, time and again, of going to tell the wife of the morning that she was a widow before night. That was a bad enough shock, but what was even worse was the terrible outlook for the future. What they were asking for, first of all, was payment from the first day. At present if a man met with an accident he had to be idle for six days before he got compensation. If he was idle for seven days, he got one day's compensation; if he was idle for twelve days he got six days' compensation. The second point was that they should receive, when incapacitated in the industry, the same amount as compensation as they would make when working. The man and his family needed the same amount; in fact they needed more. Then they asked that the Schedule of Industrial Diseases should be extended. The increase in these diseases since 1908 had been terrible, and it was only justice that they should be brought into the Compensation scheme. Even if the consumer had to pay 6d. per ton more it would be worth it, because it was the life-blood of the miner; but it would not cost 6d. per ton more. He asked the delegates to go back and ventilate this question in their own districts. The final clause asked that this should be one of the main planks in the Labour Party programme. Could they have a more humanitarian plea than that these widows and fatherless children should be provided for? This was not a question of the "right wing" or the "left wing." It was a question which concerned the whole of the Labour Party, and he hoped it would have the unanimous approval of the Conference.

Mr. R. Openshaw (A.E.U.), in seconding the motion, said that his mind went back to December 21, 1911, when the colliery disaster occurred at Bolton and the lives of some 344 miners were lost. In his opinion the resolution was very mild indeed. It only asked for £500 in the case of fatal accidents, but he would remind the delegates that £6,400 was paid to the directors of the London Brighton and South Coast Railway as compensation for the loss of their jobs.

Rt. Hon. J. H. Thomas, M.P. (N.U. Railwaymen), said he was sure the Conference did not desire to vote on this very important question without knowing the exact situation in which the Bill stood at the moment, and the difficulty of the Labour Party in connection with it. Mr. Cook had rightly said that this was not a question between the "right" and the "left." Indeed, it might rightly be said to be a suitable subject for broadcasting. (Laughter.) At all events the position in which the Party found itself, shortly, was this. The existing A expired this year, and they had to cho between introducing a Bill which wo express the Labour Party's faith on t question and allowing the existing Act expire. Even the proposals in the resolut now before the Conference, he said, did and must not be the last word on Comp sation. They had to choose between int ducing a Bill into the House of Commo with which their friends in the count would be dissatisfied on account of moderation, or fighting for an ideal, and th finding at the end of December that t existing Act had expired, and nothi had been accomplished. That would able their friends to say, "Look at t Labour Party; here is this Act expiri and we are no better off, but we are wor off." These were the facts the Party h to face. Fortunately they succeeded in t ballot, and they made Compensation the su ject of one of the Party's Bills, second on to the question of Unemployment. But framing the Bill they decided to adopt t Holman Gregory Report. The reason w that that was the Report of a majority, i cluding employers and Government repr sentatives, and they felt that if they cou force the House of Commons to adopt th Report they would have done something improve the existing law. They carried the Bill through the Second Reading. Th Government had introduced their Bill, an at the present moment both Bills were pra tically before the Committee of the Hous with this result; that whatever might be sai in criticism of the Party, every amendmen that had been so far moved or accepted, o was on the paper for the purpose of improv ing the Government Bill was in the name o and had been fought by their own Mem bers. He wished to warn the delegates no to blame them if later on they were com pelled to accept a compromise. They woul be delighted to accept all, and, indeed, mor than was contained in this resolution, bu they would be compelled, before the end o the Session, to make up their minds whethe they would have an Act that would be a improvement on the existing law or some thing which was not comparable to what they desired. He advised Conference to pass this resolution unanimously, but to realise, however, that their real object must be, not compensation for accident, but the prevention of accidents, which was far more important.

The resolution was then put to the Conference and carried unanimously.

THE SCENE IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Mr. Will Thorne, M.P., said he supposed they had all read in the *Daily Herald* about the incident that happened in the House of Commons the previous night, when four of the Labour Members had been suspended, as a result of incidents arising in the course of debate on the Scottish Estimates. A resolu-

on had been sent in to the Conference rrangements Committee for consideration; at they could not see their way to recom- end it to the Conference. What they did commend was that Mr. Ramsay MacDonald ould make a statement with regard to the atter, and after he had made his statement ie matter should end.

Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., said his atement would be very brief. After the cidents which had taken place the previous ight, the Executive of the Parliamentary arty had met and was to meet again that ay. It had already been settled, however, at the Parliamentary Party itself should e called to a meeting on Tuesday, July 3, hen the whole matter would be discussed. e asked the delegates, not having the facts efore them, to show their confidence in the arliamentary Party and its officers, to low them to deal with the matter and to ass on to the next business, in the full con- dence that they would deal with it in such way as would redound to the credit, the onour, and the strength of the Labour arty both in the country and in the House f Commons.

Mr. James Maxton, M.P., here rose in the allery to address the Conference, but there ere cries from all parts of the hall that he ould resume his seat. There was consider- ble interruption, delegates in all parts of ie hall endeavouring to address the Confer- nce. During the uproar Mr. Brownlie, who as sitting in one of the front rows, moved :

That having heard Mr. MacDonald's statement, the Conference passes on to the next business.

This was seconded in several places.

The Chairman, amidst considerable inter- uption put the resolution to the Conference nd declared it carried by an overwhelming ajority. A card vote was demanded, and as taken forthwith, the result being de- ared as follows:—

For the resolution ...	2,882,000
Against the resolution ...	430,000

The Chairman then said that he thought, y the indulgence of the Conference, they ight ask Mr. Maxton to say a few words.

Mr. J. Maxton, M.P., then rose to speak om the platform, but was at first met with nsiderable opposition. He said that in the ouse of Commons a Member had always ie right to make a personal explanation, nd surely the Conference was going to give im as much consideration as the Capitalist arties would do. He merely wanted to say hen he rose from his seat in the Conference, was not for the purpose of starting a con- oversy, but for the purpose of associating imself absolutely with the statement made y the leader of their Party. He and the vo or three colleagues who were associated ith him had no desire to play the game of ieir opponents by carrying their quarrels nto the public arena. They had acted in hat they thought were the best interests of ie Party and the best interests of the work- ing-class people they represented, and any questions of discipline they were prepared to leave absolutely in the hands of the majority of the Parliamentary Party, believ- ing that they as well as themselves were only interested in the best welfare of the working classes.

The matter then dropped.

AIR FORCE ARMAMENTS.

Mr. George Lansbury, M.P., moved the following emergency resolution :—

That the proposed increase of the British Air Force in competition with France is a preface to a new era of war, and the Labour Party calls upon the Parliamentary Labour Party to offer every resistance, declares that it is a crime against humanity to promote this new race of armaments within five years of the end of the last war, which the peoples of the world hoped was the beginning of an era of peace, and demands that an International Conference should at once be called by Great Britain for the purpose of eventually abolishing by international agreement all air armaments.

He said that the origin of the resolution was a feeling amongst some delegates that something ought to be done to emphasise their opposition to this method of war- fare, and to declare that the march of science and the continual mastery of the air should not be used for purposes of destruction, but rather to help to lift up the life of the nations of the world. The Chairman, in his speech to Conference, declared that violence never did any good. He (Mr. Lansbury) be- lieved exactly the same about war of any kind. They had to submit at home to con- ditions which they all deplored, but they were asked to go steadily forward and to put up with those conditions while they educated themselves and educated their fellows in order that they might remove the causes which brought about such conditions of life. In exactly the same way, the nation that would say it took its stand on exactly the same principles that they were asked to take their stand on for national reform would be the leader of the world. He thought the only way towards the realisation of that was that none of them should want from another what they were not prepared to concede under similar circumstances. They had got to educate themselves on that line too. They had not got at any time to think that killing was good when it suited their own particular purpose to kill. He believed that all the evil in the world came from one set of people wanting to dominate another set of people, and that spirit had to be got out of humanity in some way or other. He would like to see the Labour people of this country declare that they relied, and were going to rely when they came into office, not on their power to dominate others, but on the justice of the principles and truths they desired to put into operation. He hoped the Confer- ence would not only carry the resolution, but would go to the country and enter upon

a great crusade, not merely against violence in this particular way, but against all violence as an international wrong.

Mr. Frank Rose, M.P., in seconding the motion, said that this agitation for an increased Air Force was demonstrably the outcome of a capitalist stunt. He did not want to lead them into a labyrinth of technicalities, but he did wish to give them one or two facts. Delegates would remember that last autumn there was a concentrated campaign in a number of papers, the names of which it would perhaps be invidious to give. Those who read the papers in question were told that the most perilous position had been set up, and that it was absolutely necessary to build 500 fighting aeroplanes. This agitation outside got its reflex in the House of Commons, and again it would be invidious, in a meeting like that, to particularise. On the last day but one of the last Parliament Mr. Lloyd George made a statement in which he declared that £2,000,000, in addition to last year's estimates, was to be allocated for the purpose of building 500 aeroplanes. £900,000 of this money was to be met by further economies effected in other sections of the Air Department, and £1,100,000 was to be made up from new money. The Government had not presented, as they should have done, a Supplementary Estimate; there was no time because they went out of power, and he had been trying to find out what had become of that £2,000,000, and he found it had been lumped into the present Air Estimates. He had also been trying to find out where those 500 aeroplanes were, and he could not find that any of them were in existence. They were told the other night that the position was still perilous and the country must have what was called a "One-Power Standard." He wished to warn the delegates against the rubbish that was being talked about this frightful peril. It did not exist. The superiority of the French Air Force was mentioned, but it did not exist. He asked them not to believe it, and he asked all their fellow-countrymen to be British and not to allow themselves to be stampeded into a panic by a newspaper stunt. Another thing he wanted to say was that since this Ministry was instituted—and it existed before as a department of the ignoble Ministry of Munitions—since then it had been lifted into a Ministry and its chief had been lifted into Cabinet rank—since that time, during the last four years, in order to provide an adequate Air Force from the military point of view, they had spent about £69,000,000, and they had got nothing to show for it—except a Ministry. Now they were telling them that the necessities of the nation made it imperative that this work should go on, and go on accumulating. That seemed to him to be something they ought to take cognisance of now. This year they were providing out of revenue £122,000,000 for armaments or other warlike preparations, and whatever the necessities of the situation might be—and that was a matter possibly of controversy—he wanted them to ask themselves, and he wanted his colleagues in the House of Commons to ask themselves, what was th use of cackling about a new social order They could not build up a new social orde on bayonet points; they could not bom humanity into a new social order. They ha to begin by laying the foundations of worl security before they could talk about or eve think about a new social order. Did the wonder, in face of facts like these, tha money could not be found to reward decentl the men who fought or the dependents of th men who died to make this sort of iniquit impossible? Did they wonder that th Government was niggardly, that they sanc papered every department and called it "th Geddes Axe"? Until Labour associate itself definitely with a protest against thi appalling waste of public money and huma life they would never be fit to govern. Whe they got the opportunity of saying things i Parliament—as soon as it was possible fo some of them to make disclosures that coul not be made now—they would hear somethin infinitely more interesting than he could tel them that morning. There were certain rule and regulations which had to be observed and he for one did not want to break dow conventions without any purpose bein served; but he did ask them to endorse thi resolution as it stood, and not only to endors it by their votes that day, but to go back t their people, as he intended to go back t his, and to urge them that the first step to wards the peace that would make all socia reforms possible was a drastic curtailment of expenditure on this or any other form o armaments. He wanted to emphasise the imperative necessity of their taking more interest in this branch of politics and finance than they seemed to have taken hitherto. As far as the Party was concerned—although, as some of them knew, he did not always agree with them—he wished the delegates to understand that on this question they were heartily at one. This was a thing they all believed they must have before there could be any advancement of civilisation and before they could secure the basis of peace. He asked the delegates to help them all they could by their voices and their advocacy there and thereafter.

Mr. Ben Turner, M.P., in supporting the resolution, said there was no doubt, as a result of the policy that was being adopted, they were drifting towards war, and a clear statement was required from the Labour Party and the Labour forces throughout the Kingdom that on no account should there be another war. If the working people declared that there should be no war, there could be no war. On the Government benches in the House of Commons, on every question, the war spirit was apparent, and it seemed to him that the Labour Party in Parliament, backed up by Labour people outside Parliament, ought on every occasion to vote against a single penny being spent on the Army, the Navy or the Air Force. He admitted that the motion before Conference only dealt with the Air Force, but they knew

iat on the Liberal benches there were Mem-ers who were persistently asking questions bout the development of the Air Force. hey were as strong to-day for war as they ere in 1914. On the Conservative benches was the same, and it required the Labour arty to come forward and say that on no ccount should there be another war.
The resolution was carried unanimously.

FOREIGN POLICY.

Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., on be-alf of the Executive Committee, moved the llowing resolution :—

The New International.

The Conference warmly welcomes the amalgamation, recently brought about at the Hamburg Congress, of the Second International and the Vienna Union of Socialist Parties into one united Labour and Socialist International, with its secretariat in London. It hopes that the movement for unity may, before long, receive further extension. It notes with pleasure the important place attributed by our Continental and American comrades to the British Labour Party, and realises that a great responsibility is thus placed upon our Party in the Labour and Socialist Movement of the world.

The Ruhr.

The Conference protests against the occupation of the Ruhr district by the French and Belgian military forces as an act of aggression and of war. It calls upon the Government to use every effort to induce the parties concerned to come together in negotiation or to submit their differences to an impartial tribunal. It considers that the recent offer of the German Government should be taken as a basis for negotiation, and calls upon the Executive Committee to continue its efforts to secure united recommendation on the subject from the Socialist Movements of the countries concerned.

Reparation and the Peace.

The Conference renews its repeated declarations on the Reparation question. It considers that the claim based on military pensions is contrary to the pre-armistice agreement, and for that reason, and in the best interests of France and Belgium, should be abandoned; that reparation should be limited to the restoration of the devastated districts of France and Belgium; that this country should adopt a generous attitude in the matter of inter-Allied debts, as part of a general settlement of the reparation problem; that the whole of the Allied armies should be withdrawn immediately from German territory; and that a World Conference should be held to revise the Peace Treaties in accordance with the needs of European political and economic reconstruction.

The Conference views with alarm the possibility of a division between the French and British peoples, and the danger of a new race in armaments, especially in the air forces, between France and Great Britain.

Russia.

The Conference records its satisfaction that the policy of the Labour Party regarding Russia has been adopted by the Government, so far as the Trade Agreement is concerned, in spite of the negotiations having been opened by an ultimatum by Lord Curzon; it calls for a meeting between representatives of the British and Russian Foreign Offices to discuss and settle the outstanding points of dispute between the two nations, and demands that this meeting should be held without delay; the Conference further reaffirms its opinion that there can be no complete agreement upon British and Russian international policies until this country accords full recognition to the Russian Government.

The Reaction in Europe.

The Conference extends its fraternal sympathies to those workers in other countries who are suffering under the oppression of reactionary governments, and protests against the attacks now being made, in many countries of Eastern Europe, against minorities.

Mr. MacDonald said the resolution was very comprehensive. It began by congratulating the Labour Parties of the world that they had again formed a Labour and Socialist International—a Labour and Socialist International frankly, definitely and unequivocally founded upon democracy, founded upon public opinion, founded upon a belief in Parliamentary government, founded upon a faith that until they had converted the people they could not get from the people decisions and support which would enable government to be carried on in the way they wanted it to be carried on. It was an International that left no doubt whatever in the minds of those who had read its statutes and understood them that they were out to build up government upon education, and that they declined to try to build up government upon force. The second paragraph dealt with the Ruhr. There they had been faced, in the House of Commons, with a very difficult and a very complicated situation. It would have been very easy to go at it "like a bull at a gate," but that would not have helped the Ruhr, it would not have helped the Party, and it would not have helped Europe. They must remember it was not a demonstration or a general resolution that was required, but proposals and propositions that had a precise bearing upon the problem as it was at that moment, and that, if carried out, would help to solve the problem. Therefore they had had to approach it in detail. But the great suggestion the Labour Party had made had been this : If they could get public opinion of the various countries, as represented in their various Parliaments, brought together in Conference, then they would be on the high road to a

complete ending of the difficulty altogether. They had made that proposal in the House of Commons, but it was rejected, as they expected, because they were in a minority, and a House of Commons minority could not possibly exercise the rights and power of a House of Commons majority. If it could it would be no use the Labour Party trying to be in power because the minority would then upset their rule. They had, therefore, to take the bitters with the sweets of democracy. They wanted to increase the sweets and to enjoy them. So, as soon as they were defeated in the House of Commons on that resolution, they proceeded to gather together the leaders of the Labour and Socialist Parties in the interested countries, and they had Conference after Conference which, he was perfectly certain, resulted in the end in the re-opening of negotiations and the delivery of the first German Note. The first German Note they then regarded, and still regarded, as having been good enough for the beginning of negotiations. The second German Note was certainly good enough for the beginning of negotiations, and all their efforts would be directed towards those negotiations being brought to their final stage at the earliest possible moment. If their advice had been taken at the beginning of the trouble, when they asked Mr. Bonar Law not to stand by, but to keep pressing, pressing, pressing a point of view and a Government policy which was sound and sane and wise—if that policy had been adopted the Ruhr situation would have been disentangled by now. The next paragraph of the resolution dealt with reparations. They had said so much about that, and they stood so firmly upon what they had said, and what they had been taught by experience, that it was unnecessary to add anything at the present time. Referring to the new competition in armaments and the resolution the Conference had already adopted that morning, he said they could declare against war, they could oppose war, they could say they would never fight—would to God that would keep them from fighting!—but given a war situation they would be in it whether they wanted to be in it or not. They must not live in a "fool's paradise." Unless they and the people they represented were wise enough, not merely to say things, but wise enough to put a Government in power that would devise a policy that would stifle armaments, then the harvest of armaments would be reaped in spite of them, and the bugles of war would blow again, and their sons and grandsons would have to go through the same hell that so many present had had to go through. The practical policy of peace consisted in getting the peoples of the countries into such sympathetic touch with each other that they would realise that security lay in the moral character and not in the air, on the sea, or the land. Because recent events had brought the French people into most intimate contact, of an almost semi-hostile charact with ourselves—he would like the Conf ence to send to the Working Class Moveme of France a hearty resolution of fraterni and a declaration of friendship, and appeal to them to join in suppressing mi tarism and materialism, because otherw Europe could not enjoy peace and the luxu of disarmament. Finally, the resolution ferred to Russia. That particular sectio when it was drafted a week or two before, w one of admonition, but since then it had h to be redrafted, thanks largely to the at tude the Labour Party had taken up, a now it was partly congratulatory. Lo Curzon's ultimatum had had to be modifie and what the Labour Party now asked f was that the beginning which had been ma should be continued, and that the end be aimed at should be complete diploma recognition of the Russian Government our Government, so that machinery could set up to resolve all difficulties and secure amicable settlement of everything whi arose from day to day and from week week. He appealed to the delegates th whilst they laid down their principles th should stand by their representatives in t House of Commons who were trying to app those principles to the situations as th arose.

Mr. R. J. Davies, M.P. (N.U.D.A.W in seconding the motion said he hoped th had now got past the time when they thoug of the International Movement in the ter either of numerals or colours. He ha always believed that an International Mov ment amongst the working classes of t world could never succeed merely because was called the First, the Second or the Thi International. The Movement must live the spirit and hearts of the people wh sought to support an International, and did not matter whether they called the Inte national "white," "red," or "yellow, unless the people of the earth believed Internationalism it would never live, wha ever colour they might give it. Now a office had been set up in London, and the were proud of the fact, and he trusted the would build up a strong International Mov ment, because those composing it believed i Internationalism with all their hearts. Wit regard to the Ruhr, he thought the Frenc Cabinet ought to be informed very definitel that the Labour Party disagreed with wha they were doing. The resolutions which ha appeared on the agenda had been set asid in order to secure unanimity on this com posite resolution. Although he agreed wit that part of the resolution which said tha the armies of France, and Belgium, an Britain ought to be brought back from Ger man territory, he hoped the day would com when they would declare that whereas w had no power to withdraw the French or th Belgian Army, that, as a first step, our ow Army of Occupation shall be withdrawn That time had not yet arrived. With regar

to Russia, he had sat on the benches of the House of Commons and had heard the hypocritical statements from British Ministers condemning Lenin and Trotsky in terms that sometimes led him to think that there was something more behind the opposition than appeared on the surface. He had never heard them declare that because Mussolini had become dictator of Italy that they therefore condemned him. He had never heard them condemn the whole of the late Greek Cabinet; but because there were people in Russia who were trying to establish a Communistic State, those people in this country who did not agree with it condemned them. We had no right to interfere with the internal government of other countries, nor to complain about it even if it did not agree with our views. That was their business. If they murdered each other in Russia, that was their business. He was not prepared at any time to allow the statesmen of France, or Germany, or Russia, to tell us how we should conduct our business. That was our business. On that principle the Labour Party said to the British Government it was time they recognised Russia, because Russia had now become a sovereign State. In this resolution they also expressed a desire for peace. Most of the people in this country were opposed to war. Even the capitalist class were opposed to war now—not because they were in favour of peace, but because war was too costly. They should make a distinction between the opposition to war and armaments and the desire for peace. He believed in peace. He was not merely opposed to war because war was costly, but he believed in peace in order to prevent boys of eighteen years of age having to go down into the clay for Imperialism and Capitalism. The attitude of their Party, he maintained, was not very clean in the last war, and he trusted that if the bugles sounded once again, the British Labour Party would stand by the resolutions they had carried from time to time. It was all very well when peace was here to say, "We believe in peace," but they should declare that, whether peace or war came, this Party was a Peace Party.

Mr. E. D. Morel, M.P., in supporting the resolution, said there were two questions which were preventing the re-settlement of Europe—French policy in Europe and Anglo-Russian relations. And while those two questions were preventing settlement in Europe they were also preparing—if they went on as they were now going on—for another catastrophe in the near future. With regard to Russia, he wondered how many present realised that three weeks ago they might have been on the highroad to another war. As the Chairman of the Parliamentary Labour Party had stated, it was undoubtedly true that if that tragedy had not come about it was in a great measure due to the Labour Party. In fact he thought that everybody connected with the recent Anglo-Russian incident might be congratulated except Lord Curzon himself. So long, however, as an abnormal diplomatic relationship existed between Britain and Russia, so, at any moment, the forces of intrigue and ill-temper, the forces which were trying to overthrow the present Russian Government would have a free hand to reproduce the state of affairs which had almost brought about a war with Russia the other day. The only way to bring about a real peace with Russia was to recognise Russia diplomatically. Why should they not? What were the reasons against it? Russia wanted diplomatic relations; why should they not give them? Why should not Russians and Englishmen sit round a conference table and settle those questions of private claims and public issues which were at present unsolved? Surely, in the interests of private claims against Russia, a conference, above all, was needed. With regard to the Ruhr, and the Franco-German crisis, which was rapidly developing into an Anglo-Franco-German crisis, he could not help feeling that the Conference that day was meeting under a shadow. He was one of the very few in the years preceding the war who tried his utmost to make the people realise that war was sweeping down upon Europe; and to-day they had an exact replica of the position which preceded the great war. Substitute for a potential German peril a potential French peril; substitute airships for battleships, and they had almost a complete reproduction of the position which existed before the great war. Were they going to close their eyes to this? Were they going merely to pass resolutions? Or were they going to say that there had been a great flaw in our policy for the last five years, and until it was removed it was useless to talk about peace? The belief that a great nation—he cared not whether it be the German, the French, or any other nation—the belief that a great nation could be treated, five years after the end of a desolating war, as if every man, woman and child in that nation were a criminal was absurd. There was such a thing in the affairs of men and in the affairs of nations as the law of retribution, and until Great Britain determined to use her whole influence—and it was the greatest influence in the world if properly used—to root out that spirit and to root out the material clauses of the Treaty—unless Great Britain determined to do that, and unless in the interests of peace we told the French Government that we could not follow them, and we would not associate ourselves with them on their present lines—unless we spoke clearly in the Councils of Europe and the world, then this latent quarrel between Britain and France would develop and would be met, as it was being met to-day, by the old diplomacy with the old diplomatic methods. Straight speaking in the eyes of the world, a return to a policy of justice and reason for the reconstruction of Central Europe, that and that alone would prevent these gathering shadows from developing to smite Europe once more with a catastrophe compared with which the last was a mere bagatelle.

Mr. J. T. Brownlie (A.E.U.) hoped the resolution would be accepted with complete unanimity. The only reason he had for speaking was to direct attention to one particular point which was involved in the resolution, namely, in regard to the Ruhr policy and the position in Russia. It was his great privilege to come into contact with representative people in the metal industry throughout Europe, and he knew their points of view with regard to these matters. He was also connected with the metal industry in this country, and he was very much concerned about the number of people associated with that industry who were unemployed. He knew there would be no revival of trade until they solved the Ruhr question and the Russian question. He knew the attitude of the metal workers of Belgium, Germany and elsewhere, and, so far as the Ruhr policy was concerned, it was in accordance with the expressions given in the Conference that morning. It was also necessary that relations with Russia should be re-established in the interests of the development of trade, and he trusted that the Labour Party in the House of Commons would still pursue their policy of complete recognition of the Russian Government.

Mr. J. H. Hudson (I.L.P.) wished to emphasise a point that had been made in the speech of the seconder when he insisted that ultimately, in dealing with the Ruhr situation, Great Britain would be compelled to take a lead, not only in the matter of putting forward proposals about the French debt, but also with regard to withdrawing our own troops from the Rhine. It was all very well talking in that Conference about force settling nothing, but if our troops were there it was with the intention that something should be given them to do, and we were still placing our faith in force. He felt convinced that the Belgian Government was wondering to-day what it ought to do with regard to the present situation, and if our Government set an example by withdrawing British troops from that area it would assist in the long run in helping Belgium to make a stand against the mad policy that the French were now pursuing. He hoped the Executive would keep in mind the point that in the long run British troops must be withdrawn if other nations were to be encouraged in the view that force ought not to be depended upon.

The resolution was carried without dissent.

LABOUR AND THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC.

It was stated on behalf of the Conference Arrangements Committee with regard to the resolutions on "Labour and the Liquor Traffic" that it had been agreed, inasmuch as the points raised in these resolutions had already been covered in the Special Report of the Executive Committee, they would be withdrawn.

The Conference then adjourned.

THURSDAY, JUNE 28th.

Afternoon Session.

UNEMPLOYMENT.

The Rt. Hon. J. R. Clynes, M.P., on behalf of the Executive Committee, moved the following resolution:—

That this Conference, whilst reiterating that the present methods of production make frequent crises in industry with consequent unemployment inevitable, holds the Government responsible for the greater part of the special suffering and physical and mental deterioration to which an enormous proportion of the entire wage-earning class has been subjected during the past three years; first, in respect of the Government's foreign policy by which so much of the depression of trade has been caused, aggravated or continued; secondly, in respect of the Government's neglect to take in time the measures repeatedly and specifically urged upon them by the Labour Party (notably in Bills introduced into Parliament) by which the occurrence of unemployment might have been to a large extent prevented and provision made for ameliorative measures when unemployment came; and this Conference, realising that there must now be for a long time hundreds of thousands of men, women and young persons whom normal trade will not absorb, calls on the Government:—

(a) To put in hand (by means of grants and loans) much more extensive works and services of public utility, such as housing; the erection and equipment of the urgently required school and college buildings; the rapid extension of postal, telegraph and telephone works of development; afforestation; coastal defence against erosion; land reclamation; the replenishing of the public libraries now starved by years of restriction; the re-establishment and development of the canal system; a general improvement of roads, and other operations of definite public utility, with the object of actually enlarging the area of employment at full standard wages up to the point of absorbing every willing worker.

(b) To reform the administration of Unemployment Insurance, so as to make the Local Committees genuinely representative of the Trade Unions as well as of the employers of labour, and to prevent the present arbitrary refusal of Benefit to single men and others; and so to extend its scope as to cover agriculture and all other occupations in which this is desired by the workers concerned, and so as to ensure the continuance of Benefit as long as the Labour Exchange can find no vacant situations at not less than Trade Union rates of wages.

(c) To provide training, with adequate maintenance, for unemployed women and juveniles in all districts where this is desired, and in particular, in view of the

large numbers of unemployed women who are unable to accept resident domestic service and hope to be re-absorbed in their own trades, to make immediate and substantial grants towards the Home-Makers Centres of the Central Committee on Women's Training and Employment.

Mr. Clynes said there would be no question as to the importance of the resolution, and delegates would understand his difficulty in finding anything new to say upon it. He would not attempt to touch on every point, but he would like, especially, that the women delegates who were present should note the last part which dealt with their position. There were still an enormous number of unemployed in the country, whose condition presented one of the greatest examples of suffering ever endured by the submissive poor. It was suffering which they did not deserve, and it was suffering which a large part of the community had ignored. He was afraid also it was suffering which a large number of men who had always been in work themselves had not sufficiently recognised. They should recognise it, because the presence of such a large number of unemployed was, in the employers' hands, the strongest weapon to worsen the position of the men who were in work, and therefore the ranks of organised Labour should make this even more their subject than so far they had done. The resolution asserted that the present foreign policy was the largest and the main cause of this great army of workless men and women in the land. Time had proved that statement. At every turn they had seen how impossible it was for Europe to reach a composed state, and for trade and economic relations to be resumed upon normal and prosperous lines because of the failure, in 1919, of those who had to settle the terms of the Peace Treaty to recognise the supreme industrial and economic needs of Europe. Until Labour policy determined foreign policy, and until foreign policy was brought into harmony with the Labour gospel, industrial prosperity would not appear. International harmony must precede the return to such conditions of work as they desired to see in industrial Britain. Since 1920 four Cabinet Committees had been formed to do something within our own shores, pending a fundamental settlement of foreign affairs. The Labour Party believed that, until men were normally absorbed through the ordinary trade and industrial processes of economic revival, measures should be framed and applied which would find suitable and profitable work, if not for all, certainly for the greater part of those who were condemned month by month, and even year by year, to this unhappy state. These Cabinet Committees had made fruitless excursions into the question, but had made no adequate reports, their very existence being used by Governments as a defence and as an excuse for soothing the people and satisfying Parliament. It might be, and indeed it was true that, largely owing to the desperate state of the Local Authorities, and in response to pressure from the Labour Movement, and, if he might say so, due also to the ceaseless work of the Parliamentary Party in the House of Commons, work had been found for a number of men—say altogether about 150,000. It was not constant work but intermittent forms of employment. He would not try to prove there, as the Party had tried to prove in the House of Commons, that if the country could profitably and usefully, both to the country and the men, find work for 150,000 by proper organisation and direction, work could profitably be found for half a million or three-quarters of a million, and that their very employment would in itself go far to offer a complete solution of the problem. Recently in the House of Commons the Minister for Labour made a boast of the enormous amount of support given by the State to the unemployed during the two years of trade depression, and he mentioned, what was true, that in that time State grants had actually amounted to the total sum of £33,000,000. He (Mr. Clynes) had worked that out in terms of relation to the amount taken mainly from the working class by the tax on beer alone, and the result was that in the two years the State had paid to the unemployed worker by way of relief only one halfpenny out of every fourpence taken from the pockets of the workers in the same period by the beer tax alone. It proved really that, so far as the State had done anything, it had certainly done nothing to boast of, and in this case as in others it was largely a case of the worker bearing the burden. Another point in the resolution had reference to the considerable number of those who had a right to State support, but who had been deprived of it. Their claim was that in the absence of work there should be reasonable maintenance and adequate provision for keeping the workers in an efficient and healthy condition. Having fallen so far short of such level, the Government, by its rules and regulations, especially in recent months, had gone the length of depriving completely many thousands of those who were on the fund of the opportunity of drawing anything further. This he denounced as inhuman and callous, for if the State neglected its duty in making the proper use of the unemployed, it should not go to the merciless length of forcing them into a state of complete starvation by withholding all help whatever. Some seventeen years ago the little Labour group in the House of Commons began the task of attacking Parliament on the problem of the Right to Work, and delegates would recall the first Bill introduced by Keir Hardie, their leader at the time. Since then, year by year, they had followed in his footsteps, gaining, he hoped by experience, and learning more by time, and therefore they had produced a Bill of some twenty odd clauses, changed in nothing but name, which now they called "The Prevention of Unemployment Bill." When seventeen years ago their first measure was introduced they could not get twenty-four votes for it, but when only a few weeks

ago that same Bill was pressed before Parliament and the whips were not on—when they had the matter before a free House of Commons—that Bill was only defeated by twenty-four votes. They were, therefore, making some headway, and he would say, on behalf of their cause, that the establishment by law of such provisions as they had submitted would secure the Right to Work, and would effect a far greater and more beneficent revolution in this country than most working people were aware of.

Mr. LAURENCE ANDERSON (Glasgow Trades and Labour Council), in seconding the resolution, said the only remark he wished to make was that they were appealing for a central fund. He knew from his experience on the Parish Council the difficulties of the unemployed man in Scotland. What with the Parish Councils and the delay that occurred there, and then the Employment Exchanges, the man could get nothing. Their intention was that it should come under one body, but he was not going to raise the question as to which body that should be.

Mr. J. E. SWAN (Miners' Federation), in supporting the resolution, said that they had had too many generalities in connection with this matter, and generalities affected neither the Government nor the unemployed. Mr. Clynes had said that the bulk of unemployment in this country arose out of the mistaken foreign policy. He agreed that that was an important contributory factor, but he maintained, in spite of mistaken foreign policy, the undeveloped resources of this country could provide work for the bulk of the unemployed. There had been four Cabinet Committees set up to consider ways and means whereby the unemployed might be absorbed, and there was abundant information to show that the problem was largely due to the undeveloped resources of the country, which provided the means whereby every man and woman in the country could be usefully employed. He submitted that in view of the Party being on the threshold of power, there would be greater responsibility thrown upon them, and they would not be able to deal with these matters simply by indulging in generalities. He thought they had abundance of natural ability amongst their Parliamentary Candidates, and Members of Parliament, in co-operation with their supporters in the constituencies to provide the details of many undeveloped resources which were lying idle, and which, instead of being a charge upon the taxpayer, might reduce the rates and taxes. Instead of having a Minister of Labour going about and saying that the only thing was emigration, they would be able to show a better way. The country had spent an enormous amount of money on emigration to various parts of the Empire, in order to find outlets for unemployed men, and they were sending out of the country men of power and ability who could be profitably used at home. As an instance he referred to the recent Soudan loan, which had been provided to harness the two Niles, while we had waterways at home tha could be harnessed, and hills that could b made to yield mineral wealth. They shoul get their Candidates and Members of Pa liament to make a study of their own co stituencies, and send their schemes into th Labour Party.

Upon the resolution being submitted t the Conference, it was carried without di sent.

UNIVERSAL DISARMAMENT.

Councillor W. H. AYLES (I.L.P.) move the following resolution :—

This Conference directs attention to th resolution adopted at last year's Annua Conference in favour of total Disarmament and asks the Parliamentary Labour Part to table a motion calling upon the Britis Government to summon an International Conference, and to take the initiativ thereat in making a definite proposal to th other nations for immediate Universal Dis armament by mutual agreement.

He said that the resolution on Foreig Affairs, passed at the Conference last yea demanded that the Government should tak the initiative in placing before the nations proposal for immediate Universal Disarma ment. The resolution they were now sub mitting carried them one step farther. I asked the Parliamentary Party to take th issue on to the floor of the House of Com mons, and to ask the Government to call a International Conference in order to mak the question of immediate Universal Dis armament a live one. The resolution woul be a challenge and an alternative to th policy of the Government. The policy of th Government, as expounded by Mr. Baldwin was one of accelerated armaments, in orde that we might be equal to any other natio that might be opposed to us in war-time. H thought that probably some of Mr. Baldwin' followers would be even dissatisfied with that and would say that our armaments should no only be equal to those of any other natio that might be brought against us in war time, but equal to any combination of nation that we might have to face. He maintaine that if they accepted the premises of Mr Baldwin and the Conservative Party, the were bound to have a good deal of sympath with the point of view. If it were agree that war was the effective, final resort upo which the safety and security of the natio depended, then they had no right to sugges bartering away that safety and security b limiting armaments upon which it might b necessary to depend in the nation's crisis. I they believed in war as a final arbitramen they should advocate having the finest Army the finest Navy, the finest Air Force, th most magnificently-equipped and the mos skilfully-handled of any nation of the world o of any combination of nations. But they knew exactly where that policy led to. They knew where it led to in the late war. It le to conscription, to a two years' service, an would go on to a two and a half years' ser

vice, a three years' service and a three and a half years' service. It led to acceleration of armaments, until the country could no longer bear the expenditure, and then would come the catastrophe; and in five years after that they would start the same ghastly business all over again. War had taught them that that was not the way to bring universal peace, that was not the way whereby they were going to make humanity one great human family. That was the wrong way, and if they went on with it they must give up any claim to being able to learn anything from history. The only other alternative than that put forward in the resolution was that of Mr. Asquith and Lord Grey. It was the same to-day as it was before the war. They were prepared to believe that the resort to arms was the effective, final thing by which the security of the country was to be attained, but they said, "We must not spend too much. We must keep down the expenditure. We must only have as small a Navy, as small an Army, as small an Air Force, as we can possibly do with." After Mr. E. D. Morel's deadly exposure of Liberal policy before the war—an exposure which had placed the whole of humanity in his debt—after that exposure he was quite sure there was no one on the floor of the Conference or in the Parliamentary Party who was prepared to accept that as an alternative to the resolution now before them. The resolution, therefore, asked whether the time had not yet come when they should ask Mr. MacDonald, as the Leader of His Majesty's Opposition, to go to the House of Commons and to offer a direct challenge and alternative to the Government policy. He believed that if Mr. MacDonald did that he would make as great a bid for the moral leadership of the world as had been made by anyone at any time in history.

Councillor P. F. POLLARD (I.L.P.) formally seconded the motion, and on it being put to the Conference it was carried unanimously.

FINANCE OF LOCAL LABOUR PARTIES.

Mr. MARK CROSSLEY (Sowerby Labour Party) moved the following composite resolution:—

That the Executive Committee be requested to appoint a Special Committee to inquire into:

(a) The possibility of establishing a National Parliamentary Fund to assist in financing Parliamentary Candidates.

(b) The provision of more generous contributions to the political funds made by affiliated Trade Unions.

(c) The methods of financing Local Labour Parties, Candidates and Constituencies, with a view to strengthening the financial position, and giving more power and autonomy and a wider choice of Candidates.

He said that Mr. MacDonald had told them that the present income of the Party was sufficient to give them 150 Members of Parliament, but not sufficient to create a majority in the House of Commons, and it was in recognition of that fact that this resolution had been put forward. Those who were connected with Local Labour Parties recognised that, while they spoke of "the Labour Party" as a Labour Party, it would be more true to say that the Labour Party was not a Labour Party, but a collection of Trade Unions who were in it to serve their own particular ends. From the platform they had been told of the difficulty of maintaining the Parliamentary machinery in the constituencies, and they had been requested to go back to their constituencies and ask the individuals in those constituencies to put their hands into their pockets and add to the money they already paid in the shape of levy, and create a new method of raising finance out of their own pockets. What was the position? In some constituencies at the present time, where they were not fortunate enough to have the backing of a Trade Union, it meant that, in addition to putting up the money, they had also to carry the burden of providing money for Parliamentary contingencies, and they had also to call upon their own local people to provide the money for County Council elections, Urban Council elections, Board of Guardians elections, and so on. They therefore held the view that the time had arrived when the Executive should appoint a Committee to consider the present method of dealing with the allocation of money raised. If they could get to know the total amount of money available from Trade Union sources for the political funds of the country, and secondly, what proportion of the money raised for political purposes actually found its way back into the constituencies, irrespective of the kind of candidate they had in those constituencies, they would be going a long way. He understood that the method of the N.U. Railwaymen for dealing with their political fund was that one-third of the amount paid by their members went back to the local branches for local purposes. He assumed the remaining two-thirds was allowed to accumulate in the hands of the Executive, a portion of which was used to pay affiliation fees to the National Labour Party, and the remainder was used to finance candidates who were selected to contest constituencies and who belonged to the N.U.R. What they were concerned about, and what they wanted the Conference to recognise was, that the most immoral thing in the Labour Movement to-day was that money was poured into constituencies, not because of the need of the particular constituencies, but because of the persons who happened to be contesting them. Delegates should give their support to this resolution in order that the Labour Party itself might be able to get to know for once how the money was administered. He wished to say that none of those who were behind this resolution had any opposition to offer to the Trade Unions. They recognised that in the early days of the Labour Movement

the present methods of financing it were the only methods, but they suggested that there had been a change, and unless the Labour Party could arrive at some means of making the constituency the unit of the Labour Party they were not going to make the progress they otherwise would.

Mrs. F. E. Boyd Dawson (South Buckingham Divisional Labour Party), in seconding the motion, said that the workers in semi-rural constituencies were putting up a very hard fight. She had had the honour to be connected with the Movement in Lancashire in its early days, twenty years ago, and she was now renewing the struggle in the south. She knew she was expressing what was in the minds of many present when she said that what they had to put up with was the apathy of the people. They would win in time, but they had to remember that time was the one thing they could not afford to squander in the Labour Movement, and it was the best policy for the Party to give them its support in putting forward the best possible candidates for the rural constituencies. It was difficult to get the people to attend ordinary meetings, but they had found during the last General Election that the election meetings provided the best possible propaganda they could have. They did more effective work in that fortnight than they had done in the previous three or four years. The way in which the Party could render best help was by giving financial assistance in order that they might be able to choose the kind of candidates who would make the best appeal in their respective districts. If that were done after the next Election, she believed they would have so many members that they would be able to finance themselves, which, after all, was the healthiest and best position to be in.

Mr. W. T. Harris (Ipswich Trades Council and Labour Party) said that after what had taken place at the Conference on the previous day, he thought they had come to recognise that stable finance was the bed-rock of organisation; and in asking the Executive to inquire into the finance of the Local Labour Parties, they were going in the direction by which that might be secured. As the Chairman had said, the Party was on the threshold of power, but he wanted to add that they were at the point where they must either go forward to victory or retreat to disaster. Therefore, as all movements that were to last could only endure on stable finance, the more inquiry they could make into the stability of the Movement from the financial point of view, the better it would be for them all.

Mr. T. Garnett (Bootle Labour Party) called the attention of the delegates to the emphasis which had been laid the day before upon the potential possibilities and the potential value of the work of the Local Labour Parties. He remembered at Brighton two years ago, discussing this question with a prominent Trade Union leader, who remarked that the work of the Local Labour Parties was nothing, and that the real work was done by the Trade Unions. The big Unions might have ample funds, but in the absence of the definite work done by the Local Labour Parties, the money expended, in nine cases out of ten where there was no live organisation, might as well be poured down the gutter.

Mr. Herbert Morrison, replying on behalf of the Executive Committee, said that the first point dealt with in the resolution had already been covered by the decision of the Conference to open a National Fund. With regard to the other points, they had been considered by Conference, and by the National Executive from time to time, but the Executive was willing to institute an inquiry, and to report in due course. It was obvious the Executive could not commit itself to any particular policy at that juncture. The Executive suggested that the following resolutions and amendment should also be referred to them, so that the whole matter could come within the scope of the inquiry:—

That the Trade Unions affiliated to the Labour Party must affiliate their members to the respective Local Labour Parties for the constituencies in which their members reside, the affiliation fees due to the Local Labour Parties to be paid direct to the Local Labour Parties from the Central Offices of the Trade Unions.

In the London County area such affiliation fees shall be paid direct to the London Labour Party for allocation to the respective Local Labour Parties.

The Local Labour Parties in some districts were securing a very considerable income from individual membership of the Party, and he wanted to impress upon Local Labour Parties the desirability of extending their individual membership, especially among their women. It was true that, under the rule, the minimum subscription was only 1s. for men and 6d. for women, but he knew constituencies which were getting in some cases 1s. per week, and in others 1s. per quarter. In South Poplar they had now a very large individual membership—something over 2,000. Where a constituency could poll its 6,000, 8,000, or 10,000 votes, it ought to be possible, with organisation, canvassing and effort, to secure one-third of those voters as individual members of the Party. It meant not only income, but a record of people who were definitely attached to the Party, and who could be called upon at election time to assist the Party and exhibit literature. The Executive Committee was quite willing to conduct the inquiry, and all the points raised would be taken into fair and careful consideration.

The resolution and addenda were adopted.

CONFERENCE DELEGATION FEE.

Mr. Arthur Henderson, M.P., moved the following alteration to Clause 8, Paragraph 4, of the Constitution:—

That the delegation fee to the Party Conference or any Special Conference be 10*s. instead of* 5*s.*

He said he was quite sure the fact that the Executive had taken the responsibility of asking for this increase of the delegates' fees to the Annual Conference would occasion no surprise when they bore in mind the dimensions of the Conference in these days, the expense involved in hall rent and the printing of the voluminous Report, which must necessarily get larger owing, not only to the work accomplished at Eccleston Square, but also the work at the House of Commons. The Conference involved a great amount of money, and the Executive felt it was not going anything outrageous or extravagant in asking that instead of 5s. they should now have a delegation fee of 10s.

The resolution was agreed to without discussion.

NATIONAL UNEMPLOYED WORKERS' COMMITTEE.

Mr. Harry Black (Stepney L.P. and T.C.) moved the following resolution :—

"In view of the fact that the National Unemployed Workers' Committee Movement attempts to express the too long neglected interests of unemployed workers with a vigour not generally manifested by workers in employment, and in view of the fact that all workers under the present conditions are potential members of the Unemployed Movement, that body be given direct representation and affiliation in the Labour Party, provided they accept the Programme and Constitution of the Party."

The Unemployed Workers' Committee Movement, as a whole, had certainly grown to large dimensions during the last two or three years. The Unemployed Workers, expressed as an organised entity, had given the Labour Party a great amount of help during the election, and during the past year or so. The position in a great number of Local Labour Parties was that they were willing to have the Unemployed organisation directly represented on their different committees, but they were faced with the difficulty that, under the existing circumstances, they were not allowed to accept them into affiliation. The object of the resolution was to enable the Local Labour Parties to put themselves in order in accepting the Unemployed Workers' Committee as a part of the Labour Movement. It had often been argued that the Unemployed Workers' Committee Movement had no right to organise as a separate body; that they should have their representation through the various Trade Unions to which they belonged. He wished to ask, however, how many Unions allowed their members to continue as members if they had not paid their contributions? (A voice : All.") He could name one organisation, at any rate, which catered for the largest number of workers in his district—the Transport Workers—which, when their members were out of employment and could not pay their contributions, were struck off the books. That was an absolute fact in the case of the Transport Workers, and it certainly applied to several other Trade Unions. They, therefore, had the position that a number of workers who, in spite of the fact that they were out of work, still wished to maintain their contact with the great Labour Movement that that Conference represented, and, having organised themselves into a body which they called "The National Unemployed Workers' Committee Movement," they desired to obtain expression of their point of view of the various Local Labour Parties in this country, and were not able to do so. The resolution asked that that should be granted, and he trusted the Conference would agree to it.

The resolution was duly seconded.

Mr. Henderson, in opposing it on behalf of the Executive, said he had been surprised to find the poverty of argument with which this resolution had been commended. They had spoken about getting these people in as members of the Labour Party, but he ventured to say, if they could analyse the position, they would find that a very considerable number of them were already in the Labour Party, as members of their Trade Unions. Even if they were non-Unionists, they were not denied the opportunity of being members of the Labour Party and being represented at the Conference. They could join their Local Labour Parties in nearly every constituency in the country—certainly in the whole of the urban districts of the country. One of the dangers they had to guard against was the over-counting of heads by duplication. To some extent it was impossible to avoid this, but they ought not to increase it where they could help it. For these reasons he hoped the Conference would turn the resolution down.

The resolution was lost.

MILITARY AND NAVAL ESTIMATES.

Mr. J. H. Hudson (I.L.P.) moved the following resolution :—

"This Conference is of opinion that it should be the policy of the Labour Party in Parliament to vote against all Military and Naval Estimates."

He hoped the Conference was beginning to realise that if they committed themselves to the sort of view they had taken that morning, when their protest against the increase in the Air Force was carried, and furthermore if they continued to insist on their Party becoming the pioneer in a policy of total disarmament, there was only one logical conclusion—viz., they must be prepared to refuse to continue to support capitalist governments in their policy of providing the country with an Army, a Navy, and an Air Force. What, he asked, were the facts they were confronted with? At the present moment the Government had admitted, by its proposal for an increase in the Air Force, that the old-fashioned arms of defence were no longer able to carry out the processes of

defence. The Army and the Navy were insufficient. What, then, was to become of us from the point of view of defence, failing development to the fullest degree of the new arm? He supposed most members of the Conference would realise that at the present stage of their development it was possible to have machines of war carrying 100 people and great stores of explosives careering through the air in the night-time at hundreds of miles an hour, carrying with them destruction everywhere. The building of aeroplanes on our side could be no defence of our women and children, of our homes, of our towns, of our national life; the only use to which aeroplanes could now be put was to do to the other fellow what he tried to do to us. That was no satisfaction, and it certainly was no defence. They had got to realise to-day that the science of warfare had reached the point where the use of any type of armament could not avail for defensive purposes. They could only be used by those who were concerned in the militarist job of preparing for war, and as long as they continued to vote for armed forces in any form at all, they were going to make it easy in the long run for their masters once more to plunge them into a similar catastrophe to that of 1914. The women, and even the youths who were now coming into the Labour Movement, were largely actuated by their detestation of war and by their feeling that the Labour Party, at any rate, was moved by a great moral protest against the deplorable destruction which war meant. He submitted they could not do their duty by the people who were now joining the Party by any longer taking part in voting for those who provided the country with armaments, and he hoped that the members of the Labour Party were at last making up their mind that they would give the militarists no support in this wrong-doing. He hoped the Party would do in our Parliament what some of the Socialists used to do in the Reichstag—refuse to give any support whatever to those who prepared for war.

Mr. John Scurr (I.L.P.) seconded the motion, and reminded the Conference that they had passed a resolution protesting against the new Air Force, a resolution against armaments, and a resolution in which they called upon the Labour Party in Parliament to take action to get the Government to call an International Conference. If the Conference really meant those things, then they had to take care that there was a Party in Parliament which was an expression of the Conference and which would show that it was really in earnest in regard to disarmament. They had to take care that the Party which put forward the idea of an International Conference was able to go there with clean hands; that it said they were prepared—in spite of everything that could be said against them, in spite of misrepresentations—they were prepared to make this great moral stand and were going to do all they could to stop the preparation for war, because that, and that alone, was the only way to show the were in earnest.

The Chairman reminded the Conferen that they had just had a resolution, move by the Independent Labour Party itself, favour of total disarmament, asking the Pa liamentary Labour Party to table a resol tion calling an International Conference, an taking the initiative in a proposal to disar by mutual agreement. They had also passe several other resolutions to the same effec Then the Independent Labour Party brough forward another resolution saying that th Labour Party in Parliament were to vo against all Military and Naval expenditur What were they to do if both these resol tions were passed? They had already passe one, and, consequently, if the resolution no before the Conference was passed, they woul have two contradictory resolutions. (Crie of "No!") That was his opinion, and h suggested the Conference must conside whether it was in favour of Universal Dis armament by universal consent or whether i was going by a formal vote to tell the Labou Party to do something else. That was put ting the Parliamentary Labour Party in a impossible position, and the Party must b allowed to exercise its own discretion.

Mr. J. T. Brownlie (A.E.U.) moved "th previous question," which was duly seconded but on being put to the Conference the motio was lost.

Mr. Jack Jones, M.P. (N.U. Genera Workers), then continued the discussion. A a member of an organisation that believed i peace, he was opposed to war, and more op posed to the next possible war than he wa to the last one. Murder of human being ought to be stopped. Because they believe that—because they were agreed that war ought to be stopped—they were now asked to say that England should disarm. He was willing to disarm the following morning i the other nations would agree also to dis arm. He was willing to say on behalf of the Parliamentary Labour Party that they would not have anything to do with war. But were the other people prepared to do so? The Com munists advocated a Red Army to fight against the capitalists who were organising nationally and internationally. The Labour Party were advocating that the whole world should come into a Conference, and that was really the first step. Let the British Government take the initiative and call all the Governments of the world into conference; but to talk about scrapping the whole of the Navy and the Army while other countries were armed was sheer nonsense. What they wanted were facts and realities, not mere sentimentalism. The fact was they could not get all the people to go all the way at the same time. Therefore he asked the Conference to abide by the resolution which had already passed, that the British Government should take the initiative and bring the countries of the world together. As a Labour Party they should get together as Internationalists for the purpose of bring-

ıg about an understanding between the eoples of the world to prevent war in the ature. The resolution now before the Con- erence seemed to be an impossible one.

Councillor W. A. Winchester (East ristol Labour Party) maintained that the esolution now before the Conference was ıe logical result of the decisions they had reviously arrived at. If they were going) oppose war when war came, then logically ıey must oppose all preparation for war. here was no conflict whatever between the revious decision of the Conference and the esolution now before them. In the first ıey called upon the countries of the world) disarm, and in the second they merely ıid, "Let us set the example." It was seless to wait until war came; they should op every preparation for war. He main- ıined that the Army, the Navy and the Air orce would be used primarily to keep down he working classes, and therefore, as a orking class party, they should do every- ıing they could to disarm the capitalist ass, in order not only to stop making wars ı other countries, but also to stop making ar upon the workers of the British Empire.

Mr. G. Buchanan, M.P. (Patternmakers), ıpported the resolution. He was sorry he ad a difference of opinion on this matter ith Mr. Jack Jones, because he wished to y quite frankly that it would be a good ing if every member of the Labour Party ould fight as strenuously on behalf of the orking class as Mr. Jack Jones did in the ouse of Commons. Like the Chairman and me other speakers, he also wished to be gical. They had passed a resolution that orning protesting against the increase in ıe Air Force, and if they were going to be rictly logical they would have to pass this solution. If, on the other hand, they were ot in favour of the resolution, then they ould have to go down to the House of ommons and vote in favour of having an ir Force as well equipped as that of other ıtions. Another thing they had to re- ember was that an efficient defence did ot save the country from the last war. He arned the Conference that unless they were epared to go to the House of Commons ıd say not only that increasing the armed rces of the country was wrong, but possess- ng armed forces at all was wrong, they ere putting themselves in an illogical posi- on, and showing that they were not true their principles. For his part he would ote in the House of Commons, irrespective any decision that this Conference might me to, against all preparation for war, ecause it was not only a waste of national sources but no defence of the people. He oped the Conference would take a bold, urageous stand, and say that the Labour arty would oppose all the votes of money r the Army, the Navy, or the Air Force. the world was to have peace they had to epare the minds of the people for peace, ıd they could only do that when they set em an example, and said in season and out of season that war was bad, and that they would not support it in any way.

Mr. J. T. Brownlie (A.E.U.) said that they had been proclaiming from the house- tops that the Party was on the threshold of power, and they hoped that a Labour Government would be His Majesty's Govern- ment in the next few years. He therefore wanted them to view the resolution in the light of practical politics. The voters who returned the Labour Members of Parliament to the House of Commons at the last elec- tion were not all Socialists, and they were not educated up to the abolition of arma- ments. If, therefore, they passed the reso- lution that day, it might embarrass the acti- vities of the Party not only in the House of Commons, but also in the constituencies. If the Party voted against all armament propositions in the House of Commons, they would be asked when they went to the coun- try and asked to be returned to power, would they refuse to bring in estimates for the maintenance of an adequate military force. What would their answer be? (A Voice: "You are an engineer.") It was be- cause he was an engineer that he was con- cerned in this problem. Mr. Jack Jones was quite right when he said that Britain could not dominate the world with regard to this question. He (Mr. Brownlie) was doing his ut- most in International Congresses connected with the Metal Workers to make another war impossible, and he hoped, notwithstand- ing the fact that the engineers were engaged in manufacturing implements of war to-day —and there were 10,000 engineers out of em- ployment who would welcome a pronounce- ment that great battleships and armaments would start to be built next week, so that they could get employment—yet he hoped they would be in a position to tell the Gov- ernment, not only of this country, but the Governments of Europe, that whilst they were making these things they were going to take steps to see that they could not be used. (Laughter.) He hoped, in the interests of the future of the Party, the Conference would reject the resolution. The Chairman had reminded them that by the resolution they had carried that morning—and it was a statesmanlike resolution—they had declared that the Labour Party should press upon the Government to have a Conference of all Governments to consider this vital question. It was all very well to talk about the Labour Party going into that Conference with clean hands, but as practical men they had to recognise the facts and not do any- thing which would militate against their can- didates at the next General Election.

Major C. R. Attlee, M.P., said he supported this resolution because it was only carrying out in a practical way the sen- timents that had already been put forward so eloquently in the Conference. He did not in- tend to repeat any of the appeals to their moral sentiments, because he thought all were convinced on that line, but he wanted to deal with the question as to whether this motion was a practical one or not. Mr. Brownlie

had put forward the very serious unemployment that at present existed amongst the engineers, and his practical idea was that the country should continue to build battleships for all and sundry, and not use them. He hoped the Labour Party had got far beyond the idea of employing people to dig holes in order to fill them up again. He knew there were in the ranks of the engineers plenty of men who could tell them how they could put the engineers to practical and useful work. It had been suggested that they would be tying up the Labour Party in the House of Commons if they gave them orders to vote steadily against all military expenditure. That might have been true ten years ago, when the only alternative to turning out a Liberal Government was to put in a Conservative Government, but to-day they had a Party which was prepared to put into operation a different policy. If they went to the whole world and said they were against armaments, and at the same time they continued to vote for armaments, they would only be piling up the great heap of British hypocrisy. It had been said they would be in an awkward position when they came into power, but this would not be so if the abandonment of armaments was part of the general policy. At any rate, he maintained that so long as they had capitalist governments they could not trust them with armaments, even though they might say that those armaments were not intended to be used. But when Labour came into power, their first duty would be to call this World Conference for Peace. Their first duty would not be that of reducing the Army in order to increase the Navy, or reducing the Navy in order to increase the Air Force, or reducing the Air Force in order to increase the gas bombs. Their policy would be a universal reduction of armaments. He knew that in the meantime they would require to have some small armaments. (Cries of "Oh!") He knew something about armies, and he knew that they could not demobilise all arms in one week. But there was all the difference in the world between making a temporary arrangement with regard to armaments, until they could do away with armaments, and in voting for armaments for Governments that were carrying out a policy to which the Party was opposed. He maintained that the proposal put forward in this resolution was a practical proposal, and he hoped there would be an overwhelming vote in favour of it.

Mr. HENDERSON said it was not often in the Conference discussion on an important resolution that a delegate, who ought to have moved it, but who, in this case, had spoken last, delivered himself over to the Philistines so completely as their friend Major Attlee had done in his speech. If this resolution was more than a gesture—and he was not sure, after that speech, that it was—it was absolutely absurd and futile. He could have understood a resolution which requested the Parliamentary Party to vote against any increase in the expenditure on armaments, either for the Army, the Na or the Air Service; he could have und stood a resolution that the Parliament Party be requested not to vote Supplies the event of war being declared by any ca talist government in this country. The thi that had amazed him, in listening to the d cussion, was that not a single word had be said about the extreme importance of defer during present conditions. Important re lutions had been carried—and very righ so—pointing out the importance of having Conference; but until that Conference h been held, until a different Internatio policy between governments, whatever th names might be, had been agreed upon, t country, and even this Conference, that presented such a large number of the work in the country, could not, and, in his opini dare not, ignore the question of defence. H much had been said in this Conference, h much had been said on thousands of pl forms since the General Election, and sin Mr. MacDonald became the Leader of H Majesty's Opposition—a phrase that seem to roll off all their tongues with very gre glee and freedom—how much had been sa about what was going to happen in the ne year or two? Was there a delegate in t Conference who was not prepared to wo might and main in order that the next Ele tion should return a Labour Governmen Two years was not very long, and possib by that time the 146, or it might be the 15 or the 166 members would have to go a seek re-election. Possibly, as he had sa the day before, they might be putting candidate in every constituency. At th election they would have to declare the policy with regard to this great question internationalism with regard to armament and with regard to defence. Were th aware that if they carried this resoluti there would be some who would expect the to go to the country carrying this resoluti out logically? He would like his frie Major Atlee to say what it meant to car it out logically. It meant that they wou go to the country and tell the people that they were returned to power they would ha no Navy. Was that the intention? Th had to get down to bedrock. If they pass this resolution to-day, in all the manifesto issued from Eccleston Square had they tell what was really the logical outcome the decision? That they would never vo for anything, no matter how essential might be, for the purposes of defence. Th had heard a great deal about the attitude France. Was there a member in that audien who did not disagree with France? N one. Every Member of the Parliamenta Party disagreed with France, but if Fran continued in the frame of mind she was no in, had they to overlook the possibilities defence? They could not afford to igno this question of defence. By all means l them have their two-fold policy; first of a fight for the International Conference, ke the International up to doing everything th

ssibly could to change the policy of overnments with regard to this great ques-n; but so long as we remained an island untry, so long as we needed, as we inevit-ly did, our Navy to carry on our defensive rk, until the quality of governments could changed, it would be a great mistake for e Labour Party politically and in every her way, to tie the hands of their Parlia-entary Party so that under no circum-ances would they be able to vote for the timates. They would have to tell the rld that every candidate henceforth must ke up that position, and that if Labour is returned to power in two years, the first ing they would have to do would be to rap all the Army, all the Navy, and all the r Force, regardless of the position the tion might be in, and regardless of the enacing attitude that other nations might taking up. That, in his judgment, was t practical politics, and he hoped the nference would leave the Parliamentary rty to do what it conceived to be right, ving regard to the other resolutions, as e questions came before the House.

A resolution "That the question be now t" was moved and seconded in different rts of the Hall.

"The previous question" was also moved d seconded.

The CHAIRMAN said it was advisable they ould settle this matter by a vote on the int raised.

"The previous question" was then put the Conference and lost, and a card vote as taken on the resolution, the result being terwards declared as follows :—

For the resolution	808,000
Against the resolution.....	2,924,000
Majority against	2,116,000

THE RAND MURDERS.

Mr. BRAM LONGSTAFFE (Barrow L.P. and C.) moved the following resolution :—

"This Conference condemns the Labour Party Executive and the Parliamentary Labour Party for their inaction in regard to the wholesale murder and persecutions arising out of the Rand Strike. Especially do we condemn them in view of their splendid advocacy of the cause of the Social Revolutionaries who were on trial for murder and for attempts at sabotage in the Workers' Republic of Russia.

"We demand that an inquiry be held into the causes which led up to the disturbances, and that a National Campaign be instituted which shall have for its object the release of the workers' representatives now in prison, and the indicting of those who were responsible for the precipitation of the upheaval in the interests of capitalism by their seeking to exploit the native labour of that country."

e complained that one had had to wait a riod of twelve months in order to make a otest on a situation which had arisen and which demanded immediate action. It was over twelve months since the miners of South Africa, in making a protest against using the subject races of that country in order to undermine the standard of comfort of the workers in that country, were set upon by the armed forces of the Crown. He regretted that the Conference Arrangements Committee, supported by the Executive, had refused to allow this matter to be discussed by the Edinburgh Conference, because a delegate was then present from the field of operations and was prepared to state the case for the strikers who were then in prison. At the present moment about 800 of their comrades were in jail, and his Party desired that the Parliamentary Party and the forces of Labour in this country should be concentrated upon a demand to secure their liberation. Further, they demanded that a Committee of Investigation should be appointed to go into this matter and to report to the National Joint Council with a view to some action being taken to bring to book the people who were behind this iniquity. He suggested that the Committee should visit the spot and interview the people who were suffering in that same cause in which they themselves were engaged.

Mr. T. H. ADAMS (Locomotive Engineers) seconded the motion. He said the Committee of Investigation would be able not only to investigate the whole circumstances, but would possibly be able to suggest means for avoiding a repetition of them.

Mr. T. J. BLACKETER (Bow and Bromley L.L.P.) moved the following amendment :—

> "This Conference demands that an inquiry be held into the causes which led up to the disturbances, and that a National Campaign be instituted which shall have for its object the release of the Workers' Representatives now in prison and the indicting of those who were responsible for the precipitation of the upheaval in the interests of capitalism by their seeking to exploit the native labour of that country."

He said that his Party was not in favour of censuring the Labour Party Executive or the Parliamentary Party, but desired that an inquiry should be held into the causes which had led to the disturbances.

Mr. W. J. CRUSE (A.E.U.) seconded the amendment. He said that the only difference he had with the Barrow resolution was that he did not think the Executive deserving of censure.

Mr. ROBERT WILLIAMS opposed the resolution on behalf of the Executive. He thought it would be better that the resolution should be withdrawn, because in asking the Conference to vote against the resolution it might be thought that they were, by implication, condoning the Rand murders. He was very glad that Bow and Bromley and Glasgow—two not very moderate centres—had entirely dissociated themselves from the first portion of the resolution. The resolution started with a note of condemnation, not on the brutality of the Rand murders, not on General Smuts, not on the capitalist system, but a condem-

nation of the Labour Party and the Labour Party Executive. He wanted them to realise that in South Africa they had got a strong, virile and growing Labour Party, and a strong, virile and growing Trade Union Movement, and they had received no communication from either of those bodies to the effect that the British Labour Party had been remiss in the way the resolution suggested. Mr. Longstaffe had said it was not possible to move between Conference and Conference, but as a matter of fact the matter was dealt with at the last Trades Union Congress, and a resolution was passed in condemnation of the Rand murders and those responsible for them. In the midst of the Rand crisis he and Tom Mann went down to the House of Commons and interviewed quite half a dozen Labour representatives—and when they condemn the Labour Party they must remember that the Labour Party to-day was entirely different from the Labour Party of that period; it had increased threefold and its influence in Parliament was correspondingly stronger. When Tom Mann and he spoke to the Labour Members of Parliament they did not see in what way they could usefully raise the matter in the House of Commons at all. They had been in communication with the Labour Party in South Africa, but that Party had made no representations to the Labour Party here as to what action they should take. He wished to say, on behalf of the Executive, that they were quite willing, in co-operation with the General Council of the Trades Union Congress, to make proper representations to the leaders of the South African Labour Party and the Trade Union Movement, and knowing the facts as he did, knowing the response they met with when a dozen Trades Union leaders were deported from South Africa, he was convinced that if South Africa made the appeal, the Mother Country would respond as heroically as it did in 1913. It must be remembered that their Overseas brethren were not children in swaddling clothes, but were growing organisations, and he was looking forward, not only to the strengthening of their International Movement, but also to a Federation of the Anglo-Saxon fraternity which would be a complement to their International organisations as understood in the European centres. The Executive Committee were in full sympathy with the movers of the amendment in what they desired, but they would prefer that the whole matter should be withdrawn, which would give them a chance to inquire and to make representations in the proper quarters. They were willing to do that.

The previous question

was then moved and seconded, and carried by an overwhelming majority.

PARTY DISCIPLINE.

Mr. HARRY BLACK (Stepney T.C. and L.P.) moved the following resolution :—

"That the National Labour Party reserves the right to recall any Member of the Parliamentary Labour Party upon t constituency proving to the satisfaction the Executive Committee that he has act in Parliament or on the industrial field the detriment of the interests of Labou If the Member should refuse to resign h seat upon being called upon to do so, shall be expelled from the Party."

He said that their reason for moving th resolution was that at present there was provision in the Constitution of the Par for dealing with those who were going for Parliament, or in the industrial fiel who had acted to the detriment of the i terests of Labour.

The motion was formally seconded.

Mr. HENDERSON hoped the Conferen would not spend time on this resolutio They had had it up in previous years. Th had already established their right to ca upon Members who had violated the Co stitution to give an account of their actio They asked the organisation of the Mem ber concerned if they were prepared to s the position was put right, and if they d not get a satisfactory answer they expell the Member by withdrawing their whip For the time being the Executive did n want more power than they already had.

The previous question

was moved and seconded, and carried by large majority.

NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE.

Mr. A. E. NUNN (Willesden Centr L.P.) moved the following resolution :—

This Conference urges upon the Gover ment the desirability of abolishing th waiting period of three days during whic an Insured Person receives no bene under the National Health Insurance.

He said there was not much need to urg this point upon the Conference, because del gates were agreed that the clause referre to should never have been put into the Ac He understood the inclusion of the waitin period in the Act was in order to sto malingering, but he contended that wa altogether unnecessary, because the Goverr ment was already protected by the pan doctor.

The motion was formally seconded an carried.

EMPLOYMENT EXCHANGES.

Mr. D. CARMICHAEL (London Trade Council) moved the following resolution :—

This Conference recognises the necessit of properly equipped Employment Ex changes to meet the requirements o workers in all industries, and in orde that the present hostility to the Exchange shall be removed from the minds of th workers, it is proposed:

*(i.) That the Ministry of Labour sha appoint a Central Advisory Committe with an adequate number of Labou representatives appointed by the Trade Union Congress, to whom all instruc

tions to Exchange managers and Insurance officers shall be submitted before being issued.

(ii.) That Divisional Councils shall be set up with adequate Trade Union representation appointed by the Trades Councils in the division, to co-ordinate the work of local Exchange Committees.

(iii.) That extended powers be granted to local Exchange Committees to deal with the staffs and the accommodation required for the unemployed.

He said he was sorry they had not more time to discuss this important subject. Employment Exchanges at the present time were notorious for mismanagement and were a disgrace, and he and others had been working for years with a view to their improvement. If the Parliamentary Labour Party could force the Minister of Labour to adopt the suggestions indicated in the resolution they would undoubtedly improve matters for the unemployed. Many of the mistakes which had occurred would have been obviated if an Advisory Committee representing the General Council had been at Headquarters. Round about London there were 54 Employment Exchanges. They had a Divisional Council, and as a result of their efforts they were able to formulate proposals and work through that Council and get things done. In London the Divisional Council met monthly, and they believed that Divisional Councils, with Labour representatives chosen through the Trades Councils, operating in other areas, would improve the working of the Act. The staffs and the accommodation of the Exchanges were totally inadequate, while the present method of staffing, and the management of the staff led to grievous blunders. They desired the Labour Party in Parliament to press for the three points mentioned in the resolution, and thus make the Exchanges so useful that they would not have to protest against them so much.

Mr. E. MANNE (Stoke Newington L.P.) formally seconded the resolution, which was carried without further discussion, and the Conference then adjourned for the day.

FRIDAY, JUNE 29th.

Morning Session.

It was agreed, on the recommendation of the Conference Arrangements Committee, in view of the numerous resolutions that had to be dealt with, unless there was any opposition, there should be no speeches other than those of the movers and seconders.

Mr. HENDERSON announced that the retiring collection taken the previous evening in aid of the unemployed had amounted to £10 19s. 9d., and they had received a letter of thanks from the Committee for the assistance thus given.

HOUSING.

The following resolution was moved on behalf of the Social Democratic Federation, seconded by Mr. J. T. Brownlie (A.E.U.), and adopted without discussion :—

That this Conference has once more to emphasise the fact that the Capitalist System continues its breakdown, which has now lasted some fifteen years, in the matter of providing houses for the three-fourths of the community who constitute the wage-earning class; the Conference must, therefore, once more register its condemnation of Governments, whether Liberal, Coalition, or Unionist, which, in face of this fact, refuse to grapple effectively with a task which cannot remain unperformed without the gravest physical and moral disaster to the community as a whole; the Conference further reminds the Government that, until sufficient additional houses are ready for occupation, decontrol of rents and tenancies cannot take place without serious social disturbance, and will, therefore, be opposed most strenuously by the Labour Party; and the Conference accordingly calls for the immediate undertaking, to be made obligatory on every Local Authority, of a three-years' programme of house building, sufficient to provide a decent, sanitary and adequately commodious house for every family at a rent within the wage-earners' means, with a subsidy towards the capital outlay to be provided by National funds calculated to avoid any charge on the local rates.

The Conference also calls upon the Government to take adequate and prompt steps to prevent profiteering in housing materials.

EDUCATION.

Mr. MORGAN JONES, M.P., moved the following resolution on behalf of the Executive Committee :—

That this Conference condemns the Government for its disastrous policy of crippling our National Educational Service, and of forcing Local Education Authorities to pursue a similar course : It specially condemns—

(a) The discontinuance of the reduction of the size of classes, and, in many cases, the actual increase of the numbers under each teacher.

(b) The failure to overtake the arrears of school building.

(c) The arrest of the development of Special Schools.

(d) The severe limitation in the provision of meals for children found hungry at school or suffering from lack of food.

(e) The reductions in the number of free places at the Secondary Schools, and the allowing and even encouraging of an onerous increase in the fees.

(f) The continued suspension of the National Scholarships to the Universities.

(g) The continued and even increasing employment of untrained and unqualified teachers.

(h) The penalising of the entire teaching staff, first by the unwarranted deduction of 5 per cent. towards the cost of superannuation; and, secondly, by permitting Local Education Authorities to press for substantial reductions below the agreed Burnham scales.

(i) The failure to organise a national system for the training of teachers, thereby heavily penalising those Local Education Authorities whom it encouraged to establish Training Colleges.

(j) The serious restriction of the provision, and the practical stoppage of the increase, of Adult Education in all its varied forms.

(k) Generally the suspension of the greater part of the educational reforms enacted by Parliament in the Act of 1918.

This Conference calls for the energetic application of the Educational Policy repeatedly demanded by the Labour Party, securing for all young persons in the community, irrespective of the affluence of their parents, opportunities for the fullest education, both general and special, of which they are capable.

Mr. JONES said that although generally the resolution would commend itself to the Conference, it was undesirable that this opportunity should be allowed to pass without making it perfectly clear to the country and to the Government that the Labour Party throughout the country attached very great importance to the subject of education. Just at that particular moment the country was suffering from an epidemic of the disease called "economy." No one inside the Labour Movement, so far as he knew, had any objection to avoiding all forms of waste when it was waste, but they took very strong objection indeed to the suggestion that had been put forward, firstly by the Geddes Committee, and latterly by members of the Government, that the worst waste they could find was expenditure on education. On the contrary, he believed all the delegates would agree that expenditure upon educational advancement was not a waste but a real economy in the best sense of the term. If the "Geddes axe" had to be used at all, then they were going to demand that it should not be laid to the root of the tree of knowledge. On the previous day the Conference had discussed the proposal of the Government for new armaments, which was certainly not economy. This proposal was put forward as one of the chief items in the programme of the new democracy. After the great international crisis through which the country had passed in the last eight years, after the tremendous expenditure upon armaments, and war, they ought now to be able to call upon the Government with some confidence to put into operation some of the promises they had made in the way of social amelioration. This proposal indicated, not all that they desired, but what was regarded as immediately practicable by way of educational advancement. It should be perfectly cl that they strongly objected to the wic policy of the Board of Education in cutt down the facilities that were once granted the Education Authorities throughout country to feed necessitous school childr It was no answer to say—and they refu to accept it from the Board of Educatio that because the industrial crisis was exc tional, the Board might absolve itself fr its duty. The greater the crisis the grea the need, and since that was so, the Lab Party should insist that these children—w at any rate, were entirely innocent the causes of industrial depressio should not be punished for what regarded, even by their opponents, the sins of their fathers. The children least should be fed, whoever else had to the effect of the crisis. He spoke as an teacher, and he knew it was literally imp sible to teach children in school unless t were adequately fed. He also wished draw attention to the grotesque forms economy that were being put forward by Board of Education. There was the quest of overcrowded classes in Element Schools. Every one who had had a experience would agree that it was utte impossible for any teacher to teach childr when he had sixty-five or seventy of them a class. He had told the House of Comm so, and he repeated it. All the teacher co do in such circumstances was not to tea the children, but to lecture them, and turing children of tender years was a ve futile job. Then he wished to call attenti to the most unfortunate consequences t were overtaking the Secondary Schools as result of this futile policy of economy. Me bers of Educational Authorities as w as members of the teaching professi knew that there were scores, hundre thousands of children—he might almo say tens of thousands of children who came to the Elementary Schools, a had reached Standard V. or Standard VI. those schools, who were sufficiently endow by nature with intellectual gifts to enab them, if they had the chance of obtaining Secondary School education, to compete su cessfully with the best brains in the lan If confirmation were wanted of that stat ment he would refer them to the Report the Oxford and Cambridge Commission Enquiry. There they would find that som thing like 50 per cent. of the scholarships f Oxford and Cambridge were won by bo who had come from the Elementary Schoo thus proving that the children of the po could hold their own with the children the best classes in the land. Referring to t addendum put forward by the Independe Labour Party, he said he hoped the Confe ence would insist that Education should bereft of all forms of antiquated militari ideas. It was necessary to keep the ch dren's minds free from any suggestion militarist teaching, and they must train t children now, not for the arts of war, b for the arts of peace.

Mr. JOHN HILL (Boilermakers), in seconding the motion, said that the Government stood condemned by its own words and promises. They had had statements of a most definite character on this question from the members of both present and past Governments. The late Prime Minister said: "I conceive of nothing more serious than that the nation should come to the conclusion that it cannot afford to give education to its children." Mr. Fisher had more recently said that the acceptance of certain measures would mean that this country had definitely decided to take a forward step on the road of civilisation; but this they were not prepared to do. The Fisher Act was put on the Statute Book as the result of experience during the war to the effect that we were not only a "C 3" nation, but a mentally deficient nation. Not only had the Government broken away from the 1918 Act, it had also gone back on the 1870 Act. There were 12,000 children for whom there was no adequate accommodation in the Elementary Schools. Why was that? Were there no bricks, no plaster, no building materials in the country? Were there no bricklayers and other tradesmen to erect these schools? Why had not these schools been provided? Because they were the schools of the working classes. The people who were opposing them did not send their children to these schools. It was a deliberate effort to keep the children of the workers in ignorance, and if they were kept in ignorance the Labour and Socialist Party would never be able to realise its high ideals. A higher education was required for a higher civilisation, and a better government than the country had ever yet had. But these ends could not be accomplished until there was an intelligent and educated body of citizens in the country. Moreover, the schools to-day were not only understaffed, but they were being staffed by untrained people, and the Government said it was being done in the interests of economy. Was it economy to keep idle men and women whom the Government had paid to be trained, and to take on untrained people? This was the workers' question. It was the workers' children who were concerned, and he asked the Labour Party to take up this subject as one of the most important the Party could concentrate upon.

Mr. J. H. HUDSON (Independent Labour Party) moved the following addendum :—

The Conference finally calls on the teachers, in the interests of their calling, to stamp out of the school curriculum the false historical instruction and military training by which Capitalism, Militarism, and Imperialism seek to poison the mind and injure the body of childhood.

He said it would be noticed they were here making an appeal to the teachers to use their influence in stamping out militarist tendencies in education. The I.L.P. were interested in matters of education generally, and they maintained they ought to appeal to Parliament, the Board of Education, and the Local Authorities to see that education was got on to the right lines in the interests of peace, and that children should be made to understand the need of peace in the world. But no one could do this work more effectively than parents in the first place, and teachers in the second place. It was no use simply relying on the Education Authorities or the Board of Education to do this. He was quite sure—and he spoke like the mover of the original resolution, as an old teacher both in Elementary and Secondary Schools—he was quite sure that to-day many of the teachers needed no lead upon this matter, but were doing their duty manfully. But the Party should let the whole teaching profession know that they expected them and trusted them in this matter, so that the children might be brought up to abhor war and to make a stronger stand against it than the present generation had done.

Mr. I. M. Cox (Fulham Borough L.P.) formally seconded the addendum.

A DELEGATE asked whether the National Union of Teachers was affiliated to the Labour Party or the Trades Union Congress.

The CHAIRMAN replied that the National Union of Teachers was affiliated neither to the one body nor the other.

The addendum was then put and carried, and afterwards the resolution with the addendum was adopted.

THE TRADE BOARDS BILL.

Miss MADELEINE SYMONS moved the following resolution on behalf of the Executive Committee :—

This Conference records its strong desire for the continuance of the Trade Board system in appropriate trades and its emphatic disapproval of those provisions of the Trade Boards Bill now before Parliament, the effect of which will be :

(a) To make more difficult and to delay the establishment of further necessary Boards;

(b) Seriously to restrict the powers of the workers and employers in trades for which Boards are established to regulate wages in these trades in such manner as they think fit;

(c) In several respects, but particularly as regards District Committees and District Boards, to destroy the autonomy of the Boards and, by transferring powers now exercised by the Boards to the Minister of Labour, to substitute therefore bureaucratic control by the Minister;

(d) To relieve the Minister of Labour of his responsibility for the enforcement of any rates fixed except those for the lowest grades of workers, and to place the onus of enforcing such rates upon the individual worker;

and, therefore, heartily supports the Parliamentary Party in its motion for the rejection of the Bill.

She said that the Trade Boards Bill sought to consolidate and amend the 1909 and the 1918 Trade Boards Acts. It was unnecessary to remind the Conference of the condi-

tion of affairs which led to the passing of the first Act. Delegates would remember that, as a result of the satisfactory working of the first Boards, and of the war-time experience, the Act was amended and improved in 1918. After that Trade Boards were formed covering over three million men and women. When the slump came advantage was taken of it by the people who welcomed any machinery which would tend to minimise the usefulness of the Act. They were the first to attack it when they realised that it prevented wages being reduced. The Bill now before Parliament followed, but on account of the public opinion which was behind the Act, the Government had not dared to attack the Trade Boards directly. They had adopted a more subtle method. All the Trade Unions affected by the Act had examined the new Bill very carefully, and the four points in the resolution embodied their views. These Unions were all agreed that machinery of the kind set up by the Trade Boards Act was necessary. Though they might vary to some extent in the value they attached to the Trade Boards, they were united in their conviction that this Bill would destroy, in a great measure, the effectiveness of this machinery, and would make sweating and underpayment more difficult to prevent. She hoped the Conference would not make the mistake, because the Party was now in a position to put forward more ambitious proposals, of ignoring the value of this machinery as a foundation. They could not build firmly and permanently on a foundation of underpayment and misery—conditions such as those that existed before the Boards were set up, and which still existed in some trades. Underpayment and sweating did not make for political activity, and did not make for the conditions that were needed. They made for apathy and despair. If delegates would compare the position of the Labour Party, say, from 1906 until 1909, when the agitation for the first Trade Boards Act took place—if they thought of the small band of people who fought with devotion and energy for that Act, and then compared it with the size and influence of the Party today, she thought it would be for their lasting shame if they allowed this measure to be destroyed or tampered with. There was not time to go into the details of this technical measure, but the four points in the resolution set out clearly the reasons why all those interested were agreed that this reactionary measure should be rejected. The Parliamentary Party had put down a motion for rejection, and they could rely on them to fight this measure every inch of the way, but they were moving the resolution because they believed that the Conference, if it cared sufficiently, through the people it represented and through the people it could influence, could rouse such a public opinion on the subject that the task of the Parliamentary Party would be an easy one, and it would be impossible for this or any other Government to proceed with a measure which, however well drafted, however plausible it might appear, would have the effect of crippling and undermining legislation which was, in many cases, the only bulwark of the underpaid workers against a return to the most miserable conditions of sweating and underpayment.

Mr. J. R. Leslie (Shop Assistants), in seconding the motion, said that the Bill now before Parliament practically wiped out the main features and the advantages of the 1918 Act. That Act was a necessary complement to the Whitley Report. Instead of accepting the fact that no adequate machinery existed in certain trades and occupations for the settlement of wage conditions, the Government Bill insisted that there should be an inquiry on every occasion before a Trade Board was established. That was bound to cause dangerous delay and considerable trouble. Another danger was that the Minister of Labour had the power to set up a District Committee or an autonomous Trade Board. That would not only be costly, but would cause needless delay in establishing Trade Board rates. There was the further and greatest danger of all in transferring the powers which the Trade Boards possessed at the present time to the Ministry of Labour. If they had a weak or vacillating Minister of Labour he would be very susceptible to sinister influences. They had had a demonstration of that when Dr. MacNamara was Minister of Labour. On the Grocery Trade Board he was influenced by statements made on behalf of reactionary employers, and the result was that he deliberately held up the rates fixed by the Board, and although that Board had been in existence for nearly three years, they had no Trade Boards rates yet for the Grocery Trade. This was a question which affected millions of workers, and especially women and young persons, and therefore he hoped the resolution would be carried unanimously.

Mr. C. J. Mann (Birmingham, Deritend L.P.) said that he was not personallly concerned whether the Government smashed the Trade Boards or not. He had had some experience in organising the workers in Trade Unions, and he had found that after spending time and money in trying to do something for the benefit of the workers, the people who were protected under the Trade Boards Act were not prepared to come into the Trade Union Movement. However much good the Trade Boards might have done years ago, there was a danger in them. He felt they ought to use the Trade Union Movement to lift up the workers from their present state.

The resolution was then put to the Conference and carried by an overwhelming majority.

SUBJECT RACES.

Mr. Bram Longstaffe (Barrow L.P. and T.C.) moved the following composite resolution:—

"This Conference considers that the time is long overdue for a determined protest to be made by organised Labour in order to awaken the public conscience to the crimes

committed by the British Government against subject races in the interests of the expansion of the Empire and for imperialistic and capitalistic ambitions.

"The persecution of the natives of Egypt and India calls for indignant protests. The boasted good name of the British nation is ridiculed by the massacres at Amritsar and Churi-Chaura. Everywhere where the British flag flies there comes persecution, suppression of free speech, and all those many acts which are the very negation of liberty, and which are now fast becoming the British tradition.

"Spasmodic protests and the passing of resolutions, which have characterised our indignation in the past, are of no avail. To-day stalwarts of the world-wide struggle are rotting in dungeons, many under sentence of death, and many have passed beyond our aid. Egypt and India are the outposts in the self-same class struggle in which we are engaged. The slaughter and persecution of our comrades on the far-flung battle-line of capitalism is but the prologue of the great tragedy which, failing vigilance on our part, will eventually overwhelm the struggling masses of this country.

"This Conference demands action forthwith; firstly, to secure the release of the victims of capitalism; and, secondly, to secure protection for the subject races who are struggling towards freedom in a legitimate and constitutional manner; and, thirdly, to find ways and means of linking up their organisations—political and industrial—with those of the wage-earning populations of India, Egypt, and South Africa. To this end we declare that a committee of four shall be set up, two of whom shall be rank-and-file representatives, whose duty it shall be to explore all the evidence that can be obtained, and who shall report back to the National Executive Committee and make recommendations thereon."

Mr. LONGSTAFFE claimed that this question was bound up with the question that was discussed on the previous day, under the heading of the Rand Murders. The whole question of the organisation of the subject races of the world was one that must sooner or later—and the sooner the better—engage the attention of the Labour Movement of this country. They were sick and tired of protesting against the imprisonment of their comrades in what they called "the subject races." In the past they had been content to pass pious resolutions and leave it at that. Members of the British Labour Movement—even the active members of it—were not acquainted with the different aspects of the workers' struggle in India, Japan, and other parts of the world. In India the workers were showing a greater measure of class consciousness than were the workers of any other country in the world, with the exception of Russia. He knew he was voicing the opinion of many delegates when he said that at these Conferences they had been too prone to call upon the Government to do this, that and the other, and leave it there. They were tired of it, and the workers of the world, whether black, yellow, or any other colour, must of necessity be tired of their resolutions and protestations without action. It was the duty of this Movement to make a determined effort to organise the workers of the world, to send out a clarion call from the workers of this country, not to call upon capitalist Governments to do things, but to call upon the workers themselves to organise against these Governments. He wished to protest against statements made by the leaders of the Party from time to time in support of the British Empire. The minimum of the demands of those he represented was that the workers of all countries should have complete and absolute independence, whether they opposed the existence of the British Empire or not. Finally, they demanded that a Commission be appointed, and that on that Commission should be members of the rank and file of the Party. They wanted that Commission to to go to the seat of operations and come back and report, and as a result he hoped the British Labour Movement would give every support to all oppressed people in working out their own salvation. Finally, he wanted to press for a more inclusive International—one which would include the workers of all countries.

Mr. F. TANNER (Streatham L.P.) seconded the motion. He said that what they had to do was to get down to the underlying causes, and ask themselves why the people in these countries were being persecuted. The answer was because they were struggling for freedom. Why were they struggling for freedom? They were struggling against British Imperialism, which aimed at their subjection as necessary for the continuation of the domination by British capital. Empires were not built up in order to raise native races to the moral standard of Sir Frederick Banbury; they were built up in order to find fresh markets. Their only hope and salvation lay in putting up a common fight against the enemy. If the British Labour Movement was sincere it must stand all the time for the complete independence of these subject races.

Mr. RAMSAY MACDONALD, M.P., said he did not think the Conference need waste very much time upon this resolution. (A Voice: "Why?") Because it was a very good specimen of meaningless heroic words. If delegates would look at the original resolution as it appeared on the agenda, they would find there was something beside words. They were told there that they had to do all this by direct action. Did the movers of this resolution still mean that? Why had they left those words out? Without those words what was the meaning of this resolution, drafted in this form? They said the time was overdue for a determined protest. What sort of protest? What sort of determination? The sort of speeches they had listened to? If that was the only thing they could do, imperialism and oppression would exist till

the day of doom. It was all bookish heroics. Moreover, it was very fitting that Barrow should move this resolution. The place where they were fighting this was in the House of Commons. Why did not the Barrow Labour Party send a Labour Member to the House of Commons? Barrow with a majority of workmen, Barrow blessed by the enthusiasm and the eloquence and the protesting attitudes of the mover of this resolution. When the Parliamentary Party raised the question of Egypt, when they raised the question of India, when they raised the question of China, when they raised the question of International action, when they raised the question of Capitalism, when they raised the question of Militarism, Barrow walked into the lobby against them every time. And in order to salve their consciences the Barrow Labour Party produced this sort of thing as a criticism against the Parliamentary Party. (A Voice: "It was the disloyalty of the late Member for Barrow.") Mr. MacDonald continued that if they had time, he had no objection at all to following that out. Was their Movement to be subverted from its high aims simply because a Member here or there had been disloyal? Did all the fighting force behind this resolution amount to that? That it was going to be absolutely impotent when it found that a Member had not done all that he might have done? Those who really cared for these things were not turned aside when they met with bad experiences. They were there all the time, fighting all the time in the most effective way. Why did not their critics ask Zaghloul Pasha what the Party had done about Egypt? Had they read the *Daily Herald* and noted the telegrams from Egyptian Nationalists and others expressing appreciation of what they had done for them—not for resolutions, but for the actual work they had done to enable these people to attain liberty, as they were going to do in a very short time? The debate on India the other day was provided by the exertions of the Labour Party, and they were going to carry it on. There was not a single people for whom they could speak in the House of Commons, but found them speaking if that people were oppressed and in chains in any shape or form; and for men to come there and in that wordy sort of way—that demonstration of verbal heroics, unbacked even by successful effort at the polls in a constituency where 90 per cent. of the voters were of the working class, was a thing that could not be tolerated. He hoped that such a Conference of seriously-minded men, of men who for the first time were face to face with the actual problems of an Official Opposition in the House of Commons, would take the resolution as it ought to be taken and proceed to the next business.

The CHAIRMAN said that the resolution asked that a Commission should be appointed which would go to different parts of the world. That meant an expenditure of several thousand pounds, and in the meantime he supposed the Parliamentary Party would have to wait for the report.

The previous question

was then moved and seconded, and carri by a large majority.

NATIONAL DEFENCE.

The following resolution was moved behalf of the Social Democratic Federation

"This Conference views with apprehe sion the continued control of the Nav Army, and Air Force by influences outsi Parliamentary or democratic control, ar affirms that the interests of democracy ca only be safeguarded by

(i.) The abolition of class control these forces;

(ii.) The establishment of the princip of promotion of officers from the ran and the abolition of the system whic denies to juniors any voice in the sele tion of those whom they have to obey;

(iii.) The substitution of a democratise force for defensive purposes alone for th present professional standing Army; an

(iv.) The suppression of the productio of armaments by private enterprise."

The delegate said that on Thursday the had discussed the question of peace, and cam to the conclusion by an overwhelming major ity that, while they were in favour of peace yet every delegate who possessed a certai sense of proportion was faced with the ques tion of what was going to be the Labou Party's attitude, when they came into power with regard to the provision of a standing Army and all those things that were asso ciated with war. So far as he could see, from the point of view of practical politics, it wa impossible to abolish the Army, Navy, and Air Force. The Conference realised that diffi culty, although the delegates were in favour of International Peace, and although they wanted International Disarmament by mutual arrangement. The resolution did not mean that the Party was in favour of Militarism, but, rather, that in the transition period they should realise they still existed under the Cabinet system, and when Labour took office they would have to handle affairs in a practical way. The resolution, therefore, suggested that the whole military organisation should be democratised. They believed that the people should have power over it. With regard to what took place on the previous day, delegates would remember that Mr. Henderson helped to save the situation in reference to voting against Army and Navy Estimates, but he did that, not because he was theoretically against that proposal, but because he realised that the Labour Party, when in office, would have to consider the question in a practical way. It should also be remembered that when the Party came to power there would, in all probability, be a certain amount of rebellion against the proposals they would seek to enact, and it was therefore important that the forces of the country should be democratised.

Mr. F. M. LAWSON (Chichester Labour Party) formally seconded the resolution.

Councillor W. H. AYLES (Independent Labour Party) opposed the resolution. He said that the mover had asked them to consider this matter from the standpoint of practical politics, and, therefore, he desired to put one or two points before the Conference as to what would happen if they adopted the proposals. The resolution called for "the substitution of a democratised force for defensive purposes alone for the present professional standing Army." That could only mean committing the Labour Party to Conscription. They could not have a democratised force unless they compelled every man, and every woman, in their several capacities, to serve in the Army or in the adjuncts of the Army. Wherever there had been a democratised Army so-called, there they had always found it had fostered the spirit of Militarism. Men's minds had been warped and stunted by a narrow-minded view obtained during military service. The Conference having passed a resolution on education, and having asked the teachers to do all they could to demilitarise the schools and to educate the young mind in the paths of peace, was now asked to be utterly illogical and to go back and say they must educate the children in the paths of a narrow nationalism and get them to consent to be conscripted when they came to military age.

Mrs. L. NARRAWAY (Uxbridge D.L.P.) also opposed the resolution. She said she spoke as a mother, an ex-teacher, a member of the Society of Friends, and the wife of a conscientious objector, and she claimed that training in the paths of peace should be begun at babyhood, then go on into the schools, and from the schools they would have to get their young leaders—not from the Boy Scouts nor the Girl Guides. She appealed to the Conference to oppose this resolution, which, if carried, would be a distinct step backwards.

The previous question

was then moved, seconded, and carried.

WORLD ECONOMIC ORGANISATION

The CHAIRMAN pointed out that there were two resolutions on "World Economic Organisation." The first was put forward by the Independent Labour Party, and the second, covering the same ground though in a different way, was proposed by two Local Labour Parties. He was authorised to say that the Executive Committee was prepared to accept the first resolution, but the second resolution seemed to them, in various ways, to be impracticable.

Mr. A. FENNER BROCKWAY (I.L.P.) then moved the following resolution :—

This Conference recognises that the economic needs of the peoples can only be met by the international organisation of supplies, manufacturing facilities, transport and purchasing power. It believes that the ultimate solution of this problem can only be found by the co-operation of Socialist Governments in all countries with the international industrial organisations of the workers.

Meanwhile, it declares that the British Government should take the initiative in securing the establishment of an impartial and international body :—

(i.) To ascertain the true facts as to the available supplies, on the one hand, and the needs of the various countries on the other.

(ii.) To control the distribution of raw materials, in the case of a shortage or threatened shortage, so that supplies may be distributed in the order of vital need.

(iii.) To investigate the operation of trusts and combines engaged in the production, transport or distribution of indispensable commodities; and

(iv.) To extend the area of Free Trade.

He said that yesterday the Conference had discussed War in relation to Foreign Policy and in relation to Disarmament, but there was even a deeper cause of War than either of these things and that was the economic cause. To-day practically every war had an economic root, and as long as they were prepared to permit capitalist groups to scramble for the natural resources of the earth, so long were they likely to have Armaments and a wrong Foreign Policy. The Independent Labour Party asked the Conference, in this resolution, to say three things. First, to declare that the nations of the world were economically interdependent; second, to declare that that economic interdependence could only be satisfactorily expressed ultimately by the triumph of International Socialism; and third, to declare for a series of immediately practical steps to remedy, so far as they could, the present situation. They proposed that the Labour Party should ask for the establishment of an International body to ascertain the true facts about supplies and needs; that that International body should control the distribution of raw materials in times of shortage; that it should investigate the operation of Trusts and Combines, such as that which had made millions out of the recent sugar ramp, and that it should endeavour to encourage Free Trade between the nations so that economic unity might be more easily expressed.

Mr. HAROLD CROFT (South Croydon L.P.) seconded the resolution. He said he only wanted to give one illustration, and that was in connection with the cotton trade and unemployment. There were 140 million spindles in the world, and only 80 million spindles were in operation at the present time. The latest return showed that there were only going to be produced for consumption 17 million bales, while, despite these depressed times and despite bad trade, there was a demand for at least 20 million bales. Since 1913 the capitalist system with regard to the production of cotton had been in vogue, with the inevitable consequence that ever since that time there had been a shortage. These were facts which the capitalists themselves, through the Master Spinners' Association, were having to go into.

The resolution was agreed to.

Mr. H. H. ROBSON (Waterloo D.L.P.) then moved the second resolution, which was as follows :—

" This Conference is of the opinion that only by the substitution of universal co-operation instead of competition can the damage caused by the war be repaired and a decent subsistence for every human being secured. It further declares that these objects can be attained by means of an International Clearing House, whereby, through co-ordination and organisation, the requirements of each country could be ascertained and its resources tabulated to the utmost capacity, in order that it might receive its legitimate wants from within itself, and/or by the exchange of commodities with other countries.

" The Conference is also of the opinion that the establishment of the proposed International Clearing House upon the basis of International Co-operation would permanently solve the unemployment question by linking up production with consumption, as such mutual connection would cause an enormous increase in both, through the satisfying of the reasonable needs of all the workers of the world, in addition to standardising prices and stabilising exchange. Therefore, this Conference calls upon the Parliamentary Labour Party to get into comunication with the representatives of Labour in other countries for the purpose of bringing about the objects stated above."

Mr. T. GARNETT (Bootle T.C. and L.P.) seconded.

The previous question

was moved, seconded, and carried.

THE LAND.

Mr. H. W. SHAWCROSS (Central Wandsworth D.L.P.) moved the following resolution :—

"Seeing that the land alone of the factors of production is both indispensable to man and incapable of expansion by human agency, it is pre-eminently the rightful property of the nation as a whole.

"The present system, which treats land as private property, and prevents free access to it, hampers industry, checks production, crowds the town by depopulating the countryside, obstructs the provision of good housing, lowers the standard of public health, both physical and moral, fetters the exercise of political, economic, and social freedom, makes difficult, if not impossible, the maintenance of a uniform standard of cultivation, and compels the workers to pay tribute for the use of that which should equally belong to all.

"This Conference, therefore, demands the socialisation of the land as the very foundation of the Co-operative Commonwealth, and calls upon the Government to make it the permanent and inalienable possession of the community;

And for this purpose to :

(i.) Issue a declaration of Common Right to the Land, founded on the Bill Rights of 1689;

(ii.) Introduce a Finance Bill calli upon each landholder to pay to a Comm Land Rent Fund the economic rent the land he holds as a tenant of t Common Estate;

(iii.) Make provision for the allo tion of the Common Land Rent Fund the Local Authorities for administrati purposes on a population basis and re vant considerations;

(iv.) Provide machinery of tribuna before which the grievances of dispo sessed landlords could be pleaded a poverty conditions mitigated."

Mr. SHAWCROSS claimed that this was o of the most important resolutions upon t agenda, and that not simply because t land was a question upon which the Labo Party had no clear policy, but owing to t fact that the Executive Committee had e tirely failed to carry out the resolution pass at the Scarborough Conference. Some e planation was needed as to the reason f this disloyalty to the decision of the Co ference. The Land Problem had got be faced and had got to be solved, and unt it was solved there could be no real improv ment in the conditions under which t people lived. There were two proposals b fore the Labour Movement for the solutio of this problem. One would attempt to solv it by nationalising the land—by purchasi it from its present owners and paying the a sum which, at the end of 30 years, woul amount to no less than 2½ times its prese value. No more preposterous proposal ha ever been devised as a Socialist measur The people he represented did not propose th nationalising of the land, but they said tha the people should reassert their right t what was once actually theirs, and what wa still theirs in the theory of the law, and t what must always be theirs by inherent, in alienable right. What would be the result he asked, if they declared their right to th land and seized the economic land? I would mean the revival of England's country side. Instead of people flying from th land, as was the case to-day, they woul have a great " back to the land " movement and agriculture would again become what i was before this land monopoly arose, a grea national industry. That was not all. The Local Authorities, when their share of th land rent fees were allocated to them, woul be in possession of a vast sum of money— as much as £7 per head of the population— which would enable them not only to remit entirely the local rates, but to undertake social reforms which hitherto had been un-dreamed of on account of the expense. He knew that when he sat down someone would get up and talk about the hardships which might result. The widow and the orphan were always brought in to protect the Duke of Northumberland and the Duke of West-minster. He denied that any hardship would arise, but in case it did, they were providing in this resolution for tribunals, and if hard-

ships were proved relief would be granted. This was a question of principle and not of tactics. "Back to the land" would be a great rallying cry which would unite the Labour Party of the country and bring the Party into power with a far greater majority than it could expect to obtain by any other means.

Councillor Mrs. MADDOCKS (Hampstead L.P.), in seconding the resolution, remarked that this was the most important question they had to deal with, and the resolution suggested dealing with it in the simplest and most direct way.

Mr. RAMSAY MACDONALD, M.P., said that Mr. Shawcross, in his admirable speech, had forgotten some very important facts. At Scarborough the question under discussion was the action of the Advisory Committee upon Agriculture which was in existence at that time. The Committee promised to present a report to the Conference at Brighton. The matter came up again, and as the result of conferences and consultations of various kinds the pamphlet "The Labour Party and the Countryside" was issued, and that to-day remained the policy of the Labour Party. They therefore had a policy on Agriculture. At the same time, they had been working to get the details, and at the present moment the Advisory Committees on Land and Agriculture were working and were presenting reports upon various aspects of the problem. They had got a Committee to devise an immediate Agricultural Policy for House of Commons purposes. That Committee was working and was sending in its reports, but it had not finished its work. They had also just appointed a Land Taxation Committee, a Committee discussing the problem of Land in relation to rent, and so on. That Committee, he hoped, would present its report before the Session ended. In addition to that he had taken upon himself to appoint what he called a personal Advisory Committee of agricultural experts, who went through all the reports that were sent in and gave him, as Chairman of the Party, their views to guide him in any decision he had to come to from time to time. All that work was going on, and he suggested, in view of it, they should allow this matter to remain where it was and stand by the pamphlet which at present was the official declaration of the Party, and then, next year, he hoped they would bring up further suggestions. His final piece of information was that on Saturday, July 14th, there was to be a special conference of friendly farmers and agriculturists at Easton Lodge to discuss with the Parliamentary leaders certain pressing points of Agricultural Policy. He claimed they were doing everything they could to attend to the problem of Land and Agriculture, and if the Conference would be good enough to allow the matter to stand on the pledge he had given them, he would be glad, and they could go on to the next business. If there was anything in the resolution which was not in the terms of reference to the various Committees which he had mentioned, it would be put in.

A DELEGATE asked whether that removed the discussion on Agriculture from the proceedings.

The CHAIRMAN replied that if they thought there was time, they could devote from then to the end of the Conference in discussing it.

A DELEGATE protested against wiping out the most important resolution on Agriculture from the discussion.

Mr. SHAWCROSS said that, on behalf of the Society tabling the resolution on Land, he desired to agree to the proposal made by Mr. MacDonald.

The CHAIRMAN said that the suggestion was that this question be referred to the Executive Committee, in order that it might be dealt with as Mr. MacDonald suggested. Apparently that was opposed, and, therefore, they would have to take a vote.

The reference of the whole question to the Executive Committee was then carried by an overwhelming majority.

PURE MILK.

Mr. J. BEILBY (Middlesbrough L.P.) moved the following resolution :—

That this Conference of the British Labour Party demands a Pure Milk Supply, and calls upon the Ministry of Agriculture to establish bacteriological stations in every town so that bacteriological tests can be taken on a compulsory basis, and that certificates shall be given to those farmers and distributors who have passed the tests with their supplies.

He said the resolution was necessary in view of the fact that milk was one of the vital foods, and that tubercular milk was being given out not only to babies but to adults. It was necessary that bacteriological stations should be set up. Recently he had attended a conference of farmers, local authorities and medical experts, and they had found, in one of the test cases they had taken, that whereas at the beginning there were 400,000 tubercular bacteria, they could be reduced to 4,000 by cleanliness, the cans being one factor and the hands another. When one realised the way that milk was distributed in this country he submitted that the time had arrived when something in the direction named in the resolution should be done. It was not only necessary that they should ask people to consume "Grade A" milk; the only way to have "Grade A" milk was to put it on a compulsory basis, and make farmers and retailers give a clean milk supply.

Mr. E. J. PAY (S.D.F.) seconded the motion. He recognised to the full that they were not going to get a pure milk supply except through the adoption of Labour principles. Quite recently he had read in a very respectable Conservative paper that three of the largest hospitals in Manchester were actually being supplied with milk containing the deadly germ of tubercular bacilli to the extent of 33 per cent. Anyone who had at-

tended agricultural markets up and down the country, as he had done, must have been struck with the large number of cows with tubercular udders which were being actually sold "under the rose." When the farmers found out that one of their cows was affected, or thought they might have a visit from one of His Majesty's Inspectors, they always made it their business to put such a cow on the market. He wished farmers to recognise that their greatest enemies to-day were the people who sold them cows with tubercular udders, and the seed merchants who sold them seeds that would not fertilise.

Mr. ROBERT ALDINGTON, J.P. (Evesham and District T. and L.C.), said he did not oppose this resolution on the ground that he was opposed to a pure milk supply. He was absolutely in favour of that, but he hoped the Conference would not go back upon its principles by passing a resolution of this kind. From his own actual experience of milking cows, and knowing the conditions under which the milk was both produced and distributed, he had come to the conclusion that the only way in which they could obtain a pure milk supply—and a cheap milk supply as well—was by public ownership.

The resolution was carried by a large majority.

SOCIALISM THE OBJECT OF THE LABOUR PARTY.

Mr. JOHN SCURR (Independent Labour Party) moved the following resolution :—

This Conference draws the attention of the public to the failure of the capitalist system to provide even the elementary needs of the population, and to the existence of starvation wages, overcrowding and unemployment, alongside with superincomes, luxurious accommodation, and affluent idleness. It condemns the capitalist system as responsible :—

(i.) For the gross disorganisation of the economic life of the nation, reflected in the conflict of interests between different classes of the community, and the constant wastage of labour and capital, both through unemployment and useless and insufficient production; and

(ii.) For the denial of liberty involved in the exploitation of the masses of the people by the possessing classes.

It therefore asserts that the supreme object of the Labour Party should be the supersession of Capitalism by the Socialist Commonwealth, and declares that this object distinguishes the Labour Party fundamentally from both the Conservative and Liberal Parties.

Mr. SCURR said the resolution would no doubt commend itself to the overwhelming majority of the delegates, but the reason why they desired Conference to give an expression of its opinion was that it was often necessary for them to be able to indicate the fundamental principles and the fundamental objects of the Labour Party to the public at large. They had all rejoiced since the General Election that the Party had won s many by-elections, but there was a dange also in regard to that. By-elections were generally won because there was a feelin of discontent with the Party in power, an not because there was necessarily a funda mental change in the opinions of the peopl in regard to the whole social order. Tha was one reason why he for one rejoiced a the overwhelming victory which Mr. Rober Smillie gained at Morpeth; because ther could be no mistake in regard to the pro gramme for which he stood. The resolutio called attention to the fact that the presen system of society had broken down com pletely. On every hand they saw nothin but disaster and chaos in every section o human life. Only a few yards from wher they were meeting there could be seen mem bers of the working class engaged in erect ing a building the whole of which was to b devoted to satisfying the desire of the idl rich for self-decoration, whereas at Popla there were hundreds of women who had no had a new dress since the day they wer married. This country was sometimes spoke of as being the guardian of liberty and free dom, but the worker knew that his life wa not determined by himself, and he had n control over it. His actions were controlle by a section of men who were manipulatin their businesses for their own profits, an they might really sentence the worker t starvation for the whole of his life. Neithe the Liberals with their philosophy of indivi dual liberty, nor the Tories, who, if th workers behaved themselves, were willing t throw them a few crumbs from the ric man's table, offered any solution to the prob lem. The time had come when they ha to put up a real fight against poverty. I was not merely suffering from hunger, ba houses, or insufficient wages, but being de prived of access to all the beauty of life culture, art and the things that mattered They wished to have these things for thei people, and therefore he asked the delegate to pass the resolution, and to show they were in earnest by going forward in th fight.

Mr. F. BERRIMAN (Bristol Labour Party seconded the resolution. He said that th Chairman of the Conference had given then a text book on this subject, which they ofte distributed in connection with their propa ganda work. Now they were told that th Labour Party was on the threshold of power and therefore he wanted them to make thi question the one question which would dis tinguish the Labour Party from all the othe Parties. He had seen a certain amount o timidity on the part of Labour men at th last General Election in standing up for th principles of Socialism, and generally the had lost. It was perfectly true that some o the candidates who stood for the principle of Socialism had also lost, but they ha gained, at any rate, from the standpoint c the Labour Party, by attracting people wh had become adherents. When they fough on Socialist principles they fought on soun principles, and it was necessary that th

Party should now go forward without any timidity at all, and adopt this as the one great principle which would distinguish it from all other political parties.

The CHAIRMAN pointed out that this resolution was not out of order because, while it dealt with the Constitution, it simply said what was already in the Constitution. He did not wish to criticise those who put it down, but he did want to make it quite clear that it added nothing to what had been in the Constitution of the Labour Party for years, and he hoped the Conference would not imagine that by passing this resolution the Party was taking up this question for the first time. It was really re-asserting what had been for a considerable time the definite Constitution of the Labour Party to which every member of the Labour Party was pledged.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

LABOUR COLLEGES.

Mr. STEVE LAWTHER (Blaydon D.L.P.) moved the following resolution :—

This Conference places on record its appreciation of the work of the Labour Colleges, and urges organisations to support the classes of the Labour Colleges in their work of educating the workers for their task of overthrowing Capitalism.

He said the Movement should give more support to the work of the Labour Colleges, for if the Party was to attain its object it was necessary that those who came into the Movement should have the opportunity of studying the questions with which the Party was faced.

The resolution was seconded, and thereupon carried.

CORRUPT AND ILLEGAL PRACTICES AT ELECTIONS.

Mr. C. W. JAMES (North Lambeth L.P.) moved the following resolution :—

That the Government be asked so to amend the Corrupt and Illegal Practices Prevention Act, 1883, *and the Municipal Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Act*, 1884, *as to provide* :—

(*i.*) *That it shall be illegal for any person to supply a conveyance or conveyances in the interest of any particular candidate or candidates at elections, to convey electors to or from the poll; and*

(*ii.*) *That the conveyance to or from the poll of aged and infirm voters shall be carried out by the Local Authority, the cost thereof to be borne*

(*a*) *In the case of Parliamentary Elections by the Government;*

(*b*) *In the case of County Council Elections by the County Council concerned; and*

(*c*) *In the case of Elections for Local Authorities by the Local Authority concerned.*

That the foregoing Resolution be forwarded to the Prime Minister, the Minister of Health, and incorporated in the Party's programme.

He said that the provision of motor-cars was one of the most insidious forms of corruption now prevailing. A wet election day often meant the defeat of the candidate who was not able to convey his supporters to the poll. The rich man could get dozens of motor-cars, and therefore had an unfair advantage over the poor man.

Mr. J. G. BELLAS (Tynemouth L.P.) seconded the resolution. He said there were people who were influenced by a ride in a motor-car. In the recent election they had 12 persons in his constituency who said they would vote for the Labour Candidate if he would send a motor-car for them. If this practice was not stopped, one of these days aeroplanes would be used against them.

The resolution was carried.

POLLING STATIONS IN COUNTY DIVISIONS.

Mr. JOHN HALL (Blastfurnacemen) moved the following resolution :—

This Conference instructs the Parliamentary Party at once to introduce a Bill into the House of Commons providing for the compulsory provision of Polling Stations in every village at all Elections in County Divisions.

He said they had been reminded that they were on the threshold of power, but as far as the County Divisions were concerned they might be on the threshold of power for a very long time if steps were not taken to provide the opportunity for voting in every village. In some cases at the present time voters had to tramp four miles in order to record their votes. Some County Divisions were 20 miles across, and it was in these outlying places where the Party polled few votes. In the Stafford Division, for instance, there were 17 such outlying places. At the last Election, by a careful census of the votes, they had a majority of 1,900 in the town of Stafford itself, but owing to the fact that they only had one motor car, that majority was more than wiped out in the other parts of the constituency, and in the end they were in a minority of 3,000.

The resolution was formally seconded and carried.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT DISQUALIFICATION.

ALDERMAN W. H. GREEN, J.P. (Deptford L.P.), moved the following resolution :—

This Conference urges the Parliamentary Party to seek the earliest opportunity of amending the Local Government Act, 1894, *and the London Government Act*, 1899, *by removing the disqualification from which a person suffers who has been or is receiving Poor Relief from being a member of a Local Governing Body.*

He said that the injustice which this resolution sought to remove was obvious, as the disqualification referred to was particularly serious, and was a menace to many delegates who were members of local governing bodies. The line of division between the

employed and the unemployed was very narrow, and it took very little to transfer a man from one side to the other. Some of their most loyal supporters were unfortunately amongst the unemployed, and the Party owed it to them to use its best endeavours to get this grievance removed, which was cruel in its intention and disastrous in its operation.

The resolution was formally seconded and carried.

PAYMENT OF MEMBERS OF LOCAL AUTHORITIES.

The following resolution was moved, formally seconded and agreed to :—

This Conference is of opinion that the time is overdue when members of Local Governing bodies should be refunded their out-of-pocket expenses for travelling and time lost in and occasioned by their public duties, and urges the Government to introduce such legislation as is necessary for this purpose.

REFORM OF PARLIAMENTARY PROCEDURE.

Mr. Ben Tillett, M.P. (Transport Workers' Union), formally moved the following resolution :—

This Annual Conference of the Labour Party emphasises the need for reforming the procedure of Parliament. In view of the experience in the House of Commons during the past few months, this Conference declares that the time has arrived when a more modern method of business should be substituted for the mediæval machinery of Government which was designed for a different set of circumstances, and calls upon the Executive Committee to deal seriously with this question, in conjunction with the Party in the House of Commons, with a view to initiating suggestions for the bringing of Parliamentary procedure up to date.

The resolution was formally seconded and carried.

STATE PROVISION FOR INCAPACITY.

Mr. R. J. Davies, M.P. (N.U. Distributive and Allied Workers), moved the following resolution :—

This Conference declares that the time has arrived when the State should provide that all persons genuinely out of work through incapacity arising out of sickness, accident, old age, blindness, or failure to secure employment, shall be entitled to adequate income to sustain life; and that the Parliamentary Labour Party press the Government to take immediate legislative action to provide that State Sickness Benefit, State Unemployment Benefit, Workmen's Compensation, or damages at Common Law arising out of Accidents, or Old Age Pensions, as the case may be, be connected in such manner so that there shall be no gap in adequate income throughout the adult person's career.

Mr. Davies said that the resolution, if carried into effect, would bring about the abolition of all gaps during continuous unemployment, and where a man had met with an accident in the course of his employment and was not entitled to Workmen's Compensation, he would be entitled, as a matter of right, to State Sickness Benefit. Under existing conditions, he was neither entitled to Workmen's Compensation nor to State Benefit, and did not get an income from anywhere.

The resolution was formally seconded, and carried unanimously.

RATING REFORM.

Mr. Alban Gordon (Brighton and Hove L.P.) moved the following resolution :—

That this Conference instructs the Executive of the Labour Party to promote legislation to meet the urgent need for some reform of the present system of Local Rating, which will include

(i.) That Grants-in-Aid from the Central Government should be increased and should be based on the actual expenditure of Local Authorities, specially augmented grants being made in respect of :—

(a) Municipal Services in excess of the "National Minimum."

(b) Areas in which the rateable value per head of population is below the average.

(ii.) That graduated rebates should be granted to ratepayers below a certain level of income in cases where the amount paid in rates exceeds a given proportion of the ratepayers' income as assessed for income-tax.

(iii.) That unoccupied houses and vacant building sites should be specially rated on a higher scale.

(iv.) That assessments should be undertaken by the Municipality on a uniform basis, and that all assessments should be subject to periodical revision.

He said that if the Conference were not already persuaded that Rating Reform was urgently needed, no words of his could avail. Every Labour Member of a Local Council or Board of Guardians knew that the most difficult thing they had to face at every election was the cry of high rates. They were unduly high because, first, the Central Exchequer did not bear the increase of local expenditure occasioned by the relief of unemployment, and, secondly, because of the scandal of under-assessment. They all knew premises which were worth £100 or £200 a year and which were assessed at the ridiculously low figure of £20 or £30. The burden of rates, he contended, should be placed on the backs that were broad enough to bear them.

Mr. T. Chater (Ilford L.P. and T.C.) formally seconded the resolution.

Councillor E. Tanner (East Ham T.C. and L.P.) said there was a scheme before the House of Commons in February of this year which offered something by way of immediate

reform. It proposed that in those municipal areas where unemployment was rife, relief should be given in accordance with the rateable value per head of the population, and that every Authority should receive 75 per cent. of its expenditure over a 6d. rate. He wanted to know why this scheme had been held up.

Mr. F. J. HOPKINS (East Dorset D.L.P.) moved the deletion of Clause (iv.). He said that from his experience, assessments could never be made fairly if the Assessment Authority was confined to the Municipality concerned.

The CHAIRMAN explained that Clause (iv.) did not mean that the Municipality would be solely responsible. It would actually be done in conjunction with the Inland Revenue Department and the Inspector of Taxes, who would come in and see it was uniform.

A DELEGATE suggested that the amendment was out of order.

The CHAIRMAN replied that he did not think it was actually out of order to leave out a Clause, but in view of the explanation he had given, it was unnecessary, and he would therefore abstain from putting it.

The resolution was then put to the Conference and carried.

MOTHERHOOD AND CHILD ENDOWMENT.

Mrs. HOOPER (Wimbledon, Merton and Morden L.P.) moved:—

This Conference urges the immediate adoption of the Interim Report of the Joint Committee on Motherhood and Child Endowment by the Parliamentary Labour Party in view of the extreme need existing amongst these helpless citizens to-day; and that support be given to a system of payment in kind, as any money allowance would be rendered insufficient by the rise in prices which follows any rise in wages or allowance, as experienced by housewives during the war.

She said that this was a wider proposal for the care of mothers and children than had hitherto been put before the Labour Party Conference. At the National Women's Conference held in Manchester two years ago, her Executive instructed her to move a resolution advocating Pensions for Mothers, married and unmarried, on a national basis, sufficient to provide for the maintenance of each child up to 15 years of age. The Wimbledon, Merton and Morden Labour Party sent her to Brighton two years ago to move a similar resolution, but she was not allowed to lay the proposition before the Conference Arrangements Committee because many of their men comrades could not see eye to eye with the women. She was happy to say she stood there to-day with the full approval of the men of her Local Labour Party as well as the women. In the two years that had passed the suffering amongst women and children in her town had increased to such an extent that they could not afford to wait. The need was imperative. She knew working women in an agricultural district in the Isle of Wight, which was not a wealthy borough like Wimbledon, who had not only not had a new dress since they were married, but they had not even had new underclothing. She asked the men delegates to consider this proposition sympathetically. They heard a good deal about collective action in order to protect themselves, but she maintained that collective action for the maintenance and care of women and children was required at this juncture more than anything else. She wished to warn them that there were scores—she might even say thousands—of working mothers who were looking to the Labour Party as their only hope, and if they were deceived the retribution would be very great indeed. She hoped therefore they would instruct the Executive to take immediate steps in the direction suggested by the resolution. By so doing they would secure a measure of support from the women of the country which no political party had ever yet received.

Miss JESSIE STEPHENS (West Bermondsey L.P.) seconded the resolution. She said that the economic position of women to-day was very low. It was said that the hand which rocked the cradle ruled the world, and yet the ordinary comforts of life were denied to these rulers of the world. This was a matter which should receive more promiment attention in the Labour Party programme than it had done. She was not going to say she was entirely in favour of payment in kind. She would sooner the women had wages the same as the men, so that they could spend the money as they best thought fit.

Dr. ETHEL BENTHAM, replying on behalf of the Executive, said that they were prepared to accept the resolution, but at the same time it ought to be realised that there was a very large amount of misunderstanding as to what the Interim Report really was. It was supposed by many the Report suggested that, simply because of the fact of a woman having a child that she should receive a Mother's Endowment. That was not the statement in the Report.

Mrs. M. MURRAY (East Walthamstow L.P.) said she was opposed to payment in kind, and in favour of pensions for mothers and widows who needed help, and whose husbands could not support them. She knew something of what happened in regard to payment in kind. It generally worked against the woman and in favour of the shopkeeper.

The CHAIRMAN remarked that it had nothing to do with the shopkeeper.

Mrs. MURRAY replied that it had a good deal to do with the mother. She submitted that the mother must be free to choose her shop and spend the money to the best advantage. With payment in kind that would not be possible. If it was advisable that the father should be protected against payment in kind, it was equally advisable that the mother should.

The resolution was then put to the Conference and carried.

PROCEDURE.

Mr. HENDERSON at this point asked the Conference to decide upon its procedure. According to the Standing Orders they would rise at 12.30—in about 25 minutes. There were something like 25 resolutions still to be considered, and the question was whether the Conference would be prepared to waive the Standing Order, and sit until 1.30 or 2 o'clock. He felt quite certain they would be finished by 2 o'clock, but it was necessary to have a definite proposal submitted to the Conference. Many of the resolutions could quite easily be relegated to the Executive Committee, because they were not appearing on the Agenda for the first time, but there were about a dozen which ought to be submitted to the Conference.

It was moved and seconded

That the Conference continue sitting until the business is finished.

It was also moved and seconded

That all resolutions which have been before the Conference on a previous occasion be relegated to the Executive.

Mr. E. SHINWELL, M.P., objected to any of the resolutions being relegated to the Executive. He said that that rule might very properly have been applied earlier, and it would have saved much time, but that not having been done he claimed they had no right to apply the closure to resolutions which were still on the Agenda.

The second resolution relegating to the Executive Committee all resolutions which had been previously discussed was agreed to.

A vote was then taken on the first resolution, and it was adopted by 210 votes against 202 votes in favour of adjourning at 12.30.

PROHIBITION OF NIGHT WORK IN BAKERIES.

Mr. W. BANFIELD (Operative Bakers and Confectioners) moved the following resolution :—

This Conference protests against the Government's failure to carry out the recommendations of the Committee of Inquiry into Night Work in the Bread-making and Flour Confectionery Trade, and to pass into law a measure prohibiting Night Baking.

The Conference calls upon the Home Secretary to use the power of the Government to pass into law the Night Baking Prohibition Bill, introduced by the Labour Party during the present Session, in view of the definite pledge given by the Ministry of Labour that the Report of the Committee of Inquiry would be adopted and Night Baking abolished by legal enactment.

The Conference further expresses its appreciation of the efforts of the Parliamentary Labour Party to secure this much-needed reform in the interests of the Baking Trade workers and their families.

Mr. BANFIELD said that there had been a Government Committee of Inquiry into this matter, and a unanimous Report had been issued to the effect that Night Work was unnecessary and should be abolished, but the Government, after promising legislation, had managed, so far, to evade it.

The resolution was formally seconded and carried.

MERCHANT SHIPPING LEGISLATION

Mr. JOSEPH COTTER (Marine Workers' Union) moved the following resolution :—

This Conference demands that the findings of the Committee which was set up under the auspices of the Merchant Shipping Advisory Committee with reference to the saving of life at sea be put into operation, and that excerpts of the findings should be posted on board all ships, so as to be of easy access to the crew and also the passengers.

That it be an instruction to the Parliamentary Labour Party to introduce an amendment to the Merchant Shipping Act which will provide for the payment of wages of any member of a crew of a British ship who, by reason of sickness, the foundering of the vessel, or other cause incidental to employment, has his wages stopped when put on shore in a foreign port, or by the loss of the ship, such wages to be paid until the man is returned to the port of his engagement.

This Conference strongly protests against the employment of Chinese and cheap Asiatic labour in the manning of British ships, and requests the Parliamentary Labour Party to take steps to have a Bill introduced to make such employment illegal on British ships employed west of the Suez Canal.

Mr. COTTER said although these were three separate resolutions, dealing with entirely different topics, he desired to move them as a composite resolution. His Union contended that the findings of the Committee which had been sitting quite recently should be put into operation, and that both the findings and the instructions of the Committee should be posted up in the ships in places where they could be seen conveniently by the passengers. They heard very little about life saving at sea except when a big disaster occurred. In regard to the second resolution, it was contended that when a seaman signed articles on board ship the shipowner should be responsible for the return of the man back to a British port and for his wages. At present, if a man was taken ill abroad, he was removed from the ship to a hospital, and all he could depend upon was the money he got under the Insurance Act. The third resolution might be considered a controversial one. It dealt with Asiatic labour on board ship. The Amalgamated Marine Workers' Union was against Asiatic labour because they were not going to allow shipowners to exploit Chinese and Asiatic labour at the expense

of British labour. In addition to that, there was the moral and social side of the question. They knew what happened in Liverpool, Cardiff and other ports. They also knew that if something were not done to deal with this question of Asiatic labour it might move from the ship to the shore workers, to the detriment of the interests of British labour generally.

Mr. A. WARNER (Marine Workers' Union) in seconding the resolution, drew particular attention to the second part which sought to deal with a most scandalous situation. Delegates had no doubt read in the papers of the wreck of the ship "Trevessa." Apart from the fact that the men, who happily had been saved, were worrying about saving their lives, it was quite reasonable to suppose they were worrying about how their wives and kiddies were getting on at home, because they knew that as soon as a ship was admitted to be lost the wages of the crew ceased. They were very fortunate in having Mr. Shinwell as the representative of the seamen in Parliament, but he could not do the whole of the work, and he appealed to the Labour Members to concentrate upon this as being the most important point in the resolution.

Mr. T. REYNOLDS (Kennington, Lambeth L.P.) appealed to the movers to withdraw the third part of the resolution which, he maintained, cut right across the Party's principles with regard to Internationalism.

Mr. L. ANDERSON (Glasgow T.C. and L.P.) joined in this appeal, and suggested that the vote should be taken on the three resolutions separately.

Mr. SHINWELL, M.P., said that since it had been decided to take the three resolutions together as one resolution, it seemed to him to be out of order to oppose part of the resolution.

Mr. L. ANDERSON (Glasgow T. and L.P.) said that his Party felt very strongly on this question of foreign labour. What they desired was not that foreign labour should not be employed, but that it should not be employed at a cheaper rate than British labour. He could remember the time when the Poles were brought over to Lanarkshire to work in the mines. To-day the best Trade Unionists they had were the Poles. This was not a question which should be decided on technicalities, but should be regarded broadly, and he maintained there should be no differentiation in regard to nationality.

The CHAIRMAN said that he had suggested for the convenience of the Conference that the three resolutions should be moved together, and that was done. It now appeared that it would be equally for the convenience of the Conference that they should put the resolutions separately.

The first two were thereupon put separately and carried unanimously, the third being declared lost.

A card vote was then demanded on the third resolution, and the result was subsequently declared as follows :—

For the resolution	1,406,000
Against the resolution ...	609,000
Majority	797,000

DECISIONS OF INDUSTRIAL COUNCILS, ETC.

The CHAIRMAN said that with regard to the resolution entitled "Enforcing Decisions of Industrial Councils, &c.," he was very much inclined to think it was out of order. The subject was really one for the General Council of the Trades Union Congress, which had already expressed an opinion on it. He did not think, however, he could take the onus of ruling it out of order. He could only say it was very inconvenient to bring it to two Conferences.

Mr. BEN TILLETT, M.P. (Transport Workers' Union), moved the resolution as follows :—

> "This Annual Conference is of opinion that Awards, Agreements, and Arrangements as to Working Hours and Conditions made or confirmed by Joint Industrial Councils or Interim Reconstruction Committees should be made binding upon the whole of the Industry represented by such Councils or Committees, and recommends the Labour Party to initiate legislation which will give to the Minister of Labour power to issue Orders making such decisions mandatory, with a view to ensuring the observance of equal and fair conditions of labour by all engaged in the industry."

He said there were millions of working people who were affected by these laws which were the outcome of the rearguard action of the weakest of their membership. He was most anxious that the Labour Party in Parliament should have some encouragement to fight for the realisation of the decisions of the Councils. The Labour Ministry itself was wobbling at that moment and there were millions of people affected. Fifty per cent. of their own transport people were affected by the jobbing employer, and the resolution was meant to strengthen their position. All the efforts of 30 years would go by the board unless there was a protest to the Government that the Labour Party were watching their antics and were prepared to put in the weight of their organisation against what was proposed to be done.

Another delegate of the Transport and General Workers' seconded the resolution; but

Mr. TILLETT said that in view of the expression of opinion from the platform he wished to withdraw the resolution.

This course was agreed to by the Conference and the resolution was withdrawn.

THE PENAL SYSTEM AND CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.

Mr. M. H. CONOLLY (Boilermakers) moved the following resolution :—

This Conference considers the reform of our Prison System to be long overdue, and therefore urges that the full influence of the Labour Party should be used to secure the substitution of reformative treatment instead of the punitive treatment of criminals at present obtaining, and the abolition of the death penalty.

He said that the laws of the country were mostly framed so as to cause a minimum of suffering to the innocent, but many innocent people were caused a large amount of suffering through the operation of this particular law. This country lagged behind other countries with regard to this question. There were five continental countries that had entirely abolished Capital Punishment, and there were others in which, although it had not been actually abolished, it was practically in abeyance, and in some of these countries the extreme penalty had not been carried out for many years. He hoped the delegates would not only pass the resolution but would work wholeheartedly for the total abolition of Capital Punishment.

Dr. SOMERVILLE HASTINGS (Epsom L.P.), in seconding the resolution, said that the only reason that could possibly be adduced for the retention of the death penalty was the prevention of crime, but he maintained that at the present time the effect was just the reverse. When a crime had been committed or was supposed to have been committed very great public interest was taken in it chiefly as a result of the headlines in the newspapers. That increased interest in crime and the public excitement that followed it, and thereby induced some people to commit crime. Why, he asked, did the newspapers get so excited about these things? It was only because on the decision of the judge and jury depended whether an individual would be hanged or not. Were it a question of penal servitude, which could be remitted at any time, there would be no excitement. He maintained, therefore, that the death penalty, instead of preventing crime, tended to increase it.

Mr. ERNEST THURTLE (Shoreditch T.C. and L.P.) opposed the resolution because it was not comprehensive enough. It did not say anything about the poor lad in khaki.

The resolution was carried.

POLICE ADMINISTRATION.

Mr. J. H. HAYES, M.P., referred to the following resolution :—

" This Conference declares its opposition to the introduction of military methods in Police Administration, and to the centralising of control effected by the Police Act, 1919; and is of opinion that public uneasiness in regard to Police Administration calls for a prompt and searching inquiry with terms of reference of a wide and comprehensive character."

He said that the matter contained in this resolution was to be dealt with on the Home Office Vote when it came up in the House of Commons during the ensuing fortnight. He thought it would be advisable, therefore, if they did not deal with it in detail, and he wished to withdraw it.

The resolution was then withdrawn.

Major LEIGH AMAN (Portsmouth T.C. and L.P.) moved the following resolution :—

That the Parliamentary Labour Party be called upon to take steps to ensure the payment by the Home Office of the amounts due to Local Authorities on the Police Account, in proportionate monthly payments; the same principle to apply to all other joint services.

He said that the point of this resolution was that in Police Votes, payments were made six months in arrear, with the result that the Local Authorities had to get overdrafts at their banks, upon which the ratepayers had to pay interest.

Mr. A. AMBLER (A.E.U.), in seconding the resolution, wished the Parliamentary Party to make a special note of the fact that Local Authorities, not merely in Portsmouth, but he believed throughout the country, had great difficulty in securing their quotas from the Departments concerned, not only to meet police administration, but also educational grants, and other things.

The resolution was carried.

The CHAIRMAN then called for the resolution on " The British Constitution " to be moved.

A DELEGATE asked what was to happen with regard to the resolution on the " Abolition of the Special Constabulary."

The CHAIRMAN replied that he had got that marked out on the ground that the fight was over. The Party had had a long fight on the floor of the House of Commons with regard to it, and nothing more could be done.

THE BRITISH CONSTITUTION.

Mr. J. VIPOND (Stockton and Thornaby L.P.) moved the following resolution :—

" That the Royal Family is no longer necessary as part of the British Constitution, and the Labour Party is therefore asked to state definitely its view of this matter."

He said that the resolution stated that the Royal Family was no longer necessary as part of the British Constitution, and the Labour Party was therefore asked to state its definite view on the matter. He wished to say that, after listening to the deliberations of the Conference, he was convinced that progress was very slow and that superstition died very hard. He had been reading a short time ago that Darwin made the statement that in the human organism there were some 80 obsolete organs. They were obsolete but still in existence. This appeared to be the case with the British Constitution. He noticed people, even in this intelligent age, went round with a sort

of "flapdoodle" and all sorts of things which reminded them of the time when man was emerging from barbarism. They had been told from time to time at that Conference that the Labour Party was on the threshold of power, and he therefore wanted to ask, seeing that the object of the Labour Party, when it got into power, was to bring about a State where each person would receive his full share of the produce of industry, whether it was not time that this resolution should be passed. He assumed it was hardly necessary, seeing they had the admission from the Chair that the Labour Party was now a Socialist Party, for him to proceed farther to try to convince the delegates that this resolution should be passed unanimously.

Mr. ERNEST THURTLE (Shoreditch T.C. and L.P.) seconded the resolution as a Democrat and consequently a Republican. It was time that the Labour Party faced up to this question of the Monarchy. The leaders of the Party appeared to have what might be called "a fear complex." They feared that the great bulk of the people would not support them if they came out as true Democrats and stood up for government of the people by the people. He invited them to shake off that fear, and could tell them that if they faced up to this question boldly and stated that in this twentieth century the existence of the Monarchy was an anachronism and should be swept away, they would get the support of the people.

Mr. GEORGE LANSBURY, M.P., replying on behalf of the Executive, said he was afraid what he was going to say would very much disappoint his friend from Shoreditch. The Executive had discussed all these resolutions, and in their names he was asked to oppose this one. He personally was a Republican, and had always advocated Republicanism, but the group of delegates amongst whom he was sitting were very strongly divided on the subject; therefore, he asked, why should they fool about with a question which was of no vital importance and which would be settled whenever the economic conditions were settled? Years ago he used to think that the Monarchy and the nobility were the people who made the workers poor, but Hyndman and Morris had taught him that it was the capitalist system which made the workers poor. When he was a member of the Social Democratic Federation he had sat at the same table with a Prince, and he had also sat at table with a Queen. He had also sat behind two Princes at a football match, and they could take his word for it they were just ordinary common people like themselves. They ate like other people, talked like other people, and did everything just like other people, only a little worse generally. When the workers had won the Social Revolution they could then be quite sure what they would be able to do with the King, Queen, President or anyone else. He wished to remind them that every Member of the Labour Party, whether Communist, Socialist or common or garden Trade Unionist, took the same oath at the table of the House of Commons, and when Mr. Thurtle got there he would do the same thing. They swore that they would uphold the Constitution. One of these days, by law-established principles, they would not have a King or Queen, but what was the use of bothering about that just now?

He concluded by moving

The previous question,

which was carried by an overwhelming majority.

The CHAIRMAN pointed out that the second resolution,

> "That the hereditary principle in the British Constitution be abolished,"

of which notice had been given by the North Kensington T.C. and L.P., was really covered by the resolution which had just been debated. It was therefore dropped.

QUALIFICATIONS FOR POSITIONS OF RESPONSIBILITY.

Mr. F. M. LAWSON (Chichester L.P.) proposed the following resolution:—

> "This Conference accepts and proclaims the principle that only qualified persons should hold positions of responsibility, and, in view of the importance of discovering and exposing all causes of industrial inefficiency, invites attention to the subject of inefficiency among owners, directors, managers, &c., and, in the interests of employed persons and consumers, desires the Executive Committee to inquire into, either through the Joint Research Department, or by means of a Special Committee or Committees, and report on:—
>
> (i.) The subject of qualifications for positions of responsibility in such Industries and Professions as they think fit, and as to the qualifications desirable therein.
>
> (ii.) The practicability of extending (to important Industries and Professions by legislation) this principle—which has already been admitted and partially enforced by legislation as regards underground mining officials, sea-going officers of the Mercantile Marine, the professions of Medicine and Law, &c., so as to remove from workers that very common but extremely unfair and humiliating experience of being directed and controlled by unqualified or incompetent persons, whose inefficiency has frequently led to strikes or lock-outs, to an increase in unemployment, and to an inflation in the prices of commodities."

He said he supposed there was not a delegate present who had not, at some time or other, suffered gross injustice at the hands of some unqualified or inefficient master, or some unqualified man put over his head. If that was true in their case, it was equally true of the millions of people they represented. The Chairman, in his address,

had reminded them of the increasing responsibilities of the Party. He had also said that from now onwards they would have to work, and speak, and act, under a sense of their liability at any moment of having to put their plans and schemes into operation. Did anyone think, however, that the Nationalisation of industry could be effectively carried out unless they had qualified persons to deal with it? Therefore, he submitted, as they were on the threshold of a new house of industry, they should take steps to see that the glory of the latter house was greater than the glory of the former, and they could only do that in the light of practical experience and knowledge.

The resolution was formally seconded.

Mr. S. ELSBURY (Tailors and Garment Workers) opposed it on the ground that to carry it to its logical conclusion would mean that the workers would be more fettered with chains than they were to-day. The resolution asked that those who controlled the labour of the workers should be experienced and qualified controllers and directors. His experience, not only in one employment but in many, was that when the "boss class" found an experienced manager he skimmed the milk far more than when he was inexperienced. He (Mr. Elsbury) could not imagine the mentality of the people who were behind this resolution. Had they ever worked for their livelihood? (A Voice: "What about the mines?") If this resolution only meant safety so far as the mines were concerned, he would not oppose it, but in the trade he was in, it would certainly be against the interests of the workers. If the "boss class" were able to get the most competent managers, it would only result in the exploitation of the workers. He was opposed to the whole idea of an efficiency which was to be built up for the purpose of profit and for exploiting the workers. If they had more efficiency in the workshops, while the present system lasted, the workers would still be slaves. He wanted them to realise that the way to abolish slavery was not by trying to get better slave managers in the workshops, but by abolishing the capitalist system.

The previous question

was then moved and carried by a large majority.

PUBLIC EXAMINATIONS AND APPOINTMENTS.

Major LEIGH AMAN (Portsmouth T.C. and L.P.) moved:—

That the system of privilege entailed by the use of nominations and recommendation marks should be abolished in all public examinations and appointments, and the same should be open and competitive.

He said that after the nebulous discussion which had just taken place, this resolution provided them with something which was very practical. The use of recommendation marks in public examinations applied to certain dockyard examinations. They were marks given by those in superior positions t men who came up for examination, an although in the past they might not hav been applied unfairly, yet they lent them selves to the possibility of giving an unfai advantage to a man if he could obtain certai recommendations from those who wer alleged to be his social superiors. Ports mouth had come to the conclusion that th time had arrived when the system of mark should be abolished. With regard to nomi nations, they applied particularly to Civi Service examinations, and it was a peculia fact that the lower the pay of the post unde discussion, the easier was it to obtain a nomi nation. When they got to the higher-pai posts, it was extremely difficult, indee almost impossible, for a man or woman of th so-called working class to obtain a nomina tion. At any rate such posts ought to b open to everybody—both men and women— according to their equipment and not accord ing to their friendship with Members o Parliament, the Lord Chief Justice or peopl in the Lord Chancellor's department an others.

The resolution was seconded and after wards carried.

EMIGRATION.

Councillor W. J. ARMSTRONG City o Leeds L.P.) moved the following resolu tion:—

This Conference, whilst recognising th advisability of Governmental assistanc and full provision for meeting voluntar Emigration, including provision of employ ment under Trade Union conditions strongly protests against any scheme which may attempt to push or urge the emigra tion of young people between the ages o 14 *and* 17.

He said that whilst agreeing that the Government should provide the necessary assistance and make the utmost provision for people who voluntarily desired to emigrate, it was felt that the Government was going out of its way somewhat in attempting to push the emigration of people of tender years. They felt that youngsters of 14 or 15 —a considerable number of whom were unemployed in the country, should not, at that age, be urged to leave their country and probably enter upon careers in other countries they knew little about. They felt that a good deal could be done—if it was desired to do it—to find work for these young people at home, and the money spent in emigrating them could be much better spent in providing work for them at home. To a considerable extent, work could be provided, particularly in the agricultural areas, and youngsters could be trained to become useful citizens and help in the development of that particular industry which required so much development.

The resolution was formally seconded and carried.

MILITARY AND NAVAL PENSIONS.

Mr. W. SHERWOOD (National Union of General Workers) moved the following resolution :—

That this Conference urges the Government to afford every facility for the passing of the Bill to amend the War Pensions Acts, 1915 to 1921, introduced by Members of the Labour Party in the House of Commons, and embodying the principle that any deterioration of physical condition after enlistment is due to war service, and entitles the man to pension, the onus of disproof to be on the Ministry of Pensions.

Further, that the Conference protests against the lack of sympathy shown by the Ministry of Pensions under the present administration as evidenced by instructions :—

(a) Prohibiting officials in Area Offices from assisting applicants in the preparation of their appeals; or

(b) Arranging for the re-certification of men who are ill and under treatment, so that the issue of treatment allowances may be continuous;

(c) The wholesale closing of offices and sub-offices, and the abolition of Local War Pension Committees;

(d) Forbidding officers at Regional Headquarters to take any action in respect of the issue of a pension to a widow, though the Ministry might have indubitable proof that the pensioner's death is due to war service, unless and until the widow applied for a pension;

(e) The withholding of the balance of a final weekly allowance where a pensioner dies while in receipt of the same;

(f) The termination of educational grants, and the refusal to issue new grants on the frivolous pretext that had the father been alive he would not have given the child the education desired;

(g) And the continued issue of instructions and regulations that are contrary to the wish of the Nation and the Acts of Parliament passed in the interests of the ex-Service men.

The Conference demands that the Secretariat of the Ministry shall discontinue the issue of instructions depriving pensioners of their rights; and requests Members of the Labour Party in the House of Commons to insist that no regulation or instruction shall be issued reducing the benefits or privileges available for pensioners unless same has been laid upon the table of the House.

Mr. SHERWOOD said the resolution called upon the delegates to go into the country and organise public opinion in favour of the Amending Bill of the Labour Party which ought to abolish many of the grievances of the pensioners. It also asked that pressure should be brought to bear upon the Government to provide facilities for passing the Amending Bill. The fundamental principle underlying the whole of their demand was that any Bill or Amending Bill should embody the principle that any deterioration of physical condition after enlistment is due to war service, and entitles the man to pension, the onus of disproof to be on the Ministry of Pensions. The present position was that the disabled man, or the widow of a man who had died, who claimed that disablement had arisen through war service, had to furnish the proof. Only this week in coming up to the Conference, he had travelled with a widow who told him that her husband had just died from consumption. He had passed a considerable time in a sanatorium. He had been sent out of the Army as physically unfit in 1919, and because she could not, or the doctor could not prove the connecting link between his death and the disease through which he was discharged, she was now left to carry on a struggle in order to support three young children. In the resolution it would be noticed they asked that, for the sake of the children, the Government would not continue to debar children from getting a good education by bringing all manner of excuses to prevent the carrying out of the wishes of the nation so far as the education of children of ex-soldiers was concerned. His Union maintained that in the case where a father had been killed, neither the Government, nor its officials speaking for the Government, nor the Ministry of Pensions, had any right to assume that they knew what would have been the wishes of the father and to say, when application for better educational facilities was made, that the child would not have received such educational facilities if the father had lived.

The resolution was formally seconded and carried.

Mr. ALBERT ALLWRIGHT (North-East Ham D.L.P.) moved the following resolution :—

In the opinion of this Conference partially-disabled ex-Service men, including trainees, should either be given Pensions sufficient for maintenance, or employed in some capacity by the State at the Trade Union rate applicable.

He said that they had a large number of men on the Poor Rate in East Ham who were disabled, some of them partially and many of them totally. Many of these men who had been in training were left on the scrap-heap, and they were totally unfit to go into any workshop. They were only allowed six weeks' benefit, after which they were handed over to the Guardians. He maintained that they should either be adequately pensioned or put into positions where they could earn a livelihood.

The resolution was formally seconded and carried.

The CHAIRMAN said the resolution on "Equal Citizenship" having been passed before, would, according to the decision of the Conference, be relegated to the Executive Committee.

A DELEGATE asked permission to move the following resolution on behalf of the Finsbury Labour Party, the delegate representing that Party having left the Conference :—

"That this Conference urges the Government to devise fresh legislation in dealing with solicitation by unfortunate women. Further, that the Conference is of opinion that no magistrate should be allowed to convict such women on the unsupported evidence of police."

The CHAIRMAN said it was not in order for one delegate to move a resolution on behalf of another.

LUNACY LAW REFORM.

Mrs. AYRTON GOULD (North Lambeth L.P.) moved the following resolution :—

That having regard to the widespread feeling of anxiety which exists in this country at the present time concerning Lunacy Legislation and Administration, this Conference urges upon the Government to appoint without delay a Royal Commission empowered to inquire into the whole question and make recommendations for necessary reforms.

She said there were nearly 130,000 people in Lunatic Asylums, and out of that number over 105,000 were State-maintained. As delegates well knew, the large majority of the Boards of Guardians in this country were not Labour Boards of Guardians, and therefore they tried to keep the patients as cheaply as possible. The result was that the conditions in Lunatic Asylums were considerably worse than the conditions in prisons. The food was a disgrace, the clothes were a disgrace, and there was practically no classification. They got the worst kind of raving lunatics—people who were hardly human beings, and had gone back to the habits of the animal—huddled up with old men and women who were simply silly because of senile decay, and people who were perfectly sane on every point except one. Many were extremely sensitive, and yet they were classed with people who were shrieking and howling night and day, and whose habits could not be mentioned. The question of certification also needed dealing with. People had an idea that only those who were mad were in Asylums, but that was quite wrong. There were an enormous number of other people in Asylums. It was a comparatively easy matter to get people into an Asylum and a difficult matter to get them out. There was only one way to get these things altered. They would not get money spent to any adequate degree until the conditions prevailing in Asylums at the present time were put before the country, and the only way to get the truth was through a Royal Commission. She felt sure it was the desire of every worker that the sort of thing which was now going on should be stopped.

Councillor E. TANNER (East Ham T.C. and L.P.) formally seconded the resolution, which was agreed to.

A DELEGATE asked what was to become of the Ipswich amendment, to which the CHAIRMAN replied that the words "lunacy" and "mental deficiency" were equivalent, and suggested that the amendment might be accepted.

This was agreed to, and the resolutie with the words

and mental deficiency,

after "lunacy," was carried.

ALIENS.

Mr. H. BLACK (Stepney T.C. and L.I moved :—

This Conference protests against t system of identity books imposed upon alien residents, and demands the disco tinuance of the system.

He said the resolution was suggested the Borough which contained the large number of aliens in London, and the large percentage of aliens to the population in t country. They found that the system identity books instituted by the police duri the war was still in vogue, while the circu stances were entirely different. They fou that with the majority of the people foreign extraction who were at all interest in the Labour Movement, politically or i dustrially, the system of identity books w used to curtail their movements wherev possible. They wished to see a reversion the conditions which obtained prior to t war, when England was considered t haven of people who were oppressed.

Mr. S. ELSBURY (Tailors and Garme Workers), in seconding the resolution, sa that whilst he was in favour of it, he did n believe it went far enough. He thought th the Parliamentary Labour Party ought deal with the matter as an urgent proble This was not a question like the Asiat problem, where people were working lower wages; many of these people came this country to avoid conscription.

The resolution was carried.

BANKRUPTCY LAW REFORM.

Mr. J. HELM (Nelson and Colne L.P moved the following resolution :—

That this Conference calls upon t National Executive Committee and t Labour Party in the House of Commons try and secure an amendment of the La relating to Failure and Bankruptcy, so th in all cases wages shall be the first char upon an individual and a Company and Corporation, and that no goods shall taken in execution under a judgment in a Court, unless the party at whose su execution is issued before removal of suc goods pays all wages or salaries of all wor men, due for services rendered to th debtor; "debtor" to mean an individu as well as a Company and a Corporation.

He said that although this question had n been before any previous Conference, Society with which he was connected ha been in existence for some fifty years, but u to a few months ago they did not realise wha the Bankruptcy Law meant to the worke A few months ago a number of their worke were robbed of their earned wages in runnin up against this law. The landlord was pr tected, the creditor was to some extent pr tected, and in fact almost everybody but th

worker was protected. They wanted the worker to have the first claim on any assets that might remain when an employer failed or went into bankruptcy. They were quite aware that in almost every case where an employer acted in an honest fashion and went into voluntary bankruptcy, the worker could generally maintain his claim, but if the employer waited until such time as he was served with a writ, and the Sheriff's Officer was put into possession, they would find that almost every party had a claim but the worker. In Lancashire they had piece-work, and sometimes it happened that after a piece of cloth had gone out of the warehouse the employer was served with a writ. In that case the worker could not claim his wages on that particular piece of cloth, as it was something which was not available when the Sheriff took possession. They had been legally advised that the only way by which the worker could have the same claim as the landlord and the preferential creditor would be by an amendment of the law.

The resolution was formally seconded and carried.

The CHAIRMAN said that the two resolutions dealing with the "Seditious Teachings Bill" and the "Irish Deportations" were out-of-date. They urged the Labour Party to do something several weeks ago, which the Labour Party had since done.

Mr. L. ANDERSON (Glasgow T. and L.C.) said that apparently the Labour Party was ignoring the attacks upon the Proletarian Sunday Schools.

The CHAIRMAN said that the Glasgow Trades Council had sent in a resolution, and then sent in an amendment to delete all the words and insert something else. This something else had been dealt with in the way suggested weeks ago.

Mr. ANDERSON wished to know if the Labour Party in the House of Commons would safeguard the Proletarian Sunday Schools.

The CHAIRMAN said there was nothing about that in the resolution before the Conference. The amendment, which he supposed Glasgow wanted to move, asked the Labour Party to protest against the Seditious Teachings Bill. They had done that. Similarly the matter with regard to the Irish Deportees had been dealt with.

DEMOCRATIC CONTROL OF PUBLIC SERVICES.

Mr. E. E. HUNTER (Independent Labour Party) formally moved the following resolution :—

This Conference, in furtherance of its demands for the Democratic Control of Industry, calls upon the Labour Party in Parliament to introduce legislation providing for the effective participation in the administration of existing State and Municipal Services of the workers, manual, technical, and administrative, engaged therein.

The resolution was seconded and carried.

THE LAND AND AGRICULTURE.

Mr. HENDERSON said it had been brought to the notice of the platform that there was a little concern, due, he thought, to misunderstanding, regarding the action taken on Land and Agriculture. After the statement made by Mr. MacDonald he could not understand where any delegate got the idea that these questions were being shelved in any way. Mr. MacDonald had explained what had been done since the Brighton Conference, and what the Executive was endeavouring to do at the present time. He could promise the delegates that everything possible would be done to prepare a Report on Land and Agriculture to be presented to the next Conference, and he would undertake to see that it was put early on the Agenda in order that it could be fully discussed.

Mr. F. J. HOPKINS asked whether the Executive would take notice of any letter sent to them in connection with this matter.

Mr. HENDERSON replied that they always took into consideration letters which came from affiliated organisations, and they would do so in this case.

A DELEGATE asked for a reply to a written question he had sent in with regard to the appointment of this Committee on Agriculture which Mr. MacDonald had mentioned.

Mr. HENDERSON said that Mr. MacDonald did not mention the appointment of a Committee, but stated he had arranged for a small Conference with a number of farmers. The matter would have to be left there, and the whole thing would be reported to the Conference in due course.

VOTE OF THANKS.

Mr. HERBERT MORRISON, L.C.C. (London Labour Party), moved :—

That the best thanks of the Conference be given to the Chairman for his conduct of the Conference business; to the Press for the reports of the Conference; to the London County Council for the opportunity to visit the new County Hall; to the Executive of the Workers' Union for their courtesy in placing "Highfield" at the Party's disposal for the reception of delegates; and to the London Labour Party and the London Trades Council for their generous assistance in the Conference arrangements and hospitality.

He was sure his fellow-delegates would agree with him that in the Chairman's address they had had a learned discourse on the fundamentals of Labour policy and the position in which the Labour Party stood, and he was sure they were all looking forward to reading it in print. The Chairman had got through his task—which was never an easy one—with great urbanity, and he thought, on the whole, with pleasure to the Conference and the delegates. It was not a simple task to preside over so great a Conference. Mr. Webb, on no single occasion, had lost his temper, and that was something which he was afraid could not be said of all of them. Mr. Webb had not only been Chairman of the Conference, but during the

past year had also been Chairman of the Executive, and in that capacity he had shown those same qualities which he had exhibited in the Conference—indeed, he had shown them in an even more marked degree. He had often seen the Executive arguing about a matter whilst the Chairman was carefully writing out a resolution expressing what they wanted, and telling them "That is what you want." He thought their thanks were due, therefore, to Mr. Webb, not only for his services to the Conference, but also for his services to the Party as Chairman of the Executive. With regard to the Press, that was a subject upon which Labour people always had to be careful when moving votes of thanks. He thought the reporters had done their duty as well as they possibly could do it. They should always remember that, although one was inclined sometimes to abuse the reporter, it was not he, but the sub-editor who was often the real villain of the piece. Particularly, they ought to thank their own *Daily Herald* for the very able and very full way in which the Conference had been reported. They should make up their minds that they would support wholeheartedly the *Daily Herald*, so that it would not only be alive, but kicking and prosperous. They also had to thank the London County Council, its Chairman and Establishment Committee, who had been very kind in giving every facility for the delegates to see the County Hall, and also the people in the refreshment department. It was a great thing to get 450 delegates round the Hall with so great ease. Then the Workers' Union were exceedingly kind in placing "Highfield" at the disposal of the Committee for the Reception to delegates. He was sure that the whole Movement would wish to congratulate the Workers' Union Executive and its officers on having such admirable headquarters in such pleasant surroundings. So far as the London Labour Party and the London Trades Council was concerned, it was rather difficult for him, as Secretary, to say any thing. He could only hope that the littl things they had been able to do—and th Executive had helped them a great deal— had contributed to the happiness of the dele gates. They were very pleased and prou that the Conference had been held i London, and he had the greatest possibl pleasure in moving the resolution.

Mrs. F. HARRISON-BELL, in seconding th resolution, said that the provincial delegate present had learned that some things coul be done very well indeed in London. I only the rank and file in London would bu the *Herald* as the members of the Party di elsewhere, nothing further would be neces sary for its success. Mr. Morrison ha figuratively offered to Mr. Webb what sh had received as Chairman of the Women' Conference at York, but Mr. Webb's bou quet was only figurative, and he was onl able to take it home with him in his mind At the same time she wished to say that the owed him a deep debt of gratitude, and sh was sure the resolution would receive th hearty support of every delegate.

Mr. HENDERSON put the resolution, and i was carried by acclamation.

The CHAIRMAN, in returning thanks, sai that a great Conference like that was a co operative undertaking. The Chairman coul not run it; it could only be run by the co operation of all the delegates with the Chai man. The Chairman could only do his best and that he had endeavoured to do. It wa obvious that 900 delegates could not a speak, and especially could not all speak a often as they would like, with the result tha many people had to be disappointed. H wished to apologise to those delegates wh might have felt sometimes that he was treat ing them—he thought not unfairly, but, per haps, a little harshly, and to assure ther that his only desire was the convenience an success of the Conference itself.

The proceedings then terminated.

APPENDIX I.

THE CONSTITUTION AND STANDING ORDERS OF THE LABOUR PARTY

1.—NAME.

The Labour Party.

2.—MEMBERSHIP.

The Labour Party shall consist of all its affiliated organisations,* together with those men and women who are individual members of a Local Labour Party and who subscribe to the Constitution and Programme of the Party.

3.—PARTY OBJECTS.

National.

(a) To organise and maintain in Parliament and in the country a Political Labour Party, and to ensure the establishment of a Local Labour Party in every County Constituency and every Parliamentary Borough, with suitable divisional organisation in the separate constituencies of Divided Boroughs;

(b) To co-operate with the General Council of the Trades Union Congress, or other Kindred Organisations, in joint political or other action in harmony with the Party Constitution and Standing Orders;

(c) To give effect as far as may be practicable to the principles from time to time approved by the Party Conference;

(d) To secure for the producers by hand or by brain the full fruits of their industry, and the most equitable distribution thereof that may be possible, upon the basis of the common ownership of the means of production and the best obtainable system of popular administration and control of each industry or service;

(e) Generally to promote the Political, Social, and Economic Emancipation of the People, and more particularly of those who depend directly upon their own exertions by hand or by brain for the means of life.

Inter-Dominion.

(f) To co-operate with the Labour and Socialist organisations in the Dominions and the Dependencies with a view to promoting the purposes of the Party and to take common action for the promotion of a higher standard of social and economic life for the working population of the respective countries.

International.

(g) To co-operate with the Labour and Socialist organisations in other countries and to assist in organising a Federation of Nations for the maintenance of Freedom and Peace, for the establishment of suitable machinery for the adjustment and settlement of International Disputes by Conciliation or Judicial Arbitration, and for such International Legislation as may be practicable.

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* Trade Unions, Socialist Societies, Co-operative Societies, Trades Councils, and Local Labour Parties.

4.—PARTY PROGRAMME.

(a) It shall be the duty of the Party Conference to decide, from time to time, what specific proposals of legislative, financial, or administrative reform shall receive the general support of the Party, and be promoted, as occasion may present itself, by the National Executive and the Parliamentary Labour Party : provided that no such proposal shall be made definitely part of the General Programme of the Party unless it has been adopted by the Conference by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the votes recorded on a card vote.

(b) It shall be the duty of the National Executive and the Parliamentary Labour Party, prior to every General Election, to define the principal issues of that Election which in their judgment should be made the Special Party Programme for that particular Election Campaign, which shall be issued as a manifesto by the Executive to all constituencies where a Labour Candidate is standing.

(c) It shall be the duty of every Parliamentary representative of the Party to be guided by the decision of the meetings of such Parliamentary representatives, with a view to giving effect to the decisions of the Party Conference as to the General Programme of the Party.

5.—THE PARTY CONFERENCE.

1. The work of the Party shall be under the direction and control of the Party Conference, which shall itself be subject to the Constitution and Standing Orders of the Party. The Party Conference shall meet regularly once in each year, and also at such other times as it may be convened by the National Executive.

2. The Party Conference shall be constituted as follows :—

(a) Trade Unions and other societies affiliated to the Party may send one delegate for each 1,000 members on which fees are paid.

(b) Local Labour Party delegates may be either men or women resident or having a place of business in the constituency they represent, and shall be appointed as follows :—

In Borough and County Constituencies returning one Member to Parliament, the Local Labour Party may appoint one delegate.

In undivided Boroughs returning two Members, two delegates may be appointed.

In divided Boroughs one delegate may be appointed for each separate constituency within the area. The Local Labour Party within the constituency shall nominate and the Central Labour Party of the Divided Borough shall appoint the delegates. In addition to such delegates, the Central Labour Party in each Divided Borough may appoint one delegate.

An additional woman delegate may be appointed for each constituency in which the number of affiliated and individual women members exceeds 500.

(c) Trades Councils under Section 8, clause *c*, shall be entitled to one delegate.

(d) The members of the National Executive, including the Treasurer, the Members of the Parliamentary Labour Party, and the duly-sanctioned Parliamentary Candidates shall be *ex-officio* members of the Party Conference, but shall, unless delegates, have no right to vote.

6.—THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE.

(a) There shall be a National Executive of the Party consisting of twenty-three members (including the Treasurer), elected by the Party Conference at its regular Annual Meeting, in such proportion and under such conditions as may be set out in the Standing Orders for the time being in force, and this National Executive shall, subject to the control and directions of the Party Conference, be the Administrative Authority of the Party.

(b) The National Executive shall be responsible for the conduct of the general work of the Party. The National Executive shall take steps to ensure that the Party is represented by a properly constituted organisation in each constituency in which this is found practicable; it shall give effect to the decisions of the Party Conference; and it shall interpret the Constitution and Standing Orders and Rules of the Party in all cases of dispute subject to an appeal to the next regular Annual Meeting of the Party Conference by the organisation or person concerned.

(c) The National Executive shall confer with the Parliamentary Labour Party at the opening of each Parliamentary Session, and also at any other time when the National Executive or the Parliamentary Party may desire such conference on any matters relating to the work and progress of the Party, or to the efforts necessary to give effect to the General Programme of the Party.

7.—PARLIAMENTARY CANDIDATURES.

(a) The National Executive shall co-operate with the Local Labour Party in any constituency with a view to nominating a Labour Candidate at any Parliamentary General or By-Election. Before any Parliamentary Candidate can be regarded as finally adopted for a constituency as a candidate of the Labour Party, his candidature must be sanctioned by the National Executive.

(b) Candidates approved by the National Executive shall appear before their constituencies under the designation of "Labour Candidate" only. At any General Election they shall include in their Election Addresses and give prominence in their campaigns to the issues for that Election as defined by the National Executive from the General Party Programme. If they are elected they shall act in harmony with the Constitution and Standing Orders of the Party in seeking to discharge the responsibilities established by Parliamentary practice.

8.—AFFILIATION FEES.

1. Trade Unions, Socialist Societies, Co-operative Societies, and other organisations directly affiliated to the Party (but not being affiliated Local Labour Parties or Trades Councils) shall pay 3d. per member per annum to the Central Party Funds with a minimum of 30s.

The membership of a Trade Union for the purpose of this clause shall be those members contributing to the political fund of the Union established under the Trade Union Act, 1913.

2. The affiliation of Trades Councils will be subject to the following conditions :

(a) Where Local Labour Parties and Trades Councils at present exist in the same area every effort must be made to amalgamate these bodies, retaining in one organisation the industrial and political functions, and incorporating the constitution and rules for the Local Labour Parties in the rules of the amalgamated body.

(b) Where no Local Labour Party is in existence and the Trades Council is discharging the political functions, such Trades Council shall be eligible for affiliation as a Local Labour Party, providing that its rules and title be extended so as to include Local Labour Party functions.

(c) Where a Local Labour Party and a Trades Council exist in the same area, the Trades Council shall be eligible to be affiliated to the Local Labour Party, but not to the National Party except in such cases where the Trades Council was affiliated to the National Party prior to November 1, 1917. In these cases the Executive Committee shall have power to continue national affiliation on such conditions as may be deemed necessary.

(d) Trades Councils included under Section (*c*) shall pay an annual affiliation fee of 30s.

3. Local Labour Parties must charge individually enrolled members, male a minimum of 1s. per annum, female 6d. per annum; and 2d. per member so collected must be remitted to the Central Office, with a minimum of 30s., as the affiliation fee of such Local Labour Party.

4. In addition to these payments, a delegation fee of 10s. to the Party Conference or any Special Conference may be charged.

9.—CONDITION OF ELIGIBILITY OF DELEGATES FROM CONSTITUENT BODIES TO EITHER LOCAL LABOUR PARTIES OR TO ANY NATIONAL OR LOCAL CONFERENCE OF THE LABOUR PARTY.

Every person nominated to serve as a delegate shall individually accept the Constitution and principles of the Labour Party.

STANDING ORDERS.

1.—ANNUAL CONFERENCE.

1. The National Executive shall convene the Annual Party Conference for the month of June (but not at Whitsuntide) in each year, subject to the Constitution and the Standing Orders, and shall convene other Sessions of the Party Conference from time to time as may be required.

2. In the event of it being necessary to convene the Party Conference upon short notice, in order to deal with some sudden emergency, the Secretaries of the affiliated organisations and Local Labour Parties shall, on receiving the summons, instantly take such action as may be necessary to enable the Society or Constituency to be represented in accordance with the rules.

3. Any Session of the Party Conference summoned with less than ten days' notice shall confine its business strictly to that relating to the emergency, which cannot without detriment to the Party be postponed.

4. Persons eligible as delegates must be paying *bona fide* members, or paid permanent officials of the organisation sending them.

5. No delegate to the Conference shall represent more than one Society, and no Member of Parliament who has not joined the Parliamentary Labour Party is eligible as a delegate.

6. Every person nominated to serve as a delegate shall individually accept the Constitution and principles of the Labour Party.

7. Members of affiliated organisations claiming exemption from political contributions under the Trade Union Act, 1913, shall not be entitled to act as delegates.

2.—AGENDA.

1. Notice of Resolutions for the Annual Conference, not exceeding three from any one affiliated organisation, shall be sent to the Secretary at the Office of the Party not later than April 1, for inclusion in the first Agenda, which shall be forthwith issued to the affiliated organisations.

2. Notice of Amendments to the Resolutions in the first Agenda, and Nominations for the Executive, Treasurer, Auditors (2), Annual Conference Arrangements Committee (5), shall be forwarded to the Secretary not later than May 16, for inclusion in the final Agenda of the Annual Conference.

3. No business which does not arise out of the Resolutions on the Agenda shall be considered by the Party Conference, unless recommended by the Executive or the Conference Arrangements Committee.

4. When the Annual Conference has, by resolution, made a declaration of a general policy or principle, no motion having for its object the reaffirmation of such policy or principle shall appear on the Agenda for a period of three years from the time such declaration was made, except such resolutions as are, in the opinion of the Executive, of immediate importance.

3.—VOTING.

Voting at the Party Conference shall be by Cards issued as follows :—

Trade Unions and other affiliated societies shall receive one Voting Card for each 1,000 members or fraction thereof paid for.

Trades Councils affiliated under Section 8, Clause *c*, shall receive one Voting Card.

Every Local Labour Party shall receive one Voting Card for each delegate sent in respect of each Parliamentary Constituency within its area.

Central Labour Parties in Divided Boroughs shall receive one Voting Card.

4.—NATIONAL EXECUTIVE.

1. The National Executive shall be elected by the Annual Conference, as a whole, and shall consist, apart from the Treasurer, of (a) 13 representatives of the affiliated organisations; (b) five representatives of the Local Labour Parties; and (c) four women. The Executive shall be elected by ballot vote on the card basis from three lists of nominations confined to delegates appointed to attend the Annual Conference.

2. Each affiliated national organisation shall be entitled to nominate one candidate for List A; and two candidates if the membership exceeds 500,000. Each candidate must be a *bona fide* member of the organisation by which he or she is nominated.

3. Each Parliamentary Constituency organisation, through its Local Labour Party or Trades Council, may nominate one candidate for List B, and the candidate so nominated must be resident or have his or her place of business within the area of the nominating Local Labour Party.

4. Each affiliated organisation shall be entitled to nominate one woman candidate for List C, and two candidates if the membership exceeds 500,000, whether such nominees are or are not members of the nominating organisation.

5. The National Executive shall elect its own Chairman and Vice-Chairman at its first meeting each year, and shall see that all its officers and members conform to the Constitution and Standing Orders of the Party. The National Executive shall present to the Annual Conference a Report covering the work and progress of the Party during its year of office, together with the Financial Statement and Accounts duly audited.

6. No member of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress is eligible for nomination to the National Executive.

7. The consent of candidates must be secured before their nomination for office.

5.—TREASURER.

The Treasurer shall be elected separately by the Annual Conference. Each affiliated organisation may nominate a candidate for the Treasurership independent of any other nomination it makes for the National Executive.

6.—SECRETARY.

The Secretary shall be elected by the Annual Party Conference, and be *ex-officio* a member of the Conference; he shall devote his whole time to the work of the Party, but this shall not prevent him from being a Candidate for or a Member of Parliament. He shall remain in office so long as his work gives satisfaction to the National Executive and Party Conference. Should a vacancy in the office occur between two Annual Conferences, the Executive shall have full power to fill the vacancy, subject to the approval of the Annual Conference next following.

Nominations for the office shall be on the same conditions as for the Treasurership.

7.—ANNUAL CONFERENCE ARRANGEMENTS COMMITTEE.

1. The duties of the Conference Arrangements Committee shall be :—

(a) To attend at the place of Conference two days before its opening, for the purpose of arranging the Conference Agenda;

(b) To appoint Scrutineers and Tellers for the Conference from among the delegates whose names have been received at the Head Office prior to May 31, such appointments to be subject to the approval of the Conference;

(c) To act as Standing Orders Committee during the Conference.

2. Should any of the five members of the Conference Arrangements Committee be unable to fulfil his or her duties, the person who received the highest number of votes amongst those not elected shall be called upon, but should the voting list be exhausted, it shall lie with the Society the member represents to nominate a substitute.

3. Remuneration of the Conference Arrangements Committee, Scrutineers and Tellers shall be at the rate of 15s. per day.

APPENDIX II.

LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCES.

Year.	Place of Conference.	Chairman.	No. of Delegates.	Membership.	Income of General Fund, &c.
					£
1900	London	W. C. Steadman	129	568,177	—
1901	Manchester	J. Hodge	82	456,438	243
1902	Birmingham	W. J. Davis	110	469,311	286
1903	Newcastle-on-Tyne	J. N. Bell	243	861,150	715
1904	Bradford	J. Hodge	355	969,800	1,009
1905	Liverpool	D. J. Shackleton	348	900,000	1,305
1906	London	A. Henderson	363	921,280	2,059
1907	Belfast	J. J. Stephenson	347	998,338	2 768
1908	Hull	W. Hudson	404	1,072,413	1,789
1909	Portsmouth	J. R. Clynes	399	1,152,786	2,057
1910	Newport	J. Keir Hardie	448	1,486,308	3,053
1911	Leicester	W. C. Robinson	460	1,430,539	6,628*
1912	Birmingham	Ben Turner	474	1,539,092	2,834*
1913	London	G. H. Roberts	516	1,895,498	21,529†
1914	Glasgow	Tom Fox	551	—	8,297
1916	Bristol	W. C. Anderson	608	2,093,365	20,092‡
1917	Manchester	G. J, Wardle	752	2,219,764	11,734
1918	Nottingham	W. F. Purdy	879	2,465,131	12,263¶
1918	London	W. F. Purdy	852	2,726,000	—
1919	Southport	J. McGurk	954	3,013,129	25,537‖
1920	Scarborough	W. H. Hutchinson	1,109	3,511,290	37,866
1921	Brighton	A. G. Cameron	872	4,359,807	54,523
1922	Edinburgh	F. W. Jowett	820	4,010,361	61,178
1923	London	Sidney Webb	939	3,311,036	74,754

* Including Special Appeal Fund. † Including all balances on amalgamation of General, Special and Parliamentary Funds.
‡ Two years (1914-5). ¶ Excluding £18,000 Treasury Bills realised. ‖ Excluding £14,920 Investments realised.

APPENDIX II.

GENERAL ELECTION, 1922.

LABOUR'S CALL TO THE PEOPLE

The Coalition has been destroyed and a Conservative Government has been formed to carry out a policy of naked reaction. Labour is appealing to the men and women of the country on a policy of International Peace and National Reconstruction.

PEACE AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Revision of the Peace Treaties, which have caused greater international wrongs than they removed, is the first step to Peace.

German reparations must be brought within Germany's capacity to pay.

Turkey's relations with Europe and the Freedom of the Straits can only be dealt with in an International Conference attended by representatives of all countries concerned.

Labour is working for an all-inclusive League of Nations with power to deal with international disputes by methods of judicial arbitration and conciliation. Through the League of Nations an agreement can be reached for a limitation of armaments, with general disarmament as the goal.

FREEDOM IN THE EMPIRE

Labour advocates the recognition of the real independence of Egypt and self-government for India.

Labour demands the prompt and cordial acceptance of the new constitution of the Irish Free State, and supports every effort to make Ireland united, prosperous, and contented.

HOW TO FIND THE MONEY

Labour recognises the urgent need of lifting from the trade and industry of the country the deadweight burden of the National Debt. It therefore proposes the creation of a War Debt Redemption Fund, by a special graduated Levy on fortunes exceeding £5,000. Labour will not penalise thrift, but will require some restitution from the profiteers out of the huge fortunes made in the war.

To secure the necessary annual revenue, Labour advocates a system of taxation which will distribute the burden fairly according to "ability to pay."

It proposes an increase of the Death Duties on large estates and of the Super-Tax on large incomes; incomes below £250 a year would be exempt from taxation and there would be a reduction in the tax on all incomes under £500 a year, with a steeper graduation of the scale above that limit.

Taxation of Land Values will secure to the community socially-created wealth now diverted to private hands.

Labour is in principle opposed to indirect taxation. It stands for an untaxed breakfast table, and wishes to free trade and industry from all burdensome imposts, whether customs, excise, or stamp duties.

NO "PENNY-WISE" ECONOMY

Labour attaches the utmost importance to economy in the public administration. But we do not believe in starving the public services. Least of all do we countenance the notion of economies at the expense of the poor for the benefit of the rich.

Reduced expenditure on the children's education and health, the safety of the workers, and the well-being of mothers and babies is the costliest kind of waste.

By a revision of the National Grants in Aid to Local Authorities, we believe an equitable reduction of rates in all the severely pressed districts can be secured.

POLICY FOR UNEMPLOYMENT

Unemployment and low wages, caused largely by the policy of the Liberal and Unionist Government, have brought distress to the bulk of the working people.

Labour's policy is to provide work, or maintenance, for the unemployed by reopening trade with foreign countries, by the national organisation of production, and by a large programme of necessary and useful public works.

AGRICULTURE

The plight of Agriculture can only be dealt with by a bold policy of re-organisation. Those who produce the nation's food must not go hungry. Labour proposes to require the landlords to sacrifice rents rather than to ask the farm-workers to accept starvation wages.

We advocate the restoration of the Agricultural Wages Board to enforce an adequate national wage standard.

We propose also the establishment of representative Councils of Agriculture to promote all-round improvement in the use of the land, the reduction of transport charges, the development of co-operative methods, and the fostering of rural industries.

Revision of the Game Laws, improved school facilities, more and better cottages, increased hospital accommodation, and fuller opportunities of recreation are included in Labour's rural policy.

INDUSTRIAL ORGANISATION

Labour is resolved to change as speedily as possible by constructive measures the social and economic system which confers unfair privileges on the few, and undeserved hardship on the many.

The working of this system has brought unemployment and reduced wages to the workers, suffering and starvation to their families, loss of opportunities for full mental and physical development to their children, anxiety and worry to the salaried and professional workers and small traders.

Labour means to bring about a more equitable distribution of the wealth produced by the common effort of the workers by hand and brain.

Our industrial policy involves the prompt Nationalisation of Mines, as recommended by the Sankey Commission, and the Nationalisation of Railways, with an increased share of control for the workers, an improved Workmen's Compensation Act, and other measures for the protection of the workpeople.

We oppose all attempts to interfere with the Trade Boards.

HOUSES AND HEALTH

Our social programme includes a National Scheme of Housing which will end the scandal of a homeless population and replace the slums by decent homes.

More generous provision for the Old Age Pensioners has been one of Labour's constant demands, and is one we shall continue to press.

We shall also urge the removal of the present unjust deductions from Old Age Pensions where Friendly Society or Trade Union benefits or small savings exist, whereby thrift is at present penalised.

We stand for the complete supersession of the Poor Law and the institution of a system of Pensions for Widowed Mothers.

Labour will strive to stop the continued attempts now being made to cut off or cut down the ex-Service men's pensions; it demands the conversion of conditional into permanent pensions, and it will resist all attempts to transfer the mentally or physically infirm to the Poor Law.

In our view, the rule to be applied by the Pensions Ministry throughout its administration should be, "Fit for service, fit for pension."

MORE POWER TO DEMOCRACY

The Labour Party has always declared its opposition to measures which increase the power of the wealthier classes to frustrate the people's will. The Parliament Act must stand, and there must be no restoration of the Lords' veto.

Our policy is to remove all existing disabilities affecting women as citizens, voters, and workers.

Adult suffrage, reform of Parliamentary procedure, and control of Ministers by the House of Commons are included in our programme to make the people's will effective by constitutional means.

In accordance with these democratic principles Labour must stand for the control of the Liquor Traffic according to the people's will.

HIGHER STANDARD OF LIFE

The task of government is to raise the standard of life and labour for those whose work of hand and brain increases the nation's wealth.

Parliaments have in the past been too much concerned to protect the privileges and extend the power of the rich. Labour wants to increase the happiness and prosperity of the poor, by better housing, better schooling, better living, better health, more leisure, more freedom, more opportunities for enjoying the good things of life.

We shall defend the school as we defend the home, and we aim at providing the rising generation with full protection from harmful and degrading moral and social conditions.

AGAINST REVOLUTION

Labour's programme is the best bulwark against violent upheaval and class wars. Democratic government can be made effective in this country without bloodshed or violence. Labour's policy is to bring about a more equitable distribution of the nation's wealth by constitutional means. This is neither Bolshevism nor Communism, but common sense and justice.

This is Labour's alternative to Reaction and Revolution.

Signed on behalf of the National Executive of the Labour Party,

SIDNEY WEBB, *Chairman.*
J. RAMSAY MACDONALD, *Vice-Chairman.*
ARTHUR HENDERSON, *Secretary.*

33 Eccleston Square, London, S.W.1, *October* 24, 1922.

APPENDIX IV.

LABOUR MEMBERS, JULY, 1923

Constituency.	*Name.*	*Society.*
CHESHIRE : Crewe	E. G. Hemmerde, K.C., 1, Hare Court, Temple, E.C.4.	D.L.P.
CUMBERLAND : Carlisle	G. Middleton, 61, Kidderminster Road, West Croydon.	U.P.O.W.
Whitehaven	T. Gavan Duffy, Miners' Hall, Cleator Moor, Cumberland.	Cumberland Iron Ore Miners.
Workington	T. Cape, 91, Harrington Road, Workington.	M.F.G.B.
DERBY : Derby	Rt. Hon. J. H. Thomas, Unity House, Euston Road, N.W.1.	N.U.R.
Clay Cross	C. Duncan, "Highfield," Golders Green Road, N.W.	W.U.
Ilkeston	G. Oliver, 37, Walbrook Road, Derby.	D.L.P.
North Eastern	F. Lee, Tennyson Avenue, Chesterfield.	M.F.G.B.
DURHAM : Gateshead	J. Brotherton, 12, Camden Street, Beeston Hill, Leeds.	A.E.U.
Bishop Auckland	Ben Spoor, House of Commons, S.W.1.	I.L.P.
Blaydon	W. Whiteley, 3, The Villas, Red Hill, Durham.	M.F.G.B.
Chester-le-Street	J. Lawson, 6, Twyzell Lane, Beamish, Co. Durham.	M.F.G.B.
Consett	Rev. H. Dunnico, "Tyne Villa," Wellesley Road, Ilford.	I.L.P.
Durham	J. Ritson, East House, Miners' Hall, Sunderland.	M.F.G.B.
Houghton-le-Spring	R. Richardson, "Roseville," St. Ardan's Terrace, New Herrington, Fence Houses, Co. Durham.	M.F.G.B.
Jarrow	R. J. Wilson, 4, Sidecliff Road, Sunderland.	D.L.P.
Seaham	Sidney Webb, 41, Grosvenor Road, S.W.1.	Fabian.
Sedgfield	J. Herriotts, 31, Eden Terrace, Chilton Buildings, Ferryhill, Co. Durham.	M.F.G.B.
Spennymoor	J. Batey, 27, The Avenue, Durham.	M.F.G.B.
ESSEX : East Ham, South	A. Barnes, 7, Lichfield Road, East Ham, E.6.	Co-op.
Walthamstow, W.	V. L. McEntee, 64, Ulverston Road, Walthamstow, E.17.	A.S.W.
Plaistow	W. Thorne, 28, Tavistock Square, W.C.1.	N.U.G.W.
Silvertown	J. Jones, 28, Tavistock Square, W.C.1.	N.U.G.W.
Stratford	T. Groves, 155, Leytonstone Road, Stratford, E.15.	D.L.P.
GLOUCESTER : Forest of Dean	J. Wignall, 17, Fawnbrake Avenue, Herne Hill, S.E.24.	T. & G.W.U.

Constituency.	*Name.*	*Society.*
LANCS. .	... C. Roden Buxton, ...	I.L.P.
Accrington	6, Erskine Hill, Golders Green, N.W.11.	
Burnley	... D. Irving, ...	S.D.F.
	"Sunbrilo," 80, Glen View Road, Burnley.	
Eccles	... J. Buckle, ...	B. & S.O.
	13, Eighteenth Avenue, New Wortley, Leeds.	
Leigh	... H. Twist, ...	M.F.G.B.
	1, Laurel Grove, Wigan Road, Ashton-in-Makerfield.	
Liverpool, Edge Hill	... J. H. Hayes, ...	P. & P.O.
	Vigilance House, 57, Clapton Common, E.5.	
Manchester, Ardwick	... T. Lowth, ...	N.U.R.
	201a, Bowes Road, New Southgate, N.11.	
Manchester, Gorton	... Rt. Hon. John Hodge, ...	B.I.S. & K.T.A.
	76, Swinton Street, Gray's Inn Road, W.C.1.	
Manchester, Platting	... Rt. Hon. J. R. Clynes, ...	N.U.G.W.
	41, St. John's Road, Putney, S.W.15.	
Nelson & Colne	... Arthur Greenwood, ...	D.L.P.
	28, The Avenue, Surbiton, Surrey.	
Oldham	... W. J. Tout, ...	U.T.F.W.A.
	18, Hare Hill Street, Todmorden, Lancs.	
Preston	... Tom Shaw, ...	U.T.F.W.A.
	39, Ryfold Road, Wimbledon Park, S.W.19.	
Rochdale	... J. Stanley Burgess, ...	A.E.U.
	115, Empire Road, Sheffield.	
St. Helens	... J. Sexton, ...	T. & G.W.U
	"Holmfield," Tarbock Road, Huyton, Liverpool.	
Salford, North	... Ben Tillett, ...	T. & G.W.U.
	3, Central Buildings, Westminster, S.W.1.	
Wigan	... J. A. Parkinson, ...	M.F.G.B.
	"Glenthorne," Orrell Mount, near Wigan.	
Farnworth	... Thos. Greenall, ...	M.F.G.B.
	Dingsdale House, Boothstown, Manchester.	
Ince	... Stephen Walsh, ...	M.F.G.B.
	8, Swinley Road, Wigan, Lancs.	
Newton	... Robert Young, ...	A.E.U.
	213, Barry Road, East Dulwich, S.E.	
Westhoughton	... R. J. Davies, ...	N.U.D.A.W.
	"Maendy," 17, Alan Road, Withington, Manchester.	
LEICESTER :	... Ald. A. Hill, ...	B. & S.O.
Leicester, West	119, Willow Brook Road, Leicester.	
LINCOLNSHIRE :	... W. S. Royce, ...	D.L.P.
Holland with Boston	Pinchbeck Hall, Spalding, Lincs.	
LONDON :	... S. Saklatvala,	D.L.P.
Battersea, North	2, St. Albans Villas, Highgate Road, N.W.5.	
Bermondsey, West	... Dr. A. Salter, ...	I.L.P.
	5, Storks Road, Bermondsey, S.E.16.	
Camberwell, North	... C. G. Ammon, ...	U.P.O.W.
	121, Alscot Road, S.E.1.	
Deptford	... Rt. Hon. C. W. Bowerman, ...	L.S.C.
	4, Battledean Road, Highbury, N.5.	

Constituency.	*Name.*	*Society.*
LONDON—*contd.*		
Poplar, Bow and Bromley	Geo. Lansbury, 39, Bow Road, E.3.	D.L.P.
Poplar, South	Coun. S. March, 2, Plimsoll Street, Poplar, E.14.	T. & G.W.U
Stepney, Limehouse	Major C. R. Attlee, 17, Monkham's Avenue, Woodford Green, Essex.	I.L.P.
Stepney, Whitechapel	Harry Gosling, 229, South Lambeth Road, S.W.8.	D.L.P.
Woolwich, East	H. Snell, 3, Leighton Crescent, N.W.5.	D.L.P.
MIDDLESEX : Edmonton	F. A. Broad, 39, Sweetbriar Walk, Edmonton, N.18.	A.E.U.
Tottenham, North	R. C. Morrison, 30, Sandford Avenue, N.22.	Co-op.
NORFOLK : Northern	Noel Buxton, 12, Rutland Gate, S.W.7.	D.L.P.
NORTHUMBERLAND : Morpeth	Robert Smillie, Millar Street, Larkhall, Lanarkshire.	M.F.G.B.
Newcastle, Central	C. P. Trevelyan, 14, Great College Street, Westminster, S.W.1.	I.L.P.
Newcastle, East	Rt. Hon. A. Henderson, 81, Carlisle Mansions, Victoria Street, S.W.1.	N.U.F.W.
Newcastle, West	David Adams, J.P. "The Cottage," Jesmond, Newcastle-on-Tyne.	A.E.U.
Wallsend-on-Tyne	Patrick Hastings, K.C., 5, Paper Buildings, Temple, E.C.4	D.L.P.
Wansbeck	G. H. Warne, 100, Woodhorn Road, Ashington, Northumberland.	M.F.G.B.
NOTTINGHAM : Nottingham, West	A. Hayday, 1, St. James', Nottingham.	N.U.G.W.
Broxtowe	G. A. Spencer, 39, Langtry Grove, Nottingham.	M.F.G.B.
STAFFORD : Newcastle-under-Lyme	Col. J. C. Wedgwood, 12, Beaufort House, Beaufort Street, S.W.3.	I.L.P.
Smethwick	J. E. Davison, 32, Cottingham Street, Attercliffe.	N.U.F.W.
Stoke-on-Trent, Burslem	A. MacLaren, 38, Ryfold Road, Wimbledon Park, S.W.19.	D.L.P.
Stoke-on-Trent, Hanley	Harper Parker, J.P. 2, Hill Street, Sneyd Green, Hanley.	N.A.U. Enginemen
Wednesbury	A Short, House of Commons, S.W.1.	Boilermakers
West Bromwich	F. O. Roberts, 61, Collingwood Road, Northampton.	Typo. Association
Cannock	W. M. Adamson, 25, Queen's Crescent, Lincoln.	W.U.
Kingswinford	C. H. Sitch, 1, Whitehall Road, Cradley Heath, Staffs.	Chain Makers
Leek	W. Bromfield, Foxlowe, Market Place, Leek, Staffs.	Midland Textile Association
SURREY : Mitcham	J. Chuter Ede, 78, Miles Road, Epsom, Surrey.	D.L.P.
YORKSHIRE : Barnsley	J. Potts, 13, Victoria Road, Barnsley, Yorks.	M.F.G.B.
Batley and Morley	Ben Turner, J.P., 5, Talbot Street, Batley, Yorks.	G.U.T.W.

Constituency.	*Name.*	*Society.*
YORKSHIRE—*contd.*		
Bradford, Central	... Wm. Leach, ... 16, Haslingden Drive, Bradford.	I.L.P.
Bradford, East	... F. W. Jowett, ... 10, Grantham Terrace, Bradford.	I.L.P.
Dewsbury	... Ben Riley, ... 28, Westfield Avenue, Huddersfield.	I.L.P.
Leeds, South	... H. C. Charleton, ... 83, Falkland Road, Kentish Town, N.W.5.	N.U.R.
Leeds, South-East	... J. O'Grady, ... 60, Cavendish Road, Clapham Common, S.W.13.	T. & G.W.U.
Sheffield, Attercliffe	C. H. Wilson, ... 26, Chippenham St., Attercliffe.	D.L.P.
Sheffield, Brightside	... A. Ponsonby, ... 40, Chelsea Park Gardens, S.W.3.	I.L.P.
Sheffield, Hillsborough	...A. V. Alexander, ... 4, Great Smith Street, S.W.1.	Co-op.
West Riding, Colne Valley	... Philip Snowden, ... 53, Carlisle Mansions, Westminster, S.W.1.	I.L.P.
West Riding, Doncaster	... W. Paling, ... 36, Askerne Road, Bentley, Doncaster.	M.F.G.B.
West Riding, Don Valley	... T. Williams, ... 11, Lincoln Gardens, Goldthorpe, near Rotherham.	M.F.G.B.
West Riding, Elland	... W. C. Robinson, ... 6, Horncliffe Road, Blackpool.	U.T.F.W.A.
West Riding, Hemsworth	... J. Guest, ... The Elders, South Hindley, Barnsley, Yorks.	M.F.G.B.
West Riding, Keighley	... H. B. Lees Smith, ... 12, North Square, Golders Green, N.W.11.	I.L.P.
West Riding, Normanton	... F. Hall, ... 26, Victoria Road, Barnsley.	M.F.G.B.
West Riding, Pontefract	... T. Smith, ... 19, Harrogate Road, Darnall, near Sheffield.	M.F.G.B.
West Riding, Rother Valley	... T. W. Grundy, ... 15, Godstone Road, Rotherham.	M.F.G.B.
West Riding, Rothwell	... W. Lunn, ... "Westleigh," Rothwell, Leeds.	M.F.G.B.
West Riding, Wentworth	... G. Hirst, ... Church Street, Darfield, Barnsley, Yorks.	M.F.G.B.
	WALES.	
CARMARTHEN : Llanelly	... Dr. J. H. Williams, ... Snowden House, Bury Port, Carmarthen.	D.L.P.
CARNARVONSHIRE : Carnarvonshire	... R. T. Jones, ... Arfryn, Segontium Terrace, Carnarvon, N. Wales.	N.W.Q.U.
DENBIGH : Wrexham	... R. Richards, ... Llangynog, Oswestry, Salop.	D.L.P.
GLAMORGAN : Merthyr Tydfil, Aberdare	... G. H. Hall, ... 4, Harris View, Penrhiwceiber, Glam.	M.F.G.B.
Merthyr Tydfil, Merthyr	... R. C. Wallhead, ... Valley Road, Welwyn Garden City, Herts.	I.L.P.
Rhondda, East	... Col. D. Watts Morgan, D.S.O., ... Caemwar, Porth, Rhondda.	M.F.G.B.
Rhondda, West	... Wm. John, ... Gelli-deg, Tonypandy, S. Wales.	M.F.G.B.

Constituency.	*Name.*	*Society.*
GLAMORGAN—*contd.*		
Swansea, East	D. Williams, 25, Windmill Terrace, Swansea.	I.L.P.
Aberavon	J. Ramsay MacDonald, 9, Howitt Rd., Hampstead, N.W.	I.L.P.
Caerphilly	Morgan Jones, 59, Warner Road, Camberwell, S.E.5.	I.L.P.
Gower	D. R. Grenfell, Ardwyn, Carnglas Road, Sketty, near Swansea.	M.F.G.B.
Neath	Ald. Wm. Jenkins, Mount Pleasant, Cymmer, Port Talbot, Glam.	M.F.G.B.
Ogmore	V. Hartshorn, Hill Crest, Maesteg, Glam.	M.F.G.B.
Pontypridd	T. I. Mardy Jones, 16, Llantwit Road, Pontypridd, Glam.	M.F.G.B.
MONMOUTH : Abertillery	Geo. Barker, 116, Alexandra Road, Abertillery, Mon.	M.F.G.B.
Bedwelty	C. Edwards, Stafford House, Gelli Crescent, Risca, Mon.	M.F.G.B.
Ebbw Vale	Evan Davies, Caerwent, Ebbw Vale, Mon.	M.F.G.B.
Pontypool	Tom Griffiths, 45, Lewis Road, Neath.	B.I.S. & K.T.A.

SCOTLAND.

ABERDEEN AND KINCARDINE : Aberdeen, North	Frank Rose, "Dumbarton," 192, Brixton Hill, S.W.	A.E.U.
AYR & BUTE : South Ayrshire	J. Brown, 56, Annbank-by-Ayr, Scotland.	M.F.G.B.
DUMBARTON : Dumbarton and Clydebank	David Kirkwood, 7, St. Mark Street, Shettleston, Glasgow.	A.E.U.
FIFE : Dunfermline Burghs	Wm. M. Watson, 341, Broad Street, Cowdenbeath, Fife.	M.F.G.B.
Western Fife	Rt. Hon. W. Adamson, 6, Victoria Street, Dunfermline.	M.F.G.B.
FORFAR : Dundee	E. D. Morel, Cherry Croft, King's Langley, Herts.	D.L.P.
LANARK : Glasgow, Bridgeton	Jas. Maxton, M.A., Beechwood, Barrhead, Scotland.	I.L.P.
Glasgow, Camlachie	Rev. Campbell Stephen, 13, Ronald Street, Townhead, Glasgow.	I.L.P.
Glasgow, Cathcart	J. P. Hay, 12, Miller Street, Shawlands, Glasgow.	I.L.P.
Glasgow, Gorbals	G. Buchanan, 28, Pollok Street, Glasgow.	Patternmakers
Glasgow, Govan	Neil McLean, 181, St. Andrews Road, Pollokshields, Glasgow.	I.L.P.
Glasgow, Maryhill	J. W. Muir, 250, Cumlodden Drive, Maryhill, Glasgow.	I.L.P.
Glasgow, St. Rollox	Jas. Stewart, 312, Cumbernauld Road, Glasgow.	I.L.P.

Constituency.	*Name.*	*Society.*
LANARK—*contd.*		
Glasgow, Shettleston	J. Wheatley, "Romsdale," Hill Street, Shettleston, Glasgow.	I.L.P.
Glasgow, Springburn	G. B. D. Hardie, 1, Benview Road, Clarkston, Glasgow.	I.L.P.
Glasgow, Tradeston	Thos. Henderson, Drumayne, Govan, Glasgow.	Co-op.
Bothwell	J. Robertson, Cadzowburn House, Hamilton, Scotland.	M.F.G.B.
Coatbridge	J. C. Welsh, Stanley Cottage, Low Waters, Hamilton, Scotland.	D.L.P.
Hamilton	Duncan Graham, Gowrie House, Bothwell Road, Hamilton, Scotland.	M.F.G.B.
Northern	J. Sullivan, 523, Main Street, Mossend, Lanarkshire.	M.F.G.B.
Rutherglen	W. Wright, 96, Rosslyn Avenue, Rutherglen.	I.L.P.
LINLITHGOW : Linlithgow	Coun. E. Shinwell, 105, Stephen's Road, Becontree, Essex.	I.L.P.
MIDLOTHIAN & PEEBLES... Edinburgh, Central	W. Graham, 105, Sunny Gardens, Hendon, N.W.4.	D.L.P.
Peebles and Southern	J. Westwood, Haig Avenue, Kirkcaldy, Fife.	M.F.G.B.
RENFREWSHIRE : Eastern	Robert Nichol, 34, Hillmarton Road, Camden Road, N.7.	I.L.P.
Western	R. Murray, 19, Arthurkie Street, Barrhead, Renfrewshire.	I.L.P.
STIRLING AND CLACKMANNAN : Stirling & Falkirk	Hugh Murnin, 1, Dean Crescent, Stirling.	Sc.M.W.
Clackmannan and Eastern Stirling	L. MacNeil Weir, 26, Dinmont Road, Shawlands, Glasgow.	I.L.P.
Western Stirling	T. Johnston, Peelview Terrace, Kirkintilloch, Scotland.	I.L.P.

APPENDIX V.

ENDORSED CANDIDATES, JUNE, 1923

(Excluding Sitting Members)

Constituency.	*Candidate.*	*Financing Organisation.*
CHESHIRE : Northwich	... J. Williams, ... 171, Mauldeth Road, Withington, Manchester.	N.U.G.W.
DERBY : Belper	... O. W. Wright, ... Holmlea, Swanwick, nr. Alfreton, Derbyshire.	D.L.P.
DURHAM : Stockton-on-Tees	... F. F. Riley, ... 43, Cromwell Road, South Kensington, S.W.7.	U.P.O.W.
ESSEX : West Ham (Upton)	... Ben Gardner, ... 472, Barking Road, E.13.	I.L.P.
Colchester	... Capt. R. L. Reiss, ... 3, Gray's Inn Place, London, W.C.1.	D.L.P.
Saffron Walden	... W. Cash, ... 8, Grange Road, Bermondsey, S.E.	D.L.P.
GLOUCESTERSHIRE : Bristol, East	... Walter Baker, ... 1, Chestnut Grove, Balham, S.W.	U.P.O.W.
Gloucester	... M. Phillips Price, ... Ruskin Hall, Eastgate Street, Gloucester.	D.L.P.
HANTS : Bournemouth	... Miss Minnie Pallister, ... 89, Suffolk Place, Porthcawl, Glamorgan.	I.L.P.
Petersfield	... Maj. Leigh Aman, ... Rowlands Castle, Hants.	D.L.P.
Winchester	... Reg. Stamp, ... Lynton House, Parliament Hill, N.W.3.	D.L.P.
HERTS : Hitchin	... B. Skene Mackay, ... 19, Hampstead Hill Gardens, N.W.3.	I.L.P.
HUNTS : Huntingdon	... Maj. Dermot Freyer, ... c/o W. Bonnett, 35, Ermine Street, Huntingdon.	D.L.P.
ISLE OF WIGHT :	... H. C. Shearman, ... "Hillside," Freshwater, Isle of Wight.	D.L.P.
KENT : Rochester, Gillingham	... Col. M. Spencer, ... The Old Rectory, Lower Hardres, Canterbury.	D.L.P.
Ashford	... B. Noble, ... 15, Mead Road, South Willesborough, Ashford, Kent.	D.L.P.
Dartford	... J. E. Mills, ... 4, Lassa Road, Eltham, S.E.9.	D.L.P.
Faversham	... Rev. Stanley Morgan, ... 26, The Terrace, Greenhithe, Kent.	D.L.P.
Gravesend	... Geo. Isaacs, ... 26, Blackfriars Road, S.E.	N.A.T.S.O.P.A.
LANCS. : Barrow-in-Furness	... John Bromley, ... 9, Arkwright Road, Hampstead, N.W.3.	A.S.E.L. & F.
LINCS. : Grantham	... M. W. Moore, ... Claypole, Newark-on-Trent	D.L.P.
LONDON : Camberwell, N.-W.	... Dr. H. B. Morgan, ... 128, Greenwich Road, S.E.10.	D.L.P.
Hammersmith, N.	... J. Gardner, ... 14, Leysfield Road, W.12.	I.L.P.

Constituency.	*Candidate.*	*Financing Organisation.*
Hammersmith, S.	Cllr. Wyndham Albery, 41, Abbey Road, N.W.8.	I.L.P.
Hampstead	James Marley, 10, Estelle Road, N.W.3.	D.L.P.
Islington, East	Dr. Ethel Bentham, 61, Lansdowne Road, W.11.	D.L.P.
Islington, South	W. S. Clause, 41, Mildmay Park, Islington, N.	S.D.F.
Kensington, North	W. J. Jarrett, 8, Bonchurch Road, North Kensington.	D.L.P.
St. Pancras, S.-W.	George Horne, 26, York Rise, N.W.5.	D.L.P.
Shoreditch	E. Thurtle, 69, Pitfield Street, N.1.	D.L.P.
Southwark, North	Dr. Haden Guest, The Clinic, Pocock Street, Blackfriars, S.E.	D.L.P.
Stepney (Mile End)	John Scurr, 15, Woodstock Road, Poplar, E.	I.L.P.
Wandsworth, Balham and Tooting	A. G. Barralet, 25, Buckingham Palace Road, S.W.1.	D.L.P.
MIDDLESEX: Acton	Miss Mary Richardson, 6, North Street, Westminster, S.W.	D.L.P.
Enfield	George Lathan, 36, Kingsley Road. Palmers Green, N.	R.C.A.
NORFOLK: Southern	Geo. Edwards, 7, Lichfield Street, Fakenham, Norfolk.	D.L.P.
NORTHAMPTON: Northampton	Miss M. Bondfield, Dilke House, Malet Street, W.C.1	N.U.G.W.
SUFFOLK: Eye	Capt. C. W. Kendall, 9, Halesworth Road, Lewisham, S.E.13.	D.L.P.
Lowestoft	R. Mellanby, 1, Chapel Street, Lowestoft.	D.L.P.
Woodbridge	E. J. C. Neep, Freston Rectory, Freston, near Ipswich.	D.L.P.
STAFFS.: Wolverhampton, W.	W. J. Brown, 38a, St. George's Road, S.W.1.	C.S.C.A.
SUSSEX: Chichester	Comdr. R. Hope, 38, Banister Road, Onslow Village, Guildford.	D.L.P.
WARWICK: Birmingham (Deritend)	Fred Longden, 561, Moseley Road, Birmingham.	D.L.P.
Birmingham, West	Frank Smith, 14, Buckingham Street, W.C.	D.L.P.
Birmingham (Ladywood)	Dr. Robt. Dunstan, 84, Boyson Road, S.E.17.	D.L.P.
WORCESTER: Evesham	R. Aldington, J.P., The Cross, Offenham, Evesham, Worcester.	D.L.P.
Stourbridge	W. Wellock, 9, Terry Street, Nelson, Lancs.	I.L.P.
YORKSHIRE: Leeds, West	T. W. Stamford, 108, Durham Road, Bradford.	I.L.P.
Middlesbrough, E.	M. Connolly, 208, Hampstead Road, Newcastle-on-Tyne.	Boilermakers
Penistone	Rennie Smith, B.Sc., Stocksbridge, near Sheffield.	I.L.P.

Constituency.	*Candidate.*	*Financing Organisation.*
York	... T. H. Gill, 77, Lindley Street, York. ...	R.C.A.
West Riding, Barkston Ash	... G. L. Ward, Kippax Station, near Leeds. ...	D.L.P.
West Riding, Shipley	... Wm. Mackinder, Woodville House, 149, Little Horton Lane, Bradford. ...	D.L.P.
West Riding, Spen Valley	... Cllr. T. Myers, Brewery Lane, Thornhill Lees, Dewsbury. ...	D.L.P.
	WALES.	
MERIONETH : Merioneth	... J. Jones Roberts, B.A. 15, Vincent Square, S.W.1. ...	D.L.P.
	SCOTLAND.	
AYR AND BUTE : Kilmarnock	... R. Climie, 25, Armour Street, Kilmarnock. ...	D.L.P.
FIFE : Kirkcaldy	... T. Kennedy, 10, Belvoir Road, East Dulwich, S.E. ...	S.D.F.
FORFAR : Montrose Burghs	... John Carnegie, The Nook, Barry, Dundee. ...	I.L.P.
MIDLOTHIAN : Leith	... R. F. Wilson, 100, Ferry Road, Leith. ...	D.L.P.

APPENDIX VI.

LABOUR PARTY AGENTS, JUNE, 1923

(Appointed under Conference Scheme).

Constituency.		*Name.*
BERKSHIRE—		
Reading	...	A. Lockwood, 40, Oxford Road, Reading.
BUCKINGHAMSHIRE—		
Buckingham	...	R. W. Turner, 7, Bletchley Road, Bletchley.
Wycombe	...	W. Anderton, 15, Priory Avenue, High Wycombe.
CHESHIRE—		
Crewe	...	A. Denton, Prudential Buildings, Market Street, Crewe.
Northwich	...	F. Parker, 16, Applemarket Street, Northwich.
CUMBERLAND—		
Carlisle	...	J. Wynne, Trades Hall, Scotch Street, Carlisle.
DERBYSHIRE—		
Derby	...	W. R. Raynes, 63, London Road, Derby.
DURHAM—		
Darlington	...	Ben Dodd, Post Office Chambers, Northgate, Darlington.
Stockton-on-Tees	...	A. J. Thatcher, Second Floor, Cinema Buildings, High Street, Stockton-on-Tees.
Consett	...	B. J. Burridge, 3, Pelaw Avenue, Stanley, S.O., Co. Durham.
Jarrow	...	J. Coutts, 47, Ellison Street, Jarrow.
ESSEX—		
East Ham, North	...	W. Stewart Rainbird, Labour Hall, Katherine Road, E. Ham, E.6.
Walthamstow, W.	...	W. H. Jacob, 342, Hoe Street, E.17.
Colchester	...	P. F. Pollard, Labour Club, Eld Lane, Colchester.
Maldon	...	W. Burrows, High Street, Witham, Essex.
Saffron Walden	...	H. Russell Davey, The Garton, Great Easton, near Dunmow, Essex.
South-Eastern	...	J. Lavin, 24, Hathaway Road, Grays, Essex.
GLOUCESTER—		
Bristol, East	...	H. E. Rogers, 84, Church Road, Redfield, Bristol.
Bristol (Borough)	...	E. Parker, 58, Brittania Road, Bristol.
Gloucester	...	J. E. Curtis, Ruskin Hall, Eastgate St., Gloucester.
Cirencester and Tewkesbury	...	L. E. Horne, Moreton-in-Marsh, Gloucester.
HAMPSHIRE—		
Fareham	...	C. Wilkinson, "Stranraer," Catisfield, Fareham.
KENT—		
Gravesend	...	W. H. Hunt, Trades and Labour Hall, 14, Overcliffe, Gravesend.
LANCASHIRE—		
Accrington	...	W. Howson, 19, Warner Street, Accrington.
Barrow-in-Furness	...	B. Longstaffe, 224, Dalton Road, Barrow-in-Furness.
Blackburn	...	G. B. Eddie, 52a, Victoria Street, Blackburn.
Bolton	...	H. Eastwood, Spinners' Hall, St. George's Road, Bolton.
Burnley	...	J. W. Gradwell, 1, Yorke Street, Burnley.
Bury	...	F. Edwards, Peter Street, Moorgate, Bury.
Eccles	...	W. M. Rogerson, 6, Mayfield Avenue, Walkden, Manchester.
Manchester (Borough)	...	W. Jackson, 3, Clarence Street, Albert Square, Manchester.
Ardwick	...	T. M. Larrad, 64, Ainsworth Street, West Gorton, Manchester.
Blackley	...	G. G. Wellings, 72, Market Street, Piccadilly, Manchester.
Gorton	...	S. Hague, 3, Hyde Road, Gorton, Manchester.
Platting	...	A. James, 2a, Enoch Street, Miles Platting.
Nelson and Colne	...	W. Throup, 56, Railway Street, Nelson.
Oldham	...	I. Crabtree, 151, Union Street, Oldham.
Preston	...	W. E. Morris, 14, Guildhall Street, Preston.

Constituency.		*Name.*
LANCASHIRE—*contd.*		
Rochdale	...	E. J. Alford, 6, Hunters Lane, Rochdale.
Rossendale	...	M. Palmer, 715a, Bacup Road, Waterfoot, near Manchester.
St. Helens	...	R. Waring, Windle Labour Club, Dentons Green Lane, St. Helens.
Clitheroe	...	F. Constantine, 36, Burnley Road, Padiham.
Heywood and Radcliffe	...	E. J. Hookway, 15 to 17, Stand Lane, Radcliffe.
Middleton and Prestwich	...	J. Graham, 15, Market Place, Middleton.
Newton	...	W. Speakman, Park Road, Newton-le-Willows.
Ormskirk	...	J. Ruck, Troqueer Buildings, Aughton Street, Ormskirk.
Royton	...	W. H. Barton, Trades Hall, Littleborough.
Westhoughton	...	W. A. Spofforth, 9, Market Street, Westhoughton.
LEICESTERSHIRE—		
Leicester, W.	...	J. H. Baum, 150, Belgrave Gate, Leicester.
Harborough	...	T. Rowland Hill, 14, Granby Street, Leicester.
Leicester (Borough)	...	W. Howard, 88, Rutland Street, Leicester.
LINCOLNSHIRE—		
Holland with Boston	...	H. St. Dunstan White, Sheep Market, Spalding.
LONDON—		
Battersea	...	Coun. Mason, 455, Battersea Park Road, S.W.11.
Camberwell, N.	...	C. A. G. Manning, 356, Old Kent Road, S.E.
Deptford	...	W. H. Green, J.P., 435, New Cross Road, S.E.14.
Hammersmith	...	H. G. Hamilton Cardwell, 154, Goldhawk Rd., W.12
Islington, E.	...	W. Miles, 248, St. Paul's Road, N.1.
Poplar, S.	...	G. J. Cressall, 15, Macquarie Way, E.14.
St. Pancras, N.	...	A. Leach Williams, 57, Fortess Road, N.W.5.
St. Pancras, S.E.	...	H. Dawson Large, 49, Aldingham Street, N.W.1.
Stepney, Whitechapel	...	S. J. Donoghue, 138, Cannon Street Road, E.1.
Woolwich, E.	...	Coun. W. Barefoot, J.P., 3, New Road, Woolwich.
MIDDLESEX—		
Edmonton	...	A. P. Blake, 344, Fore Street, Edmonton, N.9.
Willesden, West	...	A. E. Nunn, 375, High Road, N.W.10.
Enfield	...	H. Scrivener, 66, Silver Street, Enfield.
NORFOLK—		
Northern	...	S. J. Gee, 37, Bernard Road, Cromer.
Southern	...	R. A. Watson, Labour Institute, Wymondham, Norfolk.
NORTHUMBERLAND—		
Morpeth	...	T. Gibb, 82, Bowes Street, Blyth, Northumberland
Newcastle, Central	...	W. C. Percival, I.L.P. Hall, 36, Diana Street, Newcastle.
Newcastle, East	...	W. Locke, 37a, Heaton Park Road, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
Newcastle, West	...	W. Taylor, 19, Ladykirk Road, Newcastle.
Wallsend	...	J. T. Scanlon, 70, Station Road, Wallsend-on-Tyne
Hexham	...	J. Peel, 10, Tulip Street, Prudhoe, Hexham.
Wansbeck	...	J. Lees, 63, Gainsborough Grove, Newcastle.
NOTTINGHAMSHIRE—		
Nottingham, W.	...	G. Goodall, General Workers' Office, Newstead House, St. James' Street, Nottingham.
OXFORD—		
Banbury	...	P. Gilkes, 32, Parsons Street, Banbury.
SOMERSET—		
Frome	...	F. Gould, 6, Rackvernal Road, Midsomer Norton, Somerset.
STAFFORDSHIRE—		
Smethwick	...	C. C. Jones, 45, Swindon Road, Edgbaston, Birmingham.
Walsall	...	E. Baldwyn, Labour Club, Bradford Street, Walsall.
West Bromwich	...	A. Guest, 319, High Street, West Bromwich.
Wolverhampton, W.	...	Dan Davies, 35, Queen's Square, Wolverhampton.
Cannock	...	J. Lewis, 44, Cannock Road, Blackfords, Cannock.
Lichfield	...	H. Riley, Daw End Road, Rushall, near Walsall.
Stafford	...	G. Hindle, Co-op. Hall, Wolverhampton Road, Stafford.
SUFFOLK—		
Ipswich	...	W. T. Harris, 35, Silent Street, Ipswich.

Constituency.		*Name.*
SURREY—		
Croydon	...	H. Croft, Ruskin House, Croydon.
WARWICKSHIRE—		
Birmingham (Borough)	...	F. W. Rudland, 262, Corporation St., Birmingham.
Ladywood	...	E. Bevan, 1, Enderley Buildings, Bellefield Road, Birmingham.
Yardley	...	S. Powell, 198, Banks Road, Small Heath, Birmingham.
Rugby	...	H. Tarbox, Trades Hall, Albert Street, Rugby.
WILTSHIRE—		
Swindon	...	E. Weatherley, 93, Commercial Road, Swindon.
WORCESTERSHIRE—		
Kidderminster	...	A. Turner, 6, Sion Hill, Broadwaters, Kidderminster
YORKSHIRE—		
Batley and Morley	...	J. Beever, Bank Chambers, Batley.
Bradford (Borough)	...	T. Ashworth, 1, Peckover Street, Church Bank, Bradford.
Huddersfield	...	W. Whiteley, 12, Church Avenue, Crossland Moor, Huddersfield.
Leeds, South	...	D. B. Foster, 14, Upper Fountaine Street, Leeds.
Middlesbrough, E.	...	J. Beilby, L.P. Offices, 82, Russell Street, Middlesbrough.
Rotherham	...	G. Caine, 14, Norfolk Street, Rotherham.
Wakefield	...	Coun. Burley Johnson, 55, Hatfield St., Wakefield.
York	...	J. J. Pendry, 2, Railway Street, York.
Cleveland	...	J. Kelsall, 17, Ruby Street, Saltburn-by-Sea.
Colne Valley	...	S. Eastwood, 53, Wood Top, Slaithwaite, near Huddersfield.
Elland	...	J. Lawson, 44, Bradford Road, Brighouse, Yorks.
Skipton	...	H. Atkinson, Bleach House, Bentham, near Lancaster.
Sowerby	...	M. Crossley, Bank Chambers, Sowerby Bridge, Yorks.
		WALES.
CARMARTHEN—		
Llanelly	...	Jos. Griffiths, 30, Stepney Street, Llanelly.
GLAMORGAN—		
Aberavon	...	Coun. J. Brown, 7, Penrhyn Street, Port Talbot.
Caerphilly	...	J. Sutherland Campbell, 64, Pontygwindy Road, Caerphilly.
MONMOUTH—		
Newport	...	W. B. Lewcock, 84, Stow Hill, Newport, Mon.
Pontypool	...	H. D. Bowden, Osborne Chambers, Osborne Road, Pontypool.
		SCOTLAND.
ABERDEEN—		
Aberdeen, N.	...	J. Balfour 47, Belmont Street, Aberdeen.
DUMBARTONSHIRE—		
Dumbarton & Clydebank...		A. McElwee, 11, Dunn Street, Dalmuir, Clydebank.

SUPPLEMENTARY LIST OF LABOUR PARTY AGENTS
(Appointed by Affiliated Organisations)

Constituency.	*Agent.*
CHESHIRE—	
Stalybridge and Hyde ...	T. Brown, 3, Whitehead Street, Dukinfield.
DURHAM—	
Barnard Castle and Spennymoor ...	J. Cape, Sunniside, Tow Law, Co. Durham.
Blaydon and Chester-le-Street ...	J. Gilliland, Second Avenue, Chester-le-Street.
Durham and Sedgefield ...	J. Foster, Fern House, Ferryhill, Co. Durham.
Houghton-le-Spring and South Shields ...	H. Bainbridge, 34, Mount Road, W., Sunderland.
ESSEX—	
West Ham (Silvertown and Plaistow) ...	B. Killip, 124, Barking Road, Canning Town, E.16.
GLOUCESTERSHIRE—	
Bristol, North ...	W. H. Jones, 4, Warwick Road, Eastville, Bristol.
LANCASHIRE—	
Ince ...	R. T. Phillips, 3, Church Street, Hindley, Lancs.
Leigh ...	J. Prescott, 112, Windermere Road, Leigh.
Salford, North ...	J. W. Edwards, 199, Trafford Road, Manchester.
Salford, West ...	J. Openshaw, 207, Langworthy Road, Pendleton, Manchester.
Wigan ...	R. Lewis, 26, Osborne Road, Ashton-in-Makerfield.
Farnworth ...	R. Mathews, 12, Barrett Street, Kearsley, Bolton.
MIDDLESEX—	
Tottenham, North ...	G. Ellis, 7, Bruce Grove, Tottenham, N.17.
NORTHAMPTON—	
Daventry ...	G. N. Hughes, 66, Abingdon Street, Northampton.
STAFFORDSHIRE—	
Leek ...	E. Rigby, 120, High Street, Newchapel, Stoke-on-Trent.
WARWICKSHIRE—	
Birmingham, West ...	G. Horwill, 265, Icknield Street, Hockley, Birmingham.
YORKSHIRE—	
Keighley ...	W. Bland, 140, Devonshire Street, Keighley.
GLAMORGAN—	
Merthyr Tydfil, Aberdare, Rhondda (East and West), Pontypridd ...	
Cardiff, Central ...	E. Allan Robson, 49, Charles Street, Cardiff.
Gower, Neath, Ogmore ...	Meth Jones, 9, Gower Street, Port Talbot.
MONMOUTH—	
Abertillery, Bedwellty Ebbw Vale, Monmouth ...	W. Harris, " Arfryn," Bryn Road, Pontllanfraith Mon.
DUNFERMLINE—	
Dunfermline Burghs and Western Fife ...	W. Watson, J.P., 341, Broad Street, Cowdenbeath, Fife.
AYR AND BUTE—	
South Ayrshire ...	David Stitt, Madeline Place, Muirkirk.
LANARK—	
Bothwell and N. Lanark ...	J. Fotheringham, Orwell Bent Road, Hamilton.
Hamilton ...	J. Waugh, Dirleton Place, Bellshill.
MIDLOTHIAN AND PEEBLES—	
Northern and Peebles and Southern ...	Coun. J. Westwood, 56, Pottery Street, Gallatown, Kirkcaldy.

APPENDIX VII.

The Proposal to Reduce the Rate of Interest on War Loans.

The Executive Committee undertook to report on the following resolution, moved by Mr. Neil Maclean, M.P., at the Edinburgh Conference in June, 1922 :—

> "That having regard to the reduction in the cost of living, and the consequent enforced reduction of wages, this Conference demands that the Government reduce the rate of interest payable upon War Loans."

The matter was referred to the Advisory Committee on Finance and Commerce, which interviewed Mr. Neil Maclean, M.P., and Mr. Tom Johnston, M.P., and heard their views in favour of the proposal. A lengthy report was drafted and submitted to the Executive Committee, which has approved its terms and now submits it for the information of the Conference and the Movement as a whole.

REPORT.

The reasons underlying the proposal may be stated broadly in this way. Where general prices have fallen, the £1 exchanges for more commodities than before. When the fall in prices is due, not to increased production, but largely to industrial depression, the worker suffers a reduction in his money wages, so that his "commodity" income is not increased, and may be considerably diminished. The investor, on the other hand, suffers no decrease in his interest, and consequently enjoys a larger real income; and this larger real income can only be enjoyed by him at the expense of the general body of workers. As put by Mr. Maclean in the *Labour Magazine* of June, 1922, "the investor gets more actual wealth than was contracted for, while the worker not only gets less in wages, but has to work harder and longer to produce the additional commodities taken by the investor." Putting the matter in another way, we may state that in such a time of falling prices the country has to pay a larger proportion of its total production to the holders of National Debt than before.

There is, of course, no doubt that a debt incurred at a time of high prices becomes a heavier burden on the community as prices fall, just as a debt incurred at a time of low prices becomes lighter as prices rise. Having regard to the fall in general prices that has been taking place and the burden on the community of an enormous War Debt, the Labour Party has continually urged that this burden must be lightened; and this relief to the whole body of producers has been and is a vital object of Labour Finance.

Before examining the proposal in detail, it will be as well to remove one misapprehension. It is true enough that the investor who lends money to the Government at a time of high prices reaps an advantage when prices fall. Is it, however, a fact that any such advantage has actually accrued to those who subscribed money to the War Loans? That this misapprehension exists is shown by the following quotation :—

> "The fact is that by the fall in prices the purchasing power of interest upon the War Debt has doubled since 1920, and the capital value of the Debt has doubled since 1920. In other words, while we guarantee to pay £350 millions in interest we are now paying £700 millions in interest, if that interest be measured in purchasing power; and the capital value of the debt, as Mr. Bonar Law has noted, is not now the £8,000 millions we borrowed, but £16,000 millions."—*Forward*, June, 1922.

The natural assumption from this is that the State is now paying (measured in commodities) twice as much interest as it guaranteed to pay, and that it owes in capital debt twice as much as it borrowed. There is no truth in such an assumption; and we cannot but regret that in a matter of this importance greater care has not been shown in stating the facts.

To appreciate the change in the purchasing power of the interest paid and the capital burden of the debt, it is necessary to have regard to the changes in the purchasing power of the currency £1 and to the dates at which the loans were

subscribed. In regard to the first of these points, error is frequently made in comparing the figures issued by the Ministry of Labour in connection with the cost of living. The figures commonly quoted represent, not the comparative costs, but the percentage increases over the pre-war costs.

The Ministry of Labour cost of living figures at various material dates have been :—

1. Date.	2. Percentage increase over pre-war costs (taken as 100).	3. Cost as compared with pre-war cost, i.e., column 2 plus 100.
September, 1914	10	110
,, 1915	30	130
,, 1916	50	150
,, 1917	80	180
,, 1918	115	215
,, 1919	120	220
November, 1920	176	276
August, 1922	81	181
January, 1923	78	178

The suggestion in the above quotation that purchasing power of interest and debt has doubled since 1920 is evidently based on column 2, and is therefore quite erroneous. We are only concerned with column 3. The Ministry of Labour figure reached its maximum about November, 1920, and the purchasing power of interest and debt at that time was about two-thirds of its present value.

The advantage (if any) reaped by the Debt Holders, or the additional burden imposed on the community, from the change in the purchasing power of money is not shown by the comparison between November, 1920, and the present time. We must have regard to the purchasing power of the money lent and the interest contracted for at the dates the loans were made.

We understand that the supporters of the Resolution do not contemplate applying this compulsory cut in interest either to the debt held abroad or to the floating debt which is renewable at short intervals. The following quotations from *Forward* may, perhaps, fairly be taken as representing their views :—

February 11, 1922: "We do not propose to touch the interest on short term Treasury Bills. We were dealing with long term loans—money that is not continually being renewed at more favourable terms to the nation."

March 11, 1922: "He (Mr. Pethick Lawrence) tells us that we must exclude £1,700 millions of the debt which is owed to America, otherwise there might be international complications. There is validity in that argument, so we dock off the £1,700 millions."

We omit, therefore, these two classes of debt from present consideration. There are various ways in which the change in the purchasing power of the remainder of the debt may be illustrated. The simplest method is probably to take the net borrowing in each year (indicated by the increase in the post-1914 debt each year) and to reduce these sums to terms of 1914 prices. The cost of living figures in September each year may be taken as a rough-and-ready basis of the calculation. An exact calculation would, of course, take note of the cost of living figures at the time each loan was actually taken up. The September figure is, however, near enough to illustrate the broad facts of the position.

The following statement shows the years and the amounts of the debt reduced to 1914 prices :—

Post-1914 Debt.		Net borrowing in year previous to date in first column.	Cost of living figures at September prior to date in first column.	The third column reduced to 1914 prices.
Owed at March 31,	Amount £ millions			
1915	416.5	416.5	110	378 5
1916	1,141.2	724.7	130	557.5
1917	2,596.9	1,455.7	150	970.0
1918	3,347.9	751.0	180	417.5
1919	4,391.7	1,043.8	215	485.5
1920	4,593.2	201.5	220	91.2
		4,593.2		2,900.2

The Ministry of Labour Index Number for January 1, 1923, is 178; £4,593.2, therefore, converted to the 1914 figure, represents at that date £2,580. The purchasing power of the debt is therefore at present not more but appreciably less than at the date of issue.

In this connection it might be borne in mind that during 1920 and early 1921 some £400 millions were paid off at the high prices then current: i.e., to this extent considerably less purchasing power was repaid than was borrowed. It is also right to recall that about £300 millions of pre-war debt still exist; and in respect of this the debt-holders have lost a large proportion of the purchasing power they lent.

On the other hand, some note should be taken of the fact that certain loans carried rights of conversion into later loans at higher rates of interest. The only material case is the 5 per cent. loan issued in January, 1917, and the conversion rights were exercised at the end of 1917 or early in 1918. If these loans are deemed to be issued at the later date a somewhat higher cost of living figure applies to them, and the disadvantage suffered by the whole body of loan-holders indicated above is to that extent diminished.

It must also be admitted that in giving holders of various short-dated Government securities—e.g., Exchequer Bonds, National War Bonds and Treasury Bonds falling due between 1922 and 1929—the option of converting into 3½ per cent. Conversion Loan of a higher amount, the Government, although it diminished by £892,000 per annum the annual interest charge, has increased the total amount of debt ultimately to be repaid by nearly £136,000,000. As an illustration of a case where the Government gave more than was required to raise the money the issue of Treasury Bonds (5½) A, B and C should be considered. The "A" Bonds were issued in July, 1921, and the "B" in November, 1921. These Bonds were convertible at holders' option on April 1 and October 1, 1922, into £146 Conversion 3½ Stock for each £100 converted.

The "A" Bonds were issued at 97 and the "B" Bonds at 98, and were due 1929. In December, 1921, the "C" Bonds were issued at 99, repayable in 1930, but without the right of conversion. The price of these stocks at their highest in 1922 was about 113 for the "A" and "B," whilst the "C" Bonds were never much over 107. The right of conversion, therefore, represented certainly six points difference, as the "C" Bonds had the advantage of being one year longer.

It appears from the above statements that the subscribers to the later loans (1919 and 1920) have secured substantial advantages from the rise in the value of money, whereas as regards the bulk of the earlier loans the subscribers have suffered loss. We can, however, only approach the question of the debt as a whole.

It is sufficient here to say that the statements made in the passage quoted from *Forward* (June, 1922) are not correct. To suggest that the debt was contracted for in 1920 at the time of maximum prices, and that the nominal debt of £8,000 millions represents a real burden of £16,000 millions, is in our view an inexcusable perversion of the facts. That the commodity burden of the debt will increase if prices fall is obvious enough; and it is hardly necessary to repeat that both for this reason and in the general interests of the people the Labour Party attaches the very greatest importance to the speedy reduction of the debt in any way in which the burden can be reduced without inflicting even graver evils on the people than the actual debt itself.

It is well to remember that the war debt was a voluntary bargain between the State and the individual subscribers. The Government desired to borrow, and offered such terms as in its opinion investors would be likely to accept. The individual was free to lend his money to the Government at such stated rates, or he could have put his money into industry and reaped some share of the grossly extravagant profits made by industry during the war. He chose the former course; and the Government made a definite contract with him that he should receive certain fixed rates of interest, and that the State should have the right to pay back the sum lent after a certain stated interval of time. To compel the lender to accept reduced rates of interest without at least giving him the alternative of the return of his money is a distinct breach of this contract.

It is right to recall that the financial measures adopted by the Government during the war were, in the view of the responsible Labour leaders, exceedingly objectionable. In their opinion a much larger proportion of the war costs should have been raised by taxation. As far back as 1915 the Capital Levy was put forward as a sounder method of meeting war expenses than the method of enormous loans. There is no doubt, in our opinion, that had the Labour financial policy been put into effect a very large proportion of the post-war troubles in finance and industry would have been avoided. The Government, however, chose its own course, and the loan contracts between itself and individuals followed.

It has been urged in some quarters, as an excuse for breaking these agreements, that the Government has not hesitated to break agreements or violate promises in the case of the workers. It is true enough that the path of the Coalition Government is strewn with broken promises, and that it showed a cynical disregard of its most solemn undertakings. We do not, however, think it is seriously suggested that a Labour Government should follow a similar course. No Government deserves, and certainly no Government can retain, the confidence of the country unless its undertakings are entered into with a full knowledge of what they involve, and unless such undertakings are honourably and scrupulously observed.

What is the effect of the suggested breach of contract on the individuals concerned? An investor possesses £100 of 5 per cent. War Loan. He can sell this now for about £100 10s. It is proposed that the rate of interest shall be reduced to 3 per cent. The "Local Loans" is a 3 per cent. stock; and £100 of that stock at present will sell for about £63 10s. The investor whose interest is suddenly cut down from 5 per cent. to 3 per cent. will find that something which was worth about £100 to him is in a moment worth very much less. Even assuming that the Government promises to repay the full amount of the loan at the fixed date (though why such a promise should be believed in the case of such a Government we do not understand), the present value of the investment will have been reduced by probably one quarter.

Let us turn this into terms of commodities. Our investor purchases his stock in (say) January, 1918, when the increase in the cost of living figure was 90. It cost him £100. He now receives something worth about £75 and the increase in cost of living figure is 78. A simple calculation shows that the purchasing power of his investment is reduced by nearly one quarter.

In the light of this we would quote from *Forward* (February 11, 1922):—

> "We repudiate repudiation as folly and dishonesty. But we also repudiate acquiescence in a Shylock deal whereby the holders of War Loan automatically double their tribute from the nation. This, too, is folly and dishonesty."

We cannot but believe that those who support the proposal to reduce compulsorily the rate of interest on the War Loans will recognise on further consideration that the proposal does, in fact, represent a repudiation, as the actual facts do not justify the suggestion of a doubled tribute.

The story is, however, not complete unless we consider the effect of the proposal on the holders of other investments. There is not the smallest doubt that the consequent insecurity attaching to Government loans would drive investors to turn aside and look to industrial investments in preference. The market value of industrial investments would consequently increase. The farcical result follows that a considerable part of what the Government investor loses is handed over as a free gift to those whose money has been invested in other ways. Several loans have been issued by municipalities at high rates, e.g., Birkenhead and Birmingham at 5½ and 6 per cent., Gateshead and Liverpool at 6 per cent. (the latter £4,000,000), not counting Housing Bonds. The holders of these loans would be made such a free gift; for in reply to a question, Mr. Johnston stated he would not propose to reduce the interest on these loans.

The compulsory reduction in the rate of interest on War Debt would operate very harshly in the case of most holders of the Debt, and very unequally between different classes of investors. Would the gain to the community as a whole justify the step? We are of opinion that not only would the measure yield no gain to the State, but that its effects would be disastrous in the extreme.

During the next few years very large sums of Debt (certainly exceeding £1,000 millions) fall due for repayment. If the compulsory reduction in interest took place, it would be useless to invite the Debt holders to accept new Government stock of the same amount and at the same rate of interest. Neither would it be possible to raise the money from others on like terms. When once a Government has shown itself prepared to repudiate its financial contracts lending to such a Government becomes a gamble. The lender would never know whether the borrowing Government would alter the conditions of the loan to its own advantage. Under such conditions the lender would require very extravagant rates of interest to compensate for the risk, or would demand material security for the loan and interest. This security no Government could give; and the money could only be raised at excessive rates of interest. The only alternative appears to be that the Government would be compelled to refuse repayment, i.e., its breach of faith as regards the interest would inevitably compel it to a further breach of faith as regards the loan itself. It would probably render insolvent a certain number of friendly societies, insurance offices, Trade Unions, etc., which happen to have a large proportion of their funds invested in Government loans.

It is, of course, conceivable that a Government in that position might repay the loans by a wholesale creation of credit. That of itself is another form of repudiation; and it is a long step towards utter economic ruin from which, in the long run, the workers would be the greatest sufferers.

If the Government could not raise loans to repay existing debt except at usurious rates of interest, still less easily could it raise new loans for public works. The result must be that a Labour Government would find itself utterly unable to carry out some of the most important of its proposals to improve the condition of the workers. To mention one matter only, a housing scheme on any scale worthy of the name would be a complete impossibility.

True as this is in the case of Government undertakings, the evil is still greater when we turn to municipal undertakings. Slum clearances, road improvements, public lighting, water and transport undertakings, drainage schemes, and many other matters in which municipalities may make life more tolerable for the mass of the people would become absolutely out of reach. These things involve loans (municipalities, unlike the Government, cannot create credit for such things), and such loans could not be raised except on terms infinitely more burdensome than the existing loans. These improvements, vitally necessary as they are to the well-being of the people, must therefore not be undertaken at all, or must be handed over to private industry.

We cannot too emphatically press this point. The weakening or the destruction of public confidence in the financial integrity of the Government must re-establish the reign of the private capitalist in every branch of the national life. That this result must follow any policy of complete or partial repudiation we have no doubt at all; and when once this fact is understood we believe that the supporters of the resolution will see the necessity of approaching the question of the War Debt in other ways.

Before leaving this question of breach of faith, a word should be given to its reactions on other branches of the national life. No Government can show itself prepared to break one contract in its own interests and retain public confidence, either at home or abroad, in its pledged word in other matters. It may declare that it will never break another contract; but its word is worthless. A Government that is prepared to regard one contract or one treaty as a "scrap of paper" will always be rightly suspected of regarding all other contracts and treaties as "scraps of paper" so soon as it suits its convenience to do so. No longer will any promise be binding. The carrying out of contracts and treaties will depend in the last resort on the power of the parties concerned to enforce them. The mutual distrust between Governments and peoples which has cursed the world so long will be confirmed. Those sinister powers which find in international distrust their special opportunities will no doubt welcome the change; but those ideals for which Labour stands, mutual confidence and harmonious co-operation between all peoples, will have received a death-blow.

It has been suggested in support of the proposal to cut down the rate of interest on War Debt that the rate of interest on the National Debt was reduced by Goschen and others to the great benefit of the Exchequer, and that what has been done once can be done again. The reference is to conversion operations which have taken place in the past; and we certainly look to conversion in the future whenever such an operation may prove possible, as one direction in which relief may be sought. There is, however, nothing in common between such conversions (securing, as they do, a voluntary reduction in the rate of interest paid on loans) and the compulsory reduction now suggested. The difference may be best illustrated in the case of a private individual.

Smith being in need of money has borrowed £1,000 on his personal security at, say, 10 per cent. He pays that high rate merely because when he raised the money he could not get the loan for less. He now finds that if he needs money he can borrow for, say, 8 per cent. He accordingly proposes to " convert " his loan from 10 per cent. to 8 per cent. There is only one way to do it. He must pay off the first loan and borrow the money (at the lower rate) with which to make the repayment. If the money was lent to him on the condition that he must give, say, six months' notice to repay it, he must give that notice. At the end of the six months he may repay the high interest loan, and the " conversion " is made. If the condition of the loan was that he cannot repay for at least five years, but may repay whenever he likes after five years, then if the five years have elapsed he may repay without further ado, but not otherwise. When the time of repayment comes he may say to the first lender: " I'm going to pay you off, but if you like to continue your loan at 8 per cent., instead of 10, I'm quite agreeable." If owing to the circumstances of the time, the lender cannot hope to get more than 8 per cent. elsewhere, he may agree to the proposed reduction in the rate of interest. He has, however, the choice. He may take his loan to leave it at less interest. It is for him to decide.

That is conversion—a perfectly proper proceeding. It depends, however, on several things. Smith must have the right to repay the loan, and he must be able to borrow the money at the lower rate of interest to make the repayment.

Suppose, however, the proposal we are considering took effect here. Smith would say " I'm not going to keep on paying this fellow 10 per cent.; 8 per cent. is quite enough, and that is all I'm going to pay. I'm breaking a contract, am I? Well, I'm not the only one to break contracts! " It is quite obvious that nobody would lend the money to Smith at 8 per cent. His credit would be dead. It is equally obvious that Smith, being a private individual, would be compelled to carry out his contract—or become a bankrupt.

Now, suppose Smith is the State acting through Parliament. The State says to its creditors : " I'm going to reduce the rate of interest I pay you to a figure I am going to fix myself; and I'm not going to give you the choice of having your loan back." The lender has no remedy. The State has got his money on false pretences. He must grin and bear it. Such an operation is not conversion. It is repudiation. The State has power to do it if it so decides. But its credit is dead at home and abroad. Although it cannot be made legally bankrupt as Smith was made bankrupt, it will none the less certainly be ruined.

We would point out that according to the terms of the loans. the 5 per cent. War Loan (£2,007,000,000) and the 4 per cent. Free-of-Tax Loan (£66,000,000) may be paid off in the year 1929, by which time it may be possible to replace both by one bearing a lower rate of interest, giving holders the option of taking cash or of converting their existing holdings into the new loan cent. per cent., *i.e.*, suppose the new loan to be a 3½ per cent., the holder of £100 5 per cent. Loan or £100 4 per cent. free of tax loan would have the option of receiving £100 in cash or £100 of the new 3½ per cent. loan. We may add that the " Capital Levy " (or special tax on accumulated wealth), which forms part of the Labour Party's financial programme, will greatly facilitate conversion operations by reducing very largely the amount of debt in respect of which it would be necessary to provide repayment.

Our consideration of this matter would not be complete without some reference to the Capital Levy. The Levy has not been regarded as an alternative to the compulsory reduction in the rate of interest. In so far as the latter proposal is based upon the fall in the cost of living, the two measures are completely distinct. In so far, however, as both measures are designed to reduce the aggregate burden of the debt on the community, they may be deemed to be alternative means of seeking a common end. Two important distinctions may be drawn between these proposals :—

(a) The Capital Levy calls upon wealth of all kinds to contribute to the common purpose, and does not impose the sacrifice upon the holders of one form of wealth alone.

(b) The Capital Levy calls upon all owners of accumulated wealth to contribute according to their respective abilities. Where there is no ability, it demands no sacrifice.

As regards the first of these distinctions comment is hardly necessary. Smith has £10,000 in War Debt at 5 per cent. Brown has £10,000 in an industrial debenture at 7 per cent. Jones has £10,000 shares in an oil company and draws 10 per cent. It is impossible to suggest any reason why Smith should surrender part of his wealth for purposes which will benefit everybody, including Brown and Jones, while the last two surrender nothing.

The second distinction, turning upon ability to pay, is no less important. Let us take a concrete example of three men owning respectively (as their sole wealth) £100,000, £10,000, and £1,000 in 5 per cent. War Loan, and having incomes derived from it £5,000, £500, and £50. A reduction in the rate of interest would reduce their incomes in similar proportions. The Levy would impose a large reduction on the first, a small one on the second, and nothing on the third.

It might further be pointed out that if the redemption of War Debt is left to the operation of the income-tax and death duties alone the wealthy men would still pay a much heavier amount in proportion than the poor man. A compulsory reduction in the rate of interest thus not only exempts the holders of all other kinds of wealth, but forces the small holder of War Loan to pay part of the rich man's burden.

These conclusions may be briefly summarised as follows :—

(a) The diminishing of the burden of the War Debt is vitally necessary.

(b) Having regard to the periods during which the War Debt was contracted and the subsequent rise and fall in general prices, the commodity value of the Debt is not at present in excess of its value when the loans were contracted.

(c) War Loan interest receivers as a body have not enjoyed any advantage from the changes in general prices.

(d) A compulsory reduction in the rate of interest is a breach of contract.

(e) It must impose a heavy loss on those who have lent money to the Government.

(f) It is repudiation and not conversion of debt.

(g) It must increase the financial burden on the community in view of the fact that it would thereafter be impossible to raise Government loans except at ruinous rates.

(h) A Labour Government could not, as a consequence, raise money on reasonable terms, and important parts of its programme could not be carried out.

(i) A like policy as regards municipal loans would for a like reason put an end to most municipal enterprise.

(j) One effect of the proposal must be to re-establish the reign of the capitalist in every branch of the national life.

(k) A breach of faith of the responsible Government must react in every direction, and must tend to render impossible the mutual confidence on which international agreements depend. Indirectly, therefore, it must help to re-establish the reign of militarism.

(l) The Capital Levy is a much juster and more effective way of reducing the burden of the debt. It makes all holders of wealth contribute to the common purpose, and it measures their contributions according to their ability to pay. A reduction in the rate of interest takes the contribution from one form of wealth only; and it does not measure the contribution by ability to pay; it forces the poor man to bear part of the rich man's burden.

Apart from the resolution dealt with in the foregoing pages, two further matters have been considered. The first of these was an amendment in the following terms:—

"That this Conference demands that people living on rents, profits and interest should bear a considerably increased share of the national burden."

It is the declared policy of the Labour Party so to readjust the taxation of the country that the burden shall more truly follow the "ability to bear it." The heavy reduction in indirect taxation, on the one hand, and a levy on all accumulated wealth on the other, must of themselves bring about the object to which the above amendment is directed. It would be out of place here to discuss in detail the various changes the first Labour Budget may be expected to show. It will doubtless lighten the burden on income from personal exertions, and may be expected to ease the weight of taxation on the possessors of small wealth, many of whom have suffered greatly owing to the fallen purchasing power of their small incomes.

Various proposals involving a readjustment of taxation are already under consideration, and in due course a comprehensive scheme will be submitted for consideration.

The third reference is:—

"That the Conference reaffirms the principle of the imposition of a Levy on Capital, the proceeds of which should be devoted to the reduction of the National War Debt."

This principle occupies so fixed and recognised a place in Labour policy that it is hardly necessary to consider it in detail. It may be sufficient to repeat that such a measure is absolutely necessary, that it is entirely practicable, and that it must result in the greatest benefits to the whole body of producers and consumers in this country.

January, 1923.

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THE LABOUR PARTY

REPORT

OF THE

24th Annual Conference

HELD IN THE

Queen's Hall, Langham Place, London, on October 7th, 8th, 9th, and 10th, 1924

33, ECCLESTON SQUARE, LONDON, S.W.1

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Miss MARY CARLIN
(Transport and General Workers' Union).
Dr. ETHEL BENTHAM
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Report of the Executive Committee
1923-1924

"OVER THE THRESHOLD."

Last year, when the President, in the course of his address to the Annual Conference, referred to our Party as being "on the threshold of power," our opponents commented upon the presumption of the prediction and our friends wondered somewhat at its optimism. However, by a strange miscalculation of one of the opposing political Parties, we found ourselves fighting at the polls long before we expected the event, while by the design of the other section of our opponents we quite as unexpectedly found ourselves "over the threshold," and we now meet our Conference with a Labour Cabinet in the seat of Government for the first time in British history.

From the point of view of historical development there is a certain appropriateness about Labour's advent to Government this year. It is just 100 years since liberty of industrial organisation was secured by law in this country; just 60 years since the first International Workingmen's Association was formed; 50 years since the first Labour Member was elected to Parliament; and 25 years since our own organisation was determined upon.

To have passed from the small beginnings of the Labour Representation Committee to the formation of a Labour Ministry in so short a time is a remarkable testimony to the political education of the people and to the effective character of the Party's propaganda. So far we have never experienced a setback; the progress of the Party has been one of steady development that has made it notable for its stability and solidarity among all the Labour Movements of the world.

We met in Conference last year at a time when it seemed that depleted finances would prejudice our position should an Election suddenly overtake us. There is little doubt that among the various errors of judgment that led to the General Election speculation on our Party poverty formed one factor of importance. Never did serious politicians err so gravely, for never did our Movement take up a political challenge so enthusiastically or carry on a compaign with so much confident courage and cheerfulness. We are happy in believing that future attempts by our wealthier opponents to play on our slender resources will find our members and friends as ready in their response as on the last occasion.

The decision to form a Government was the most important the Party has ever been called upon to make, but there are few to-day who will dispute that the decision was a wise one. Abroad, Labour's advent to office created expectations that, in part at any rate, have been fulfilled. Internationalism is indeed a more popular faith to-day, and the League of Nations a more favoured instrument for the achievement and preservation of peace among the people than seemed possible a year ago.

At home the whirling rubbish about us that defiled the pages of many of the newspapers has vanished from our public life for good. That is one sure gain to both the people and the Party. The viler kinds of slanderer, like those of superior mind, who held that "Labour was not fit to govern," are both answered and finally discredited. A Labour Ministry has shown that it can undertake the task of Government as seriously, as sincerely, and as successfully as any of its predecessors.

While we have occasion to congratulate ourselves upon the turn of events, we realise that all our views and actions are now more fraught with power for good or ill and influence a much wider world than we had conceived when last we met in Conference. That reflection may well govern all our deliberations and discussions henceforth. British Labour has taken its place in world politics, and from now onward our message will be listened to more attentively and our counsels more wisely weighed.

CELEBRATING THE VICTORIES.

At the first meeting of the Executive held subsequent to the General Election, the following resolution was placed on record :—

I.

"That this meeting of the Executive of the Labour Party congratulates the successful candidates who now comprise the Parliamentary Labour Party, expresses its appreciation of the self-sacrificing efforts of those candidates who were unsuccessful, and places on record its appreciation of the splendid spirit of unity, loyalty, and devotion displayed by the entire Labour Movement, which contributed so substantially to the victories of the General Election. In particular, the National Executive congratulates the Secretary, Mr. Arthur Henderson, upon the splendid success which has attended his great and untiring efforts in organising the magnificent electoral triumph, although it meant diverting his personal attention for some days from his own campaign in East Newcastle. It hopes and believes his absence from Parliament will only be temporary.

"The Executive desires to place on record its sincere appreciation of the splendid response received from friends outside and within the Labour Movement, to the call for financial assistance, the generous contributions from the Local Parties and affiliated organisations, and, in particular, the handsome gift of £10,000 presented by the National Union of Railwaymen.

"In view of the critical Parliamentary position which may involve the country in another General Election at an early date, the Executive requests Mr. Henderson and the Headquarters Staff, together with the Regional Officers, to proceed at once to make all the necessary arrangements—financial and otherwise—for the next contest which will be the most momentous in the history of the Party."

II.

"The National Executive of the Labour Party rejoices that the Parliamentary Labour Party is to continue to be the official Opposition in the House of Commons, and declares its opinion that, should the necessity for forming a Labour Government arise, the Parliamentary Party should at once accept full responsibility for the government of the country without compromising itself with any form of coalition."

III.

"The Executive Committee desires to express their thanks to the General Council of the Trades Union Congress for the readiness with which their Head Office Staff was placed at the disposal of the Party during the period of the General Election, and thanks the members thereof for the services they so willingly rendered. They also place on record their appreciation of the work performed

by the Head Office, Parliamentary, Organising and Propagandist Staffs of the Party during the campaign, and resolve that arrangements be made for the Departments of the Head Office of the Party for which it is most convenient to be closed from Friday evening, December 21, until Wednesday morning, January 2; other Departments to arrange for equivalent leave to be granted to their staffs in lieu of this period."

With regard to the third resolution quoted above, special reference should be made to the arduous duties performed by the National Agent (Mr. Egerton P. Wake) immediately prior to and during the Election Campaign. The task of arranging for the adoption of some 200 candidates in the course of a little over a fortnight and the appointment of Party Agents to take charge of the contests, stands on record as the heaviest piece of work and the highest achievement of the Head Office during the Party's history. That within a very short time of the conclusion of the fight Mr. Wake sustained a physical collapse surprised no one who was aware of the work he had accomplished. This was duly acknowledged by the Party Executive and opportunity afforded for Mr. Wake to recover, in order to prepare for the next contest. He is at present engaged in this task, with the help of Mr. George R. Shepherd (late organiser for the Home Counties Division), who has now been appointed Assistant to the National Agent.

ALBERT HALL DEMONSTRATION.

To celebrate our successes at the polls and to welcome the victors to London at the opening of Parliament, a Demonstration was held in the Royal Albert Hall on January 8, 1924, when the Rt. Hon. J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., presided. Addresses were given by the Right Hon. J. R. Clynes, M.P., Right Hon. J. H. Thomas, M.P., Miss Margaret Bondfield, M.P., Messrs. Herbert Morrison, M.P., Robert Smillie, M.P., and George Lansbury, M.P. The vast Hall was packed from floor to roof, and was attended by almost all the members of the new Party. The meeting was one of the most notable in the Party's history, and, in the words of the late H. W. Massingham, "The event came as an almost solemn act of dedication rather than the flaming signal of Party triumph."

NATIONAL AGENT'S REPORT

THE PARTY'S GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT.

For the second year in succession the outstanding feature of the year's work has been a General Election, and 1923-4 may be regarded as the most remarkable in the Party's history. The details and special features of the General Election are dealt with in separate paragraphs, and while this record is the most important and interesting part of the year's activity, it is satisfactory to report that the general work of organisation and propaganda throughout the country has been well maintained and extended and developed in many directions. Prior to and since the General Election there has been a series of by-elections which has absorbed a good deal of the energy and resources of the Party, and the details of these contests are included in the later pages of this report. The success of the Party at the General Election, and the formation of the Labour Government have given an impetus to the growth of the Movement throughout the country, and many more Local Parties have been established during the year. The growth of the Party during the last six years can only be regarded as phenomenal. At present there are 2,967 Divisional and Local Labour Parties and Trades Councils throughout the country, showing an increase of over 300 during the past year, and further branches are constantly being formed as a result of the work of our district and woman organisers and our propagandists. Out of the 602 constituencies in England, Scotland and Wales, there are now only three in which some form of Labour Party organisation does not exist. The individual members' sections of the Party have increased considerably during the past year, and here again the effect of the first Labour Government has given an impulse to the development of this side of the Party's membership. The remarkable progress of the women's side reported on last year has been maintained, and there are now 1,332 Women's Sections in connection with the Local Parties throughout the country, with an approximate membership of over 150,000.

Constituency Parties are now turning their attention to preparations for the next General Election. Many selections have already been made, and a complete list of Candidates endorsed by the National Executive to date will be found in Appendix VI. It is desirable that the number of Labour Candidates should be increased with each election until the whole country is covered, but many of the county divisions present difficulties which can only be overcome by assistance from the general Movement throughout the country. Our affiliated Trade Unions and Societies have been appealed to to provide their lists of available candidates. In many cases the Unions are compelled by their political rules to take new ballots after a General Election, but it is highly desirable that this process should be facilitated in order that the names and addresses of their Candidates may be circulated to the constituencies, many of which are now seeking candidates.

GENERAL SCHEME OF ORGANISATION.

For two years in succession our General Scheme of Organisation has been tested by a General Election. This scheme was adopted by the National Executive and approved by Conference four years ago, and experience has proved the wisdom and effectiveness of this method.

Owing to the continuous increase in the work of the Head Office, Mr. G. R. Shepherd, formerly District Organiser for the Southern and Home Counties area, has been appointed as Assistant to the National Agent, and has already rendered valuable service in that capacity.

The vacancy in the Southern and Home Counties District has been filled by the appointment of Mr. Harold Croft, formerly agent for the Croydon Labour Party, and Mr. Croft's baptism in his new sphere consisted of taking charge of the two by-elections at Oxford and Lewes.

Mr. J. H. Edwards, District Organiser for the South-Western counties, resigned his position in December last, and Mr. C. C. Jones, formerly agent for the Smethwick Labour Party, was appointed as his successor in this difficult area.

In District A (North-Eastern) Councillor E. J. Gibbin, J.P., and Mrs. Anderson Fenn, have maintained their work throughout the year to the satisfaction alike of the constituencies and the Head Office. In District B (North-Western) Mr. J. H. Standring and Mrs. M. Anderson have continued their effective work, with the result that the Party's hold upon the North-West has been strengthened. In District C (Midlands) Mr. H. Drinkwater and Mrs. Fawcett have given constant attention to their wide area and an intensive interest in the work of organisation has been developed. In District D (Southern and Home Counties) Mr. Harold Croft, since his appointment, and Miss G. Tavener have kept in constant touch with the Parties included in this difficult area, and valuable assistance in the work of development of local organisations has been rendered. In District E (London) Mr. R. T. Windle and Miss A. Somers have won the confidence of all our Local Parties to whom they have rendered effective service in inspiring continuous organisation, and the London results were a testimony to their work. In District F (South-Western) Mr. C. C. Jones, since his appointment, and Mrs. A. Townley, are able to report an improvement in one of the most backward areas of the country. Their work has created a new spirit, and progress may be looked for in this area in the future. In District G (Eastern) Mr. W. Holmes and Miss Francis are in constant touch with the widely scattered constituencies of East Anglia and Lincolnshire. Special methods have to be adopted in organisation work in such areas, but the development of the Party has been well maintained. In District H (Wales and Monmouth) Mr. T. C. Morris and Mrs. E. Andrews have continued their activities and have endeavoured to penetrate into West, Mid and North Wales, and it is hoped that good results will accrue from their efforts. In District J (Scotland) Mr. Ben Shaw, J.P., has been indefatigable in his work as Secretary to the Scottish Council and has visited most of the constituencies in Scotland. After the last Election Mrs. Agnes Hardie, our Woman Organiser for Scotland, who has rendered valuable service for several years, was compelled to resign for domestic reasons. Miss J. Sutherland was appointed as her successor, and has already given excellent service in the development of the Party's work among women.

The District Organisers and Women Organisers assisted the agents and constituency Parties during the General Election by advice, visitation, and supervision, and in many cases gave considerable assistance on the platform. Their services were available for consultation by arrangement in the Districts, and advantage was taken of this opportunity by many of the local agents.

SCOTLAND.

The Annual Meeting of the Scottish Council of the Labour Party was held on March 1, 1924, at Edinburgh. Councillor Agnes Dollan and Mr. Will Lawther attended as the representatives of the National Executive. A full report of the proceedings has been issued by the Scottish Council; the gathering was a large and representative assembly, indicative of the vigour and success of the Scottish Movement. The report presented to the Conference included the record of a year's effective work as well as the remarkable election results secured by Labour in the Scottish constituencies. The following were elected as the Executive Committee of the Scottish Council for the ensuing year :—

Chairman—

William Shaw, J.P. (Representing the Trades Councils and Labour Parties Group), 95, Bath Street, Glasgow.

Vice-Chairman—

Councillor Mrs. K. Beaton (Representing the Scottish I.L.P. Council), 144, West Graham Street, Glasgow.

Representing the Trade Union Group—

J. M. Cuthbertson (National Union of Railwaymen), 38, Woddrop Street, Bridgeton, Glasgow.

Bailie George Kerr (Workers' Union), 69, Ingram Street, Glasgow.

William B. Small (Scottish Mine Workers' Union), Cadzow Street, Hamilton.

C. N. Gallie (Railway Clerks' Association), 177, West Regent Street, Glasgow.

C. Graham (Transport Workers' Union), 3, South Lorne Place, Leith.

William Leonard (Furnishing Trades' Association), 14, Tummell Street, Riddrie, Glasgow.

Representing the Trades Council and Labour Parties Group—

John P. Hay, M.A., B.Sc., 12, Miller Street, Shawlands, Glasgow.

Councillor William Kerr, J.P., 16, Ardoch Street, Possilpark, Glasgow.

H. M. Macleod, Plea Knowe, Chryston.

Representing the Women's Sections—

Mrs. Sarah Auld, 151, Crossloan Road, Govan.

Mrs. Clarice McNab Shaw, 1, Portland Terrace, Troon.

Miss Mary Smillie, 29, Millar Street, Larkhall.

Parish Councillor Mrs. Christina Thomson, 24, St. Monance Street, Springburn.

Representing the Scottish I.L.P. Council—

W. W. Reid, Bridgend House, Dalry.

Representing the S.D.F.—

T. E. McDonald, 21, Waverley Park, Edinburgh.

Representing the Fabian Societies—

A. McGillivray, LL.B., 79, West Regent Street, Glasgow.

Secretary—

Ben Shaw, 108, West Regent Street, Glasgow.

PROPAGANDA.

The sad death of Captain Edward Gill, M.C., which took place in June, 1923, while the last Annual Conference was sitting, caused a breach in the ranks of our national propagandists. Captain Edward Gill, M.C., was a victim of the Great War in which he was seriously injured. He never fully recovered from his many wounds, and a slight accident followed by an illness precipitated his untimely end. His kindly disposition and his sincerity and ability endeared him to all with whom he came in contact. Illness overtook him during the Morpeth by-election, and it may truly be said that he died on active service for the Cause.

For reasons of economy this vacancy upon the staff was not filled up. The other propagandists, Messrs. J. W. Kneeshaw, Tom Myers,

J. E. Mills, and W. F. Toynbee, continued their work during the autumn and through the General Election which terminated their appointments. The National Executive were satisfied with the value of the work of the propaganda staff, and as the requests for their services were constantly increasing, the Executive decided to re-appoint Messrs. J. W. Kneeshaw, Tom Myers, and W. F. Toynbee who, since the General Election, have continued to conduct weekly series of meetings throughout the constituencies, special preference being given to county divisions. As Mr. J. E. Mills was again elected for the Dartford Division, his services were not available, and this vacancy was filled by the appointment of Mr. F. J. Hopkins, formerly Labour Candidate for East Dorset. Mr. Hopkins has been chiefly allocated to the South-Western area, in order to give attention to the remote parts of that difficult district. It is gratifying to be able to report that satisfaction is invariably expressed with the work accomplished by our propagandists in the various Divisions. This development of the Party's work has more than justified itself, and the only cause for regret is that our resources are not at present equal to its extension and development.

BY-ELECTIONS PRIOR TO THE GENERAL ELECTION, 1923.

Since the publication of the last Annual Report, and prior to the 1923 General Election, there have been six by-elections. Official Labour candidates stood in four of these contests. A table showing the comparison between the polls then secured and the polls at the previous (1922) General Election is printed on another page. Of the two by-elections in this section not contested by the Labour Party the first was at Tiverton, on June 21, 1923, caused by the death of Mr. Sparkes, the former member. The D.L.P. decided not to contest, but Mr. F. Brown ran as an unofficial Labour candidate. He failed to secure one-eighth of the votes polled, and thereby forfeited his deposit. The second was at Portsmouth South, where there was no finance available and no candidate forthcoming. The latter vacancy was caused by Colonel Wilson, the sitting member, accepting a Governorship.

The following four by-elections were contested by Labour :—

NORTHUMBERLAND : MORPETH, June 21, 1923.

Smillie, Robt. (Lab.)	20,053
Thornborough, F. C. (Lib.)	13,087
Labour Majority	6,966

Previous result, General Election, 1922.

Cairns, John (Lab.)	15,026
Thornborough, F. C. (Lib. F.)	10,007
Shortt, C. L. (Con.)	6,045
Labour Majority	5,019

This by-election was in progress when the last Annual Report went to press. The lamented death of the Labour Member, Mr. John Cairns, caused the vacancy, and Mr. Robert Smillie contested and retained the seat with an increased majority. This contest created widespread interest, and the result was received with great satisfaction throughout the country.

YORKS: LEEDS CENTRAL, July 26, 1923.

Wilson, Sir Chas. (Con.)	13,085
Slesser, H. H. (Lab.)	11,359
Stone, Gilbert (Lib.)	3,026
Con. Majority	1,726

Previous result, General Election, 1922.

Willey, A. (Con.)	14,137
Slesser, H. H. (Lab.)	7,844
Armitage, R. (N.L.)	6,260
Con. Majority	6,293

This vacancy occurred through the death of the former Member, who won the seat in 1922. The Central Division of Leeds chiefly comprises the business vote of the city, but part of the division is industrial. The Labour poll was increased by over 3,000.

SOMERSET: YEOVIL, October 30, 1923.

Davies, G. F. (Con.)	13,205
Kelly, W. T. (Lab.)	8,140
Cohen, C. W. (Lib.)	7,024
Con. Majority	5,065

Previous result, General Election, 1922.

Herbert, Lt.-Col. Hon. Aubrey (Con.)...	15,468
Kelly, W. T. (Lab.)	9,581
Con. Majority	5,887

The death of Colonel Herbert caused a vacancy in the representation of Yeovil. Although the result of the contest was the retention of the seat for the Conservatives, it was held with a decreased majority. The intervention of the Liberal reduced the Conservative poll by 2,000, and the Labour poll by 1,400.

LINCS: RUTLAND AND STAMFORD, October 30, 1923.

Smith-Carington, N. W. (Con.) ...	11,196
Sells, A. (Lab.)	8,406
Con. Majority	2,790

Previous result, General Election, 1922.

Harvey-Dixon, C. (Con.)	10,278
Eccles, Fleming (Lab.)	7,236
Clarke, E. (Agric.)	4,471
Con. Majority	3,042

This contest was caused by the death of Mr. Dixon, the Conservative Member. The previous Labour candidate had left the constituency and the Agent had been dismissed. Mr. Sells, however, increased the Labour poll by over a thousand votes and reduced the Conservative majority.

GENERAL ELECTION.

DECEMBER 6, 1923.

The challenge of the General Election, which was somewhat unexpected, was a great strain on the resources of the Party which were taxed to the utmost by this effort. The facing of a General Election almost within twelve months of the previous contest was a supreme test of the vitality of the Party and the effectiveness of our organisation. When the dissolution was announced, the total number of Labour Candidates, including Sitting Members, before the constituencies was 239. Negotiations were immediately opened up with the vacant constituencies and available candidates, with the result that within less than a fortnight nearly 200 further Candidates were placed in constituencies; an effort which may be regarded as almost unique in the history of British politics. When nominations took place there were 427 officially endorsed Labour Candidates before the public as compared with 414 in 1922, and 361 in 1918. The polling took place on December 6, and the results show that there was a 74 per cent. poll of the total electorate of 19,193,754—a total vote of 14,500,000. The total Labour vote rose to 4,348,379, as against 4,236,733 in 1922, and 2,244,945 in 1918. Of the 144 seats held by Labour, 128 were retained and 63 further seats were gained, making the total of the new Parliamentary Labour Party 191. The result was remarkable in itself, but its effect on the Parliamentary position was even more remarkable, as it placed Labour in the position of being able to accept the task of forming the first Labour Government. The following is a summary of the returns compared with those of 1922 :—

	1923.	1922.
Unopposed returns	3	4
Other seats retained	125	52
New seats gained	63	86
Total number M.P.s returned	191	142
Seats lost	16	19
Unsuccessful Candidates	220	253
Total	427	414

The Schedules to this Report give the comparative figures in the various types of constituency. Schedule 1 gives the unopposed constituencies in which 3 Labour Members were returned. Schedule 2 gives the results of straight fights contested by Labour. Schedule 3 gives the results of three-cornered fights in which Labour took part. Schedule 4 gives the result of the one four-cornered fight contested by Labour. Schedule 5 gives the results in the double-membered constituencies in which Labour fought. Schedule 6 gives the results of the University constituencies contested by Labour. Schedule 7 gives the remainder of the results in the constituencies not contested by Labour. Schedule 8 gives the list of constituencies unsuccessfully contested, with the names of the Labour Candidates who fought them.

All our affiliated Unions and Societies were well represented in the list of Candidates, and the Members returned under the various auspices may be classified as follow :—

Trade Unions	101
I.L.P.	39
Divisional Labour Parties	39
S.D.F.	4
Fabian Society	2
Co-operative Party	6
Total	191

A specially gratifying feature of the results was the splendid polls secured by the 14 Labour Women Candidates, and the victories of Miss Margaret Bondfield at Northampton, Miss Susan Lawrence at East Ham (North) and Miss Dorothy Jewson at Norwich were hailed with enthusiasm throughout the country.

In two constituencies special assistance had to be rendered owing to the absence of the candidates from the country. Mr. J. Wignall, M.P. for the Forest of Dean, was away on a Government mission in Australia, and Mr. Emil Davies, L.C.C., the candidate for Romford, was engaged on a lecture tour in America. The seat in the Forest of Dean was retained, but the absence of Mr. Emil Davies from Romford probably made the difference between defeat and victory.

A special feature of the results was the fact that in Derby and Norwich, both double-membered constituencies, the Labour Party for the first time in its history was successful in winning both seats.

The Co-operative Party put forward 10 Candidates. These Candidates were all included in the approved list of the Labour Party. They were successful in retaining the four seats previously held by them : Mr. A. Barnes, East Ham (South); Mr. R. C. Morrison, Tottenham (North); Mr. A. V. Alexander, Hillsborough; and Mr. Tom Henderson, Tradeston; and in addition, Mr. S. F. Perry, the Secretary of the Co-operative Party, regained the seat at Kettering, and Mr. Andrew Young was also successful in the Partick Division of Glasgow. The Co-operative Party now hold six seats and are to be congratulated on their share in our success.

Seats Retained.

The Party secured 142 seats in 1922, and two more were added at by-election contests during 1923, with the result that at this Election Labour was called upon to defend 144 seats. Of these 128 were retained, and in most cases by substantially increased majorities. In three cases the retiring Member did not seek re-election : The Rt. Hon. John Hodge at Gorton, Mr. A. Hill at West Leicester, and Mr. H. Twist at Leigh. Mr. J. Compton was successful at Gorton, Mr. F .W. Pethick Lawrence retained West Leicester, and Mr. J. Tinker was returned at Leigh, so that all three seats were retained by the Party. The retirement from Parliament of the Rt. Hon. John Hodge, M.P., who had held his seat continuously since 1906, was much regretted, and the illness of Mr. H. Twist was also deplored. Mr. A. Hill withdrew for domestic reasons, and all three of these Members had rendered good service in the House. There are now five Members in the Parliamentary Labour Party who have retained their seats continuously since 1906 when they were first elected. The Rt. Hon. C. W. Bowerman (Deptford), Rt. Hon. Stephen Walsh (Ince), Mr. Jas. O'Grady (South-East Leeds), Rt. Hon. J. R. Clynes (Platting) and Mr. Will Thorne (Plaistow).

Labour Gains.

The total gains number 63, and these are spread well over the country, although London takes premier place with 15. The victories were not confined to the Eastern part of the Metropolitan area, but have now spread to the South and even to the West, where Hammersmith (North) was secured for Labour. Scotland again did splendidly, and the remarkable victories in Glasgow were not only maintained, but increased. New areas have been opened up by victories at Bristol and Reading. Kent has been penetrated once more, as Dartford was regained and Gravesend was won. The Eastern Counties, with victories at Ipswich, South Norfolk, Norwich, South-East Essex, and Maldon, have contributed their quota to Labour's advance. In Salford we hold all three seats, in West Ham all four seats, and in East Ham both seats, while Wakefield, Huddersfield, Northampton, and Coventry, all of which have been fought by Labour continuously for the past twenty years, have now yielded victories.

Labour Losses.

One of the most significant features of the result was the small percentage of Labour losses. In 1922 when the Party was called on to defend 76 seats, the losses totalled 19. On this occasion the seats to be defended numbered 144, but the losses amounted to 16 only. Of these 16 losses, 13 were due to local compacts between the Liberals and Conservatives, whose forces were combined against our Candidates. Notable instances of these compacts were the defeats sustained by Mr. Arthur Henderson at Newcastle (East), and Mr. C. Roden Buxton at Accrington. The other three losses may be regarded as the fortunes of war, as the majorities were small and in the case of Sedgefield the seat was lost by six votes only. An inquiry has been made in the case of each loss and reports have been received from the District Organiser and Agent in each constituency. There is reason to hope that most of these losses will be retrieved at the next opportunity.

Unsuccessful Candidates.

There were 220 constituencies in which our Candidates were unsuccessful as compared with 253 at the 1922 election. Although the Party fought on a more extended front than ever before the percentage of casualties showed a slight decrease. The power of the Labour Government and the strength of Labour in the House of Commons is measured largely by the strength of the Labour vote throughout the country. It is essential that this vote should be polled in every possible constituency, and our unsuccessful Candidates contributed to the present position of the Party by polling such creditable votes in their constituencies and thus adding to the great national demonstration of Labour's increasing strength.

General Survey.

A list of the present Members of the Parliamentary Labour Party with their addresses will be found in Appendix V.

The figures in this Report and the Schedules thereto include the 602 constituencies in England, Scotland and Wales, but the 13 constituencies in Northern Ireland are excluded.

The total vote cast at the General Election, December, 1923, was as follows :—

Conservative	5,359,690
Labour	4,348,379
Liberal	4,251,573
Others	226,796

The electoral progress of the Party, which was founded in 1900, can be seen from the following table :—

General Election.	Seats Contested.	Members Returned.	Labour Vote.
1900	15	2	62,698
1906	50	29	323,195
1910 (Jan.)	78	40	505,690
1910 (Dec.)*	56	42	370,802
1918	361	57	2,244,945
1922	414	142	4,236,733
1923	427	191	4,348,379

* Being the second election in one year fewer candidates were run by all Parties, whose polls were all reduced.

In the course of the series of by-elections since the General Election the Party has retained the Labour seat at Burnley by the return of Mr. Arthur Henderson, M.P., and has also gained one seat at Toxteth by the return of Mr. J. Gibbins, M.P. Mr. Oswald Mosley, M.P., has also joined the Parliamentary Labour Party. Against these increases the Party has lost one seat at Holland-with-Boston, and the present strength of the Parliamentary Labour Party is therefore 192.

By-ELECTIONS SINCE GENERAL ELECTION, 1923.

There have been ten by-elections since the last General Election, and Labour contested eight of these. In the vacancy which occurred for the City of London, due to the Member being created a peer, it was decided that as no Labour Party organisation existed in the Division Labour should not contest. At the polling on February 1, 1924, the seat was held by the Conservatives against the Liberals with a majority of 7,437. The Dover vacancy was caused through Major Astor inadvertently voting before taking the oath. Some desire was expressed by the Dover Labour Party to fight, but circumstances did not justify a contest, and it was decided not to run a candidate. Major Astor was returned unopposed.

Lancs : Burnley, February 28, 1924.

Henderson, Rt. Hon. A. (Lab).	24,571
Camps, H. E. (Con.)	17,534
Labour Majority	7,037

Previous result, General Election, 1923.

Irving, Dan. (Lab.)	16,849
Camps, H. E. (U.)	14,197
Whitehead, J., K.C. (Lib.)	13,543
Labour Majority	2,652

The death of Mr. Dan Irving, the Labour Member for Burnley, was a loss to the Party and evoked much regret and sympathy. Mr. Arthur Henderson received a unanimous invitation to contest the subsequent by-election. In the result the Labour poll was increased by 7,722, and the majority raised by 4,385.

This was the first contest by Labour since Mr. Ramsay MacDonald formed his Government, and the result was both significant and encouraging.

LONDON: WESTMINSTER (ABBEY), March 19, 1924.

Nicholson, Otho (Con.)	8,187
Churchill, Winston (A.S.)	8,144
Brockway, Fenner (Lab.)	6,156
Duckers, Scott (Lib.)	291
Con. Majority	43

Previous result, General Election, 1923.

Nicholson, Brig.-Gen. J.S. (Con.), Unopposed.

The vacancy caused in this division by the death of Brig.-Gen. Nicholson led to a remarkable contest, which resulted in a Conservative majority of 43 over Mr. Winston Churchill, who appeared as an Anti-Socialist Independent candidate.

The Westminster Labour Party and the I.L.P. took up the challenge and Mr. Fenner Brockway, as the Labour candidate, polled a remarkable vote and certainly contributed to Churchill's defeat, as well as demonstrating the strength of Labour in a stronghold of reaction.

LANCS: LIVERPOOL (WEST TOXTETH), May 22, 1924.

Gibbins, J. (Lab.)	15,505
White, T. (Con.)	13,034
Labour Majority	2,471

Previous result, General Election, 1923.

Houston, Sir R. P. (U.)	12,457
Gibbins, J. (Lab.)	12,318
U. Majority	139

This by-election was caused through the resignation of the Unionist M.P. Mr. J. Gibbins was the Labour Candidate in 1922 and 1923, and at this by-election secured the seat with a majority of 2,471. Mr. Gibbins has by patient work and persistent effort gradually decreased the majority against him until defeat has been turned into a victory, which gave Labour its second seat in Liverpool.

GLASGOW: KELVINGROVE, May 23, 1924.

Eliot, Capt. (U.)	15,488
Ferguson, Aitken (Lab.)	11,167
Pratt, Sir John (Lib.)	1,372
Con. Majority	4,321

Previous result, General Election, 1923.

Hutchinson, W. (U.)	11,025
Ferguson, A. (Ind.)	10,021
Grieve, A. (Lib.)	4,662
Con. Majority	1,004

Owing to the death of Mr. Hutchinson, the former M.P., a contest took place at Kelvingrove. The candidature of Mr. Ferguson was recommended by the Scottish Executive and endorsed by the National Executive, but owing to developments during the contest, it was found impossible to render further official support.

OXFORD, June 5, 1924.

Bourne, Capt. R. C. (Con.)	10,079
Fry, C. B. (Lib.)	8,237
Lindsay, Kenneth (Lab.)	2,769
Con. Majority	1,842

Previous result, General Election, 1923.

Gray, F. (Lib.)	12,311
Bourne, Capt. R. C. (Con.)	9,618
Lib. Majority	2,693

A successful petition against the return of Mr. Frank Gray caused this vacancy. Labour contested for the first time, and Mr. Kenneth Lindsay secured 2,769 votes in this stronghold of reaction.

SUSSEX : LEWES, July 9, 1924.

Beamish, Capt. Tufton, R.N. (Con.) ...	9,584
Hall, Capt. Basil, R.N. (Lab.)	6,112
Williams, Howard (Lib.)	2,718
Con. Majority	3,472

Previous result, General Election, 1923.

Campion, Lt.-Col. W. R. (Con.)	9,474
Hall, Capt. Basil, R.N. (Lab.)	6,422
Con. Majority	3,052

The appointment of the Sitting Member to a Governorship caused a by-election in the Lewes Division, where Capt. Basil Hall, R.N., contested for Labour as on the previous occasion. Despite the intervention of a Liberal our poll was well maintained.

LINCS : HOLLAND-WITH-BOSTON, July 31, 1923.

Dean, A. W. (Con.)	12,907
Dalton, Hugh (Lab.)	12,101
Winfrey, Pat. (Lib.)	7,596
Con. Majority	806

Previous result, General Election, 1923.

Royce, W. C. (Lab.)	... 15,697
Dean, A. W. (U.)	... 13,331
Labour Majority	... 2,366

Mr. W. S. Royce, the Labour Member, whose loss was deplored by all who knew him, gained this seat in 1918 and held it until his death. Dr. Hugh Dalton, M.A., at the urgent request of the Head Office and the Divisional Labour Party, undertook the candidature and put up a great fight against a vigorous attack by the Conservatives and a virulent campaign by the Liberals. Dr. Dalton equalled Mr. Royce's poll in a three-cornered fight, but this was not sufficient to retain the seat and the contest ended in the loss of the seat to Labour. With such a solid vote, however, the division can certainly be regained.

CARMARTHEN : WEST, August 14, 1924.

Mond, Sir Alfred (Lib.)	... 12,760
Owen, Rev. E. T. (Lab.)	... 8,351
Stephens, Sir A. (Con.)	... 7,896
Lib. Majority	... 4,409

Previous result, General Election, 1923.

Griffith, Sir Ellis, K.C. (Lib.) ...	... 12,988
Stephens, Sir A. (U.)	... 8,677
Williams, R. (Lab.)	... 7,132
Lib. Majority	... 4,311

This by-election was caused by the resignation of Sir Ellis Griffith, K.C., and Sir Alfred Mond was selected as the Liberal candidate. The Divisional Labour Party has only been organised during the last two years. As a propaganda effort the constituency was fought at the General Election (1923) and the Divisional Labour Party decided to contest the by-election, with the Rev. E. T. Owen as the Labour candidate. The result showed marked progress, as the Labour candidate advanced to second place and increased the Labour vote by 1,200.

PARTY AGENTS.

The full list of Agents appointed under the Party scheme in respect of which grants in aid are paid will be found in Appendix VII., together with a list of other Agents appointed by our affiliated organisations. Many changes have taken place during the year, economic conditions seriously affecting the Local Parties and the Trade Unions alike, and continuity of organisation has been somewhat disturbed in consequence.

The Adjustments Board has met during the year and considered various cases. The representatives of the Agents' Association now propose to place a form of agreement and a scheme for examination before the Board for consideration.

COMPARATIVE VOTING—GENERAL AND BY-ELECTIONS

GENERAL ELECTION, 1922

Constituency	Con.	I.L.	L.G.-Lib.	Lab.	Other
Figures brought forward from previous report ...	86,180	50,801	34,251	34,919	11,929
Devon: Tiverton	10,304	10,230	—	1,457	—
Northumberland: Morpeth	6,045	10,007	—	15,026	—
Yorks: Leeds, Central	14,137	—	6,260	7,844	—
Hants: Portsmouth, S.	19,960	9,080	—	—	—
Somerset: Yeovil	15,468	—	—	9,581	—
Lincs.: Rutland and Stamford	10,278	—	—	7,236	Agric. 4,471
Total	162,372	80,118	40,511	76,063	16,400

BY-ELECTIONS, JUNE, 1923—OCTOBER, 1923

Date	Con.	I.L.	Lab.	Other
—	86,900	54,632	60,818	Ind. Lab.
June 21, 1923	11,638	12,041	—	495
June 21, 1923	—	13,087	20,053	—
July 26, 1923	13,085	3,024	11,364	—
August 13, 1923	11,884	9,763	—	—
October 30, 1923	13,205	7,024	8,140	—
October 30, 1923	11,196	—	8,406	—
	147,908	99,571	108,781	495

GENERAL ELECTION, 1923

Constituency	Con.	Lib.	Lab.	Other
London: City of	Unop.	—	—	—
Lancs: Burnley	14,197	13,543	16,849	—
Kent: Dover	Unop.	—	—	—
London: Westminster, Abbey	Unop.	—	—	—
Lancs: Liverpool, West Toxteth	12,457	—	12,318	Ind. Lab.
Lanark: Glasgow, Kelvingrove	11,025	—	—	10,021
Oxford	9,618	12,311	—	—
Sussex: Lewes...	9,474	—	6,422	—
Lincs: Holland with Boston	13,331	—	16,697	—
Carmarthen: West	8,677	12,988	7,132	—
Total	78,779	38,842	59,418	10,021

BY-ELECTIONS

Date	Con.	Lib.	Lab.	Other
February 1, 1924	12,962	5,525	—	—
February 28, 1924	17,534	—	24,571	—
March 12, 1924	Unop.	—	—	Anti-Soc.
March 19, 1924	8,187	291	6,156	8,144
May 22, 1924	13,034	—	15,505	—
May 23, 1924	15,488	1,372	11,167	—
June 5, 1924	10,079	8,237	2,769	—
July 9, 1924	9,584	2,718	6,112	—
July 31, 1924	12,907	7,596	12,101	—
August 14, 1924	7,896	12,760	8,351	—
	107,671	38,499	86,732	8,144

ORGANISATION OF WOMEN.

The phenomenal growth of the Women's side of the Party's organisation, and the continuous increase in the number of Women's Sections and the Women's membership, reported last year, set a standard which it was very difficult to maintain. It is therefore all the greater pleasure to be able to report that not only has the standard been equalled, but the previous fine record has been exceeded. Dr. Marion Phillips (Chief Woman Officer) and the staff of Women Organisers in the Districts, have pursued their work steadily during the past year, and their methods of organisation, coupled with their devoted service and personal enthusiasm, were contributory factors to the triumph of the Party at the General Election. Our political opponents have endeavoured by misrepresentation and calumny to scare the women voters, and by specious attempts to create alleged "non-political," but definitely "anti-Labour" organisations for women, especially in the countryside, have tried to counteract the growing influence of Labour. The year's experience clearly indicates that the political consciousness of the women of the country is not seriously affected by these tactics, but is expressing itself as each election comes round more definitely in favour of Labour. The following report by Dr. Marion Phillips summarises the details of the year's activities :—

Women's Sections.

Since the last report was presented there has been a period of even greater expansion in the organisation of women within the Party. This is shown not only by the increasing membership, but also by the growth in enthusiasm and capacity of the members themselves in political work. In the General Election of 1922 the women played a considerable part, but the success of the Party in 1923 was admitted, even by our opponents, to be in considerable part the result of the energy and ability of the voluntary women workers in the Women's Sections. The number of sections is now 1,332, and this includes over 200 Ward Sections in well-organised boroughs. We estimated our membership in May of this year at 150,000 and that number has certainly been increased since then. The newer sections are for the most part in small towns or villages where the membership cannot be a very large one, but we have now two borough constituencies—Woolwich and Barrow—with over a thousand members, and Woolwich is more than half-way to two thousand. In a large number of boroughs Ward Sections with Central Committees have been developed, and in divided boroughs and county divisions Central Committees or County Federations are being formed in increasing numbers.

Labour Women's Advisory Councils.

The Labour Women's Advisory Councils now number 42. The Councils have met frequently and, including the Conferences still to be held during September, they have held over 60 Conferences. Some of the Councils have also organised Women's Day Celebrations, Summer Outings of various kinds, and Summer Schools, as well as Speakers' and Workers' Classes. The attendance of delegates at the Public Conferences has varied from about a hundred to three thousand, the numbers including visitors as well as delegates.

Women's Day.

The Women's Day celebrations in 1923 and 1924 have been very successful both in rural and urban areas. Processions of women with bands and banners have had a very great effect on public opinion, and the Women's Galas in the county of Durham and the county of Northumberland have been especially striking. In 1923 the number in the Durham procession amounted to 5,000 and in 1924 the Northumberland procession numbered 3,000, while the Durham procession reached 10,000. In more rural counties the women's membership has been encouraged as a result of the processions and demonstrations with their gay banners and brightly dressed children. The success of Women's Day has been a notable one, and the sections regard it as an important means of stimulating interest and developing their membership.

Educational Work.

The Speakers' and Workers' Classes have been an important part of the work, but have been greatly interrupted by the elections. Nevertheless the use of our Handbook and the work of our organisers as leaders has greatly helped in developing our members' interest in public work. There are still many areas where the lack of women speakers is greatly felt, and steady work is being maintained in order to supply this need. The work of Women's Sections on the educational side through their own meetings is growing in importance, while the members are still keeping up their invaluable help in organising the social side of the movement and in the work of raising funds.

Annual Conference of Labour Women.

The Annual Conference of Labour Women took place in London on May 13 and 14. It was attended by 1,008 delegates, composed as follows :—

Delegates of Women's Sections	668
Delegates of Labour Parties	164
Delegates of Socialist, Co-operative and Trade Union Organisations	176

It was thus the second largest Conference of men or women ever held under the auspices of the Labour Party. On May 13 a great Demonstration took place at the Albert Hall, which was organised by the Labour Party, the London Labour Party, and the Women's Advisory Committee of the London Labour Party, and was addressed by the Prime Minister, the Women Members of Parliament, the Chairman of the Women's Conference, Mrs. Harrison Bell, the Rt. Hon. Arthur Henderson, M.P., and Mr. Herbert Morrison, M.P., with Dr. Marion Phillips in the chair. A Private Business Conference for delegates of Women's Sections and Labour Parties was held on the morning of May 13 under the chairmanship of Dr. Marion Phillips. There were 832 delegates present, of whom 668 represented Women's Sections and the remainder Labour Parties. The representation for the different districts was as follows :—

Scotland, the North-East and North-West	243
Wales and the South-West	115
Midland and Eastern Counties	172
London and the Home Counties	298

And four not classified.

At this Conference the election for one representative for each of these four districts to serve as Labour Party representatives, in addition

to the four women members of the Executive Committee on the Standing Joint Committee of Industrial Women's Organisations, took place and the following were elected :—

Scotland, N.E. and N.W.—Mrs. Johnson.
Wales and South-Western.—Mrs. Rose Davies, J.P.
Midland and Eastern.—Mrs. Rackham, J.P.
London and Home Counties.—Miss Lilian Dawson.

The Conference discussed thoroughly the question of a postal ballot for this election in the future and also the arrangements and constitution of the future Public Conferences, as well as the Business Conferences. It was decided to make the following recommendations to the Executive Committee of the Labour Party :—

(1) That the election be taken by a postal ballot.

(2) That next year there should be a full day's Business Conference and two days' Public Conference.

(3) That there would be no serious difficulty in charging an extra delegation fee to cover extra cost.

(4) That the Conference next year should be on the same basis of representation as this year, but that during the year the eight representatives of the Labour Party on the Standing Joint Committee be asked to prepare a report to be circulated to the sections on the subject of future Conferences, and that this matter be considered by the sections and discussed at the Business Conference next year.

These proposals were placed before the Executive Committee at their next meeting, and it was agreed that next year there should be a full day's Business Conference and two days' Public Conference, and that the other questions should be submitted to the eight representatives of the Labour Party in order that they might make a report upon them to be discussed in the way suggested.

The Public Conference, presided over by Mrs. Harrison Bell, had before it a report on the Work of the Labour Party in Women's Interests at Home and Abroad, presented by the Chief Woman Officer, which was adopted. The chief business of the remainder of the Conference was to consider a series of reports and resolutions which had been prepared by the Standing Joint Committee of Industrial Women's Organisations on the following subjects :—

(1) Education and employment of boys and girls.
(2) Care of maternity, with special reference to the Maternity Convention, Washington, 1919.
(3) The position of the housewife in relation to world supplies.
(4) Reform of the penal system.
(5) The position of wage-earning women.

The reports and resolutions were adopted with a few amendments. The most important was an addendum to the report on the Care of Maternity dealing with Birth Control. The reports and resolutions on the first three subjects have since been published as pamphlets by the Labour Party.

Other subjects discussed were the Emigration of Children, the Enfranchisement of Women, Housing and Rents, Disarmament and Foreign Policy, and Widows' Pensions. On the last subject the resolution of the Conference specially demanded that the scheme should be financed from national funds administered by public authorities and not connected with any scheme of insurance.

A welcome feature of the Conference was the presence of fraternal delegates from the Labour and Socialist organisations of Holland, Belgium and Australia, and messages conveying fraternal greetings were received from the Women's Social Democratic Union of Sweden, and the Socialist Party of Poland.

The "Labour Woman."

The progress of the *Labour Woman* from the point of view of circulation and quality during 1923 and up to September, 1924, has been satisfactory. The circulation has been doubled, and in some months more than doubled since January, 1923. The increase in circulation did not help us financially in 1923, but by May, 1924, it was sufficient for us to get more advantageous arrangements for printing which will show their good results by the end of this year (1924). In May, the new arrangements came into operation and the journal has been greatly improved in appearance and is larger in size. The *Labour Woman* has proved an invaluable part of our propaganda work amongst women, and if an advertisement revenue, which any other than a Labour journal would easily get with its present circulation, could be procured, it would be profitable. As it is, with the very few advertisements we have, we should balance accounts by the end of 1924.

ENDORSED CANDIDATES.

The names and addresses of Candidates selected in accordance with the provisions of the constitution by various constituency parties and endorsed by the National Executive since the General Election will be found in Appendix VI.

AVAILABLE CANDIDATES.

The following Candidates are available for selection by constituency parties subject to the consent of the Candidate, the approval of the organisation, and the endorsement of the National Executive :—

David Adams, Jesmond Cottage, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

W. H. Hutchinson, 17, Athenley Road, Nunhead, London, S.E.15.
(Amalgamated Engineering Union.)

B. Brooke, 316, Oxford Road, Manchester.

Councillor H. Hartland, J.P., 316, Oxford Road, Manchester.
(National Amalgamated Union of Life Assurance Workers.)

Len. Smith, 26, Semilong Road, Northampton.

D. McCarthy, 23, Avenue Road Extension, Leicester.
(National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives.)

T. McCall, 97, Leeds Road, Nelson.

John Bradley, Operative Bleachers' Office, 21, Bridge Street, Manchester.

Alfred Davies, Morfield Terrace, Hollingworth, Manchester.

James Bell, J.P., Weavers' Institute, Bartlam Place, Oldham.

Michael Brothers, c/o U.T.F.W.A., Ewbank Chambers, 19, St. James Street, Accrington.

Arthur Townsend, c/o U.T.F.W.A., Ewbank Chambers, 19, St. James Street, Accrington.
(United Textile Factory Workers' Association.)

A. Bellamy, J.P., 93, Fox Street, Edgeley, Stockport.

F. C. Burgess, 205, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

Alderman W. Dobbie, Lord Mayor of York, Mansion House, York.

C. J. Kelly, L.C.C., 6, Balmer Road, Tredegar Road, Bow, E.3.
(National Union of Railwaymen.)

W. T. Kelly, "Highfield," Golders Green Road, London, N.W.11.

Miss E. Stewart, 69, Ingram Street, Glasgow.
(Workers' Union.)

LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

For two years in succession the Municipal Elections have been seriously affected by the fact that a General Election was looming ahead. The activity of the Party in relation to Local Government elections throughout the country has been well maintained, and Local Authorities where Labour is not wielding its influence are a rapidly-diminishing quantity. A continuous assault is being waged by Labour from the Parish Councils in the rural areas to the County Borough Councils in the large centres. With a Labour Government in office the necessity of securing the control of local administration becomes even more important. In the rural districts, despite the depression in the agricultural industry, many valuable attempts have been made to secure representation on the Parish Councils, the County Councils, the Rural District Councils and the Boards of Guardians. The Party advanced its position throughout the country at the Municipal Elections in November last, and also at the Guardians and Urban District Council Elections. Past victories, however, have given us such a large measure of representation on the Local Authorities that rapid progress is now much more difficult. The Party, however, is marching steadily from strength to strength and every year a larger proportion of our Local Authorities pass under the influence of Labour majorities.

ORGANISATION OF YOUTH.

As reported to the Conference last year the National Executive appointed a Sub-Committee to consider the question of the Organisation of Youth, and a Questionnaire was sent out to all the Labour Parties throughout the country asking for information as to present activities in that direction and their views as to whether efforts should be made for the organisation of young people as a part of the ordinary activities of the Labour Party. In a very large majority of cases the replies were emphatically in favour of this work, and the Executive Committee adopted a report from the Sub-Committee recommending that the Organisation of Young People should become part of the ordinary organising work of the Party, in order that they should more readily and enthusiastically take their place in the Labour Movement as they reach adult years. The Committee felt that it is very important that Young People's Sections should be part of the organisation in the constituencies and not part of separate national organisations. The following recommendations have been circulated and will require no alteration in the constitution of the Party and yet will give to the young people the right means of co-operating in the general work of the constituencies, without forcing upon them responsibilities and duties which should only be borne by the organisations of adult members in the Party. It is proposed that in establishing Young People's Sections the following scheme should be adopted:—

(1) That Young People's Sections should be formed which shall be attached to and form part of the Local Labour Parties.

(2) That boys and girls between the ages of 14 and 21 shall be eligible for membership.

(3) That the minimum subscription shall be 6d. per year.

(4) That the Young People's Section shall be governed by a Committee of Management and officers elected by the Section from amongst its own members, together with at least two persons appointed by the General Committee of the Labour Party.

(5) That the Young People's Section should appoint two of its members to represent it on the General Committee of the Local Labour Party, both of whom shall be over 16 years of age and who shall have power to take part in the proceedings but not to vote.

While it is proposed that the minimum age shall be 14, the Committee desire to make it clear that they do not in any way discourage the formation of Junior Sections for Children under 14 mainly of a recreational character, but they think it unnecessary to lay down any special plans for bringing these into contact with the political side of the Movement. For children below the age of 14 they deprecate the teaching of political doctrines, and they do not think that children at these early years should have any place even as non-voting members in the governing bodies of the Parties. For the older boys and girls they think it is important that they should have as much autonomy as possible, but the appointment of two members by the General Committee on the Committee of Management of the Young People's Section would enable the work of the young people to be closer co-ordinated with that of the Party and also would enable the young members to have the guidance of people more experienced in the Party's work. In general it will probably be found best that at least one of these members should be the Secretary of the Local Labour Party and one should be a member of the Women's Section. It is felt to be important that the representation of the Young People's Section on the General Committee should not be the full representation given to the Men's and Women's Sections. If the young people were to be given voting power and be placed in the same position as these other Sections they might be used as a field for exploitation by either side whenever disagreement existed in the Party, and they might even be put in the position, in a matter for example of the selection of candidates, of having the final decision in their hands. Under the method suggested close contact may be maintained without putting young boys and girls in a position which their experience would not entitle them to take and which those who are still considered even by the Labour Party too young to vote for Parliament and other public bodies ought not to have. At the same time those members of Young People's Sections who desire to have the full power of individual members may if they are old enough join the Men's and Women's Sections and exercise their rights there. No age limit has been laid down in the Labour Party Constitution, but it is customary to take individual members from the age of 16 though not younger.

The work of the Young People's Sections should be mainly Recreational and Educational, and care should be taken not to overemphasise their political side. In organising their work the attitude of the Labour Party should be one of encouragement and help in all developments which the young people are keen to follow. Three main lines are suggested :—

(1) Recreational. Opportunity should be found for sports, music, dramatic societies and social intercourse.

(2) Educational. All developments should be encouraged in the way of study circles, classes, debates, an understanding of the conduct of public work, and all of these should be conducted in association with the Local Labour Party.

(3) Participation in Election Work. Every encouragement should be given for this and full advantage taken of the young people's energy and desire to serve.

In addition to the Young People's Sections, Junior Sections of children up to 14 may find a place in the work. In developing these the help of the Women's Sections is specially valuable, and with the growth of the Young People's Sections many of the boys and girls will also be able to give assistance with the younger children. For them, singing, dancing, dramatic societies, sports and gymnastics, should play the greater part, but they can also get useful training by helping in the conduct of their own meetings as Chairmen, Secretaries, etc.

A Circular Letter giving full particulars of this scheme has been circulated to all the Local Parties and Women's Sections throughout the country, and much interest in the work is being shown.

BADGES.

It was stated in the last Annual Report that a Labour Party Badge was about to be adopted. The design, which was selected from about 200 submitted in open competition, consists of a crossed spade and pen, with a vertical torch, all in gilt on a red background surrounded with a white border, on which the name of the Party is inscribed. The word "Liberty" appears across the centre. The badge in gilt and enamel is issued in both stud and brooch form, and another design in plain oxidised metal is issued as a brooch only. At the retail price of one shilling each the badges yield a profit to both the national and local funds, and there has been a good demand from all over the country. Local parties should help their own and the national funds by pressing all their members to purchase and wear this symbol of our cause.

AUTUMN NATIONAL CAMPAIGN.

The responsibility of Government brings with it certain disadvantages from the point of view of Party propaganda. While the Labour Ministers have been absorbed in their arduous duties in their Departments and in the House, and while our Labour M.P.s have had to maintain a regular support in the House, the leaders and members of both the Conservative and Liberal Oppositions, free from the responsibilities of office, have been campaigning in the constituencies. The National Executive therefore decided to take advantage of the Parliamentary recess in order to arrange an autumn national campaign in support of the Labour Government. The campaign started on September 15 and will run on until October 27. The scope is nation-wide, over 200 meetings having been arranged, from Inverness in the North to St. Ives in the South, and from Norwich in the East to Pembroke in the West. The Prime Minister and the other Labour Ministers, together with Members of Parliament and other leading speakers, are taking part, and the General Council of the Trades Union Congress has also agreed to co-operate in the effort, especially in support of the Russian Treaty. Collections for the Special Fighting Fund of the Party are being taken at all meetings, and it is hoped by this means to raise the nucleus of a Fund to open up the countryside for Labour at the next General Election. Special literature has been prepared for the campaign, and the reports of the meetings already held show that the effort is receiving enthusiastic support. During the Conference week the campaign will be concentrated on London and environs.

EGERTON P. WAKE,
National Agent.

SCHEDULE 1.—NATIONAL AGENT'S REPORT

GENERAL ELECTION, DECEMBER 1923

Unopposed Returns: Three Labour Seats

Devon, South Molton (Lib.)
Glos., Bristol, West (Con.)
Kent, Hythe (Con.)
Kent, Dover (Con.)
Lancs., Liverpool, East Toxteth (Con.)
Lancs., Liverpool, Fairfield (Con.)
Lancs., Liverpool, Kirkdale (Con.)
Lancs., Liverpool, Scotland (Nat.)
Lancs., Liverpool, Walton (Con.)
London, City of (Con.)
London, Kensington, South (Con.)
London, Wandsworth, Putney & Southfields (Con.)
London, Westminster, St. George's (Con.)
London, Westminster, Abbey (Con.)
Salop, Ludlow (Con.)
Staffs., Wolverhampton, East (Lib.)
Staffs., Burton (Con.)
Suffolk, Bury St. Edmunds (Con.)
Surrey, East (Con.)
Surrey, Reigate (Con.)
Warwick, Birmingham, Handsworth (Con.)
Warwick, Tamworth (Con.)
Westmorland (Con.)
Yorks., Halifax (Lib.)
Yorks., Howdenshire (Con.)
Yorks., Richmond (Con.)
Yorks., Ripon (Con.)
Yorks., Wentworth (Lab.)

WALES.

Anglesey (Lib.)
Brecon and Radnor (Lib.)
Glam., Ogmore (Lab.)
Glam., Abertillery (Lab.)
Montgomery (Lib.)

SCOTLAND.

Banff (Lib.)
Caithness and Sutherland (Lib.)
Galloway (Lib.)
Ross and Cromarty (Lib.)

UNIVERSITIES.

Scottish Combined (Con. 3)

SCHEDULE 2.—NATIONAL AGENT'S REPORT

GENERAL ELECTION, DECEMBER 1923

Straight Fights Contested by Labour

N.B.—In these Schedules, in the column "Other," where not otherwise stated the candidate was Independent.

Constituency.	*Cons.*	*Lib.*	*Lab.*	*Other.*
Buckingham	13,351	—	11,824	—
Birkenhead, West	9,862	—	12,473	—
Whitehaven	11,029	—	12,419	—
Workington	11,781	—	15,296	—
Exeter	14,908	—	7,123	—
Plymouth, Sutton	16,114	—	13,438	—
Dorset, West	10,100	—	7,087	—
South Shields	—	22,912	15,717	—
Barnard Castle	7,482	—	9,171	—
Blaydon	7,124	—	15,073	—
Chester-le-Street	7.015	—	20,712	—
Consett	—	14,619	15,862	—
Durham	10,530	—	13,819	—
Houghton-le-Spring	—	10,445	15,225	—
Jarrow	9,348	—	16,570	—
Seaham	8,546	—	21,281	—
Sedgefield	11,093	—	11,087	—
Spennymoor	8,116	—	15,567	—
West Ham, Plaistow	4,643	—	13,638	—
West Ham, Silvertown	2,948	—	12,777	—
Maldon	10,280	—	10,329	—
South-East Essex	12,379	—	13,979	—
Bristol, Central	14,386	—	11,932	—
Bristol, East	—	12,788	14,824	—
Bristol, South	—	15,235	13,701	—
Cirencester and Tewkesbury	15,406	—	7,849	—
Forest of Dean	7,383	—	11,486	—
Fareham	14,787	—	6,526	—
Petersfield	12,195	—	6,403	—
Ashford	12,644	—	7,709	—
Dartford	—	—	18,329	15,500
Faversham	13,422	—	12,361	—
Accrington	—	19,981	16,793	—
Liverpool, Edge Hill	10,249	—	13,538	—

Constituency.	*Cons.*	*Lib.*	*Lab.*	*Other.*
Liverpool, Everton	9,183	—	7,673	—
Liverpool, West Toxteth	12,457	—	12,318	—
Manchester, Ardwick	10,266	—	15,673	—
Manchester, Clayton	13,164	—	17,255	—
Manchester, Gorton	10,702	—	16,080	—
Manchester, Platting	14,099	—	17,078	—
St. Helens	16,108	—	20,087	—
Salford, North	12,810	—	13,377	—
Wigan	14,451	—	19,637	—
Chorley	14,715	—	12,179	—
Farnworth	11,134	—	14,858	—
Heywood and Radcliffe	—	17,163	15,273	—
Ince	6,262	—	17,365	—
Newton	8,375	—	12,492	—
Ormskirk	10,598	—	9,388	—
Stretford	—	15,971	11,451	—
Westhoughton	10,103	—	15,347	—
Grimsby	17,577	—	15,959	—
Holland with Boston	13,331	—	16,697	—
Brigg	12,429	—	10,772	—
Battersea, North	—	12,527	12,341	—
Battersea, South	14,558	—	13,440	—
Bermondsey, West	—	9,186	8,298	—
Camberwell, North	5,934	—	10,620	—
Deptford	12,666	—	21,576	—
Poplar, Bow and Bromley	6,941	—	15,336	—
Poplar, South	—	7,899	14,537	—
St. Marylebone	16,763	—	8,424	—
Shoreditch	—	10,658	13,874	—
Southwark, North	—	7,303	7,665	—
Southwark, South-East	—	7,884	9,374	—
Stepney, Limehouse	5,288	—	11,473	—
Stepney, Whitechapel	—	6,656	7,812	—
Woolwich, East	9,839	—	15,766	—
Woolwich, West	12,515	—	11,357	—
Edmonton	5,943	—	10,735	—
Enfield	9,888	—	11,050	—
Spelthorne	11,604	—	5,868	—
Norfolk, North	9,022	—	12,278	—
Norfolk, South	10,821	—	11,682	—
Norfolk, South-West	11,269	—	9,779	—
Morpeth	—	9,411	16,902	—
Newcastle, Central	11,260	—	12,447	—
Newcastle, East	—	12,656	11,532	—
Newcastle, West	—	15,141	11,527	—
Wallsend-on-Tyne	12,950	—	16,126	—
Wansbeck	14,131	—	18,583	—
Nottingham, West	7,370	—	12,366	—
Broxtowe	—	11,049	13,219	—
Mansfield	—	13,757	18,813	—
The Wrekin	10,274	—	11,657	—
Frome	13,306	—	15,902	—
Newcastle-under-Lyme	6,746	—	12,881	—
Smethwick	11,217	—	13,550	—
Stoke-on-Trent, Burslem	—	12,543	12,480	—
Stoke-on-Trent, Stoke	—	—	12,502 (I.Lab.)	13,119
Wolverhampton, West	15,990	—	15,749	—
Wednesbury	16,991	—	17,810	—
Leek	12,066	—	13,913	—
Stafford	9,823	—	8,412	—
Ipswich	15,364	—	15,824	—
Croydon, North	17,085	—	10,054	—
Wimbledon	15,495	—	6,717	—
Epsom	14,230	—	5,807	—
Mitcham	10,829	—	9,877	—
East Grinstead	14,215	—	6,451	—
Lewes	9,474	—	6,422	—
Horsham and Worthing	17,925	—	8,892	—
Birmingham, Deritend	12,015	—	9,396	—

Constituency.	*Cons.*	*Lib.*	*Lab.*	*Other.*
Birmingham, Erdington	14,683	—	7,574	—
Birmingham, Ladywood	12,884	—	11,330	—
Birmingham, West	13,940	—	9,983	—
Birmingham, Yardley	13,300	—	11,562	—
Batley and Morley	—	13,480	14,964	—
Dewsbury	—	11,179	8,923	—
Leeds, Central	14,803	—	11,574	—
Leeds, South-East	—	7,110	12,210	—
Middlesbrough, West	—	16,837	7,413	—
Rotherham	14,535	—	16,983	—
Doncaster	10,514	—	16,198	—
Don Valley	8,451	—	12,898	—
Elland	—	12,476	12,031	—
Hemsworth	—	5,624	13,159	—
Keighley	—	14,609	14,083	—
Normanton	4,365	—	15,455	—
Rother Valley	7,323	—	15,967	—
Rothwell	—	7,788	15,115	—
WALES.				
Carnarvonshire	—	15,043	13,521	—
Aberdare	—	16,050	22,379	—
Rhondda, East	8,346	—	21,338	—
Rhondda, West	—	9,640	18,206	—
Swansea, East	—	9,463	12,735	—
Aberavon	13,927	—	17,439	—
Gower	—	10,219	14,771	—
Neath	—	12,562	20,764	—
Pontypridd	—	13,839	16,837	—
Merioneth	—	11,005	7,181	—
Bedwellty	—	8,436	17,564	—
Ebbw Vale	—	8,639	16,492	—
Pontypool	—	13,444	13,770	—
SCOTLAND.				
Bute and Northern Ayr	12,320	—	9,855	—
South Ayrshire	8,807	—	11,169	—
Dumbarton and Clydebank	8,520	—	13,472	—
Dunfermline Burghs	—	10,931	12,606	—
Kirkcaldy Burghs	—	11,937	14,221	—
Western Fife	—	—	12,204 (I.Lab.)	6,459
Montrose Burghs	—	8,717	7,032	—
Inverness	—	10,194	5,385	—
Glasgow, Camlachie	11,027	—	14,143	—
Glasgow, Gorbals	8,392	—	17,211	—
Glasgow, Govan	—	7,095	13,987	—
Glasgow, Pollok	14,013	—	6,836	—
Glasgow, St. Rollox	9,204	—	15,240	—
Glasgow, Shettleston	—	8,471	12,624	—
Glasgow, Springburn	8,814	—	14,535	—
Glasgow, Tradeston	—	8,479	12,787	—
Coatbridge	9,865	—	12,292	—
Hamilton	—	8,436	11,858	—
Lanark	11,154	—	11,384	—
Edinburgh, Central	—	6,225	13,186	—
Leith	—	15,004	8,267	—
Greenock	—	16,337	10,335	—
Stirling and Falkirk Burghs	—	10,721	10,565	—
Clackmannan and East Stirling	—	10,043	10,492	—

SCHEDULE 3.—NATIONAL AGENT'S REPORT

GENERAL ELECTION, DECEMBER, 1923

Three-Cornered Fights Contested by Labour

Constituency.	*Cons.*	*Lib.*	*Lab.*	*Other.*
Mid-Bedford	9,287	11,310	1,567	—
Luton	11,738	15,569	2,998	—

Constituency.	*Cons.*	*Lib.*	*Lab.*	*Other.*
Reading	15,115	5,406	16,657	—
Aylesbury	13,504	13,575	1,275	—
Wycombe	13,228	14,910	3,611	—
Cambridge	9,814	7,852	5,741	—
Cambridgeshire	11,710	6,619	8,554	—
City of Chester	9,985	6,212	5,774	—
Crewe	8,734	8,068	14,628	—
Macclesfield	14,744	11,259	6,713	—
Northwich	11,835	9,765	9,183	—
St. Ives	8,654	9,922	2,749	—
Carlisle	7,844	4,541	9,120	—
Belper	9,662	6,178	7,284	—
Chesterfield	5,541	12,164	6,198	—
Clay Cross	4,881	4,488	11,939	—
High Peak	12,162	9,432	5,684	—
Ilkeston	6,566	6,112	9,141	—
North-East Derby	8,768	8,080	10,971	—
South Derby	12,902	9,620	10,919	—
Plymouth, Drake	12,345	4,082	11,849	—
Plymouth, Devonport	10,428	12,269	4,158	—
Barnstaple	13,614	14,880	1,225	—
Dorset, East	12,480	7,535	5,760	—
Dorset, South	11,057	5,973	3,602	—
Darlington	11,638	6,697	9,284	—
Gateshead	6,592	17,344	16,689	—
Hartlepool	16,956	17,100	2,755	—
Stockton-on-Tees	11,661	11,734	10,619	—
Bishop Auckland	6,024	6,686	13,328	—
East Ham, North	7,393	8,311	8,727	—
East Ham, South	3,011	8,772	11,402	—
Ilford	14,136	11,965	5,775	—
Leyton, East	6,533	5,669	7,944	—
Leyton, West	8,349	8,285	7,536	—
Walthamstow, East	7,081	5,837	6,837	—
Walthamstow, West	2,832	8,234	10,026	—
West Ham, Stratford	5,443	3,888	11,466	—
West Ham, Upton	7,630	5,710	8,656	—
Colchester	10,535	5,430	8,316	—
Romford	9,585	8,144	9,109	—
Saffron Walden	9,652	5,752	6,398	—
Bristol, North	8,643	8,770	10,433	—
Gloucester	8,630	6,011	8,127	—
Bournemouth	15,506	9,256	5,986	—
Portsmouth, Central	10,231	11,493	7,991	—
Portsmouth, North	13,229	3,584	9,523	—
Portsmouth, South	16,625	5,698	7,388	—
Winchester	11,240	6,253	6,495	—
Hereford	11,448	8,280	981	—
Hitchen	11,157	5,390	5,913	—
St. Albans	11,968	6,469	6,640	—
Watford	10,533	6,423	7,532	—
Isle of Ely	11,009	11,476	3,172	—
Isle of Wight	16,159	16,249	2,475	—
Bromley	13,495	12,612	3,992	—
Rochester, Chatham	9,994	8,227	5,794	—
Rochester, Gillingham	10,426	4,015	7,674	—
Gravesend	9,657	3,123	9,776	—
Maidstone	11,244	9,047	6,558	—
Tonbridge	13,910	7,433	6,610	—
Ashton-under-Lyne	7,813	7,574	6,208	—
Barrow-in-Furness	13,996	1,931	13,576	—
Bootle	9,991	10,444	3,272	—
Burnley	14,197	13,543	16,849	—
Bury	10,680	6,251	9,568	—
Eccles	10,364	6,011	12,227	—
Leigh	8,663	9,854	13,989	—
Liverpool, Wavertree	8,700	9,349	7,025	—
Manchester, Hulme	10,035	9,603	8,433	—
Manchester, Rusholme	8,876	10,901	5,366	—

Constituency.	*Cons.*	*Lib.*	*Lab.*	*Other.*
Nelson and Colne	9,861	10,103	17,083	—
Rochdale	12,895	15,087	13,525	—
Rossendale	11,362	9,592	9,230	—
Salford, South	9,366	4,851	12,097	—
Salford, West	9,752	6,097	9,868	—
Warrington	12,314	4,511	12,984	—
Clitheroe	12,998	5,810	11,469	—
Darwen	11,432	14,242	3,527	—
Middleton and Prestwich	10,029	9,500	7,849	—
Royton	12,320	14,836	2,740	—
Widnes	12,808	2,355	12,020	—
Leicester, East	8,247	7,998	13,162	—
Leicester, West	7,696	9,236	13,634	—
Bosworth	8,430	11,596	8,152	—
Loughborough	7,805	8,937	8,064	—
Lincoln	11,338	6,447	9,251	—
Grantham	12,552	10,819	5,540	—
Rutland and Stamford	10,803	5,203	5,005	—
Gainsborough	7,841	9,694	3,039	—
Rotherhithe	5,741	4,035	9,019	—
Bethnal Green, N.E.	2,035	6,790	7,415	—
Bethnal Green, S.W.	2,267	5,735	5,251	—
Camberwell, N.W.	6,045	6,843	6,763	—
Camberwell, Peckham	8,526	6,815	8,370	—
Chelsea	10,461	2,846	5,047	—
Finsbury	7,063	5,054	8,907	—
Fulham, East	9,757	4,817	7,683	—
Fulham, West	9,965	6,604	8,687	—
Greenwich	10,746	5,806	12,314	—
Hackney, Central	7,252	8,569	6,854	—
Hackney, South	6,047	6,757	9,578	—
Hammersmith, North	7,256	4,374	8,101	—
Hammersmith, South	8,184	3,723	6,974	—
Holborn	7,892	3,349	2,044	—
Islington, East	9,038	10,670	6,941	—
Islington, North	10,802	10,219	8,556	—
Islington, South	5,691	7,531	7,764	—
Islington, West	5,829	5,443	7,955	—
Kensington, North	9,458	5,672	8,888	—
Lambeth, Kennington	7,782	5,075	8,292	—
Lambeth, North	5,509	9,036	4,089	—
Lambeth, Norwood	12,725	8,127	5,002	—
Lewisham, East	13,560	7,396	9,604	—
Paddington, North	8,750	6,873	6,954	—
St. Pancras, North	8,085	6,363	10,931	—
St. Pancras, South-East	7,174	3,890	7,866	—
St. Pancras, South-West	7,097	4,505	5,321	—
Southwark, Central	3,801	8,676	6,690	—
Stepney, Mile End	4,741	4,215	6,219	—
Wandsworth, Balham & Tooting	12,695	7,477	5,535	—
Wandsworth, Central	8,774	4,357	5,294	—
Wandsworth, Clapham	10,287	5,479	6,404	—
Ealing	12,349	6,410	4,495	—
Hornsey	16,812	15,197	3,487	—
Tottenham, North	8,323	4,525	12,696	—
Tottenham, South	7,687	3,974	10,312	—
Willesden, East	11,146	11,260	5,392	—
Willesden, West	8,256	5,030	14,004	—
Acton	8,943	4,909	6,069	—
Brentford and Chiswick	9,648	—	3,216	4,828
Hendon	13,278	7,324	5,005	—
Twickenham	12,903	4,858	5,509	—
Uxbridge	9,254	7,423	6,146	—
Wood Green	15,344	11,975	5,665	—
Great Yarmouth	8,492	11,416	2,138	—
Norfolk, East	8,472	11,807	3,530	—
King's Lynn	9,266	9,943	6,488	—
Northampton	11,520	11,342	15,556	—
Daventry	10,514	8,914	4,127	—

Constituency.	*Cons.*	*Lib.*	*Lab.*	*Other.*
Kettering	10,212	6,273	12,718	
Peterborough	11,634	7,014	8,177	—
Wellingborough	6,747	8,638	11,175	—
Newcastle, North	12,715	6,321	5,374	—
Tynemouth	9,612	9,008	4,875	—
Berwick-on-Tweed	10,636	8,767	2,786	—
Bassetlaw	10,419	7,247	6,973	—
Rushcliffe	12,427	8,581	6,882	—
Banbury	12,495	12,271	2,500	—
Oswestry	11,528	9,713	3,477	—
Wells	9,909	10,818	1,713	—
Yeovil	12,690	10,715	5,080	—
Dudley	10,227	8,510	1,958	—
Stoke-on-Trent, Hanley	5,817	4,268	11,508	—
Walsall	14,141	16,304	7,007	—
West Bromwich	11,146	4,749	12,910	—
Wolverhampton, Bilston	10,186	5,205	9,085	—
Cannock	9,438	7,465	11,956	—
Kingswinford	10,862	4,633	15,174	—
Lichfield	9,010	2,683	11,029	—
Eye	11,172	9,244	2,984	—
Lowestoft	11,103	8,362	4,788	—
Woodbridge	10,606	7,328	4,810	—
Croydon, South	14,310	7,208	9,926	—
Farnham	12,534	4,979	3,520	—
Guildford	14,117	7,601	5,260	—
Hastings	11,914	5,876	4,859	—
Birmingham, Aston	13,291	7,541	2,846	—
Birmingham, Duddeston	11,712	—	7,309	(In. Lib.) 634
Birmingham, King's Norton	9,545	5,686	6,743	—
Birmingham, Sparkbrook	13,523	5,948	4,676	—
Coventry	15,726	15,716	16,346	—
Nuneaton	10,940	14,518	10,437	—
Warwick and Leamington	16,337	11,134	4,015	—
Swindon	12,625	6,231	9,121	—
Westbury	9,891	10,867	4,372	—
Worcester	10,971	9,743	815	—
Evesham	10,976	5,453	3,705	—
Kidderminster	15,469	9,663	3,990	—
Stourbridge	14,764	13,269	9,050	—
Barnsley	6,884	6,881	12,674	—
Bradford, Central	9,725	7,973	14,241	—
Bradford, East	6,622	8,017	13,579	—
Bradford, North	9,192	9,366	9,036	—
Bradford, South	9,270	12,218	11,543	—
Huddersfield	12,694	17,404	17,430	—
Kingston-on-Hull, E.	10,657	9,600	7,468	—
Kingston-on-Hull, S.W.	8,883	10,316	5,973	—
Leeds, North	14,116	6,624	5,884	—
Leeds, North-East	12,767	6,029	8,574	—
Leeds, South	7,770	7,083	11,703	—
Leeds, West	9,432	7,200	11,434	—
Middlesbrough, East	5,790	9,241	7,712	—
Sheffield, Attercliffe,	6,106	3,438	13,581	—
Sheffield, Brightside	9,408	3,684	14,741	—
Sheffield, Central	9,727	2,810	8,762	—
Sheffield, Hallam	12,119	5,383	5,506	—
Sheffield, Hillsborough	8,369	3,636	15,087	—
Sheffield, Park	9,648	4,296	9,050	—
Wakefield	7,345	4,640	7,966	—
York	14,772	7,638	11,626	—
Cleveland	11,855	13,326	9,683	—
Barkston Ash	12,932	5,425	7,964	—
Colne Valley	11,215	8,223	13,136	—
Penistone	7,369	9,164	8,329	—
Pontefract	8,872	4,567	11,134	—
Pudsey and Otley	11,537	9,330	5,499	—
Shipley	8,872	10,262	11,918	—
Skipton	12,676	11,285	7,767	—

Constituency.	*Cons.*	*Lib.*	*Lab.*	*Other.*
Sowerby	9,932	11,350	7,389	—
Spen Valley	7,390	13,672	12,597	—
	WALES.			
Carmarthenshire, West	8,677	12,988	7,132	—
Llanelly	5,422	11,765	21,063	—
Wrexham	9,131	11,037	12,918	—
Cardiff, Central	10,261	7,923	8,563	—
Cardiff, East	7,513	8,536	7,812	—
Cardiff, South	7,473	5,474	7,899	—
Merthyr	5,548	7,403	19,511	—
Swansea, West	8,238	9,145	9,260	—
Caerphilly	6,493	5,152	16,535	—
Llandaff and Barry	11,050	10,213	7,871	—
Newport	14,424	8,015	14,100	—
Pembroke	11,682	13,173	9,511	—
	SCOTLAND.			
Aberdeen, North	4,820	4,099	9,138	—
Aberdeen, South	11,258	5,641	6,911	—
Ayr Burghs	10,206	6,467	7,732	—
Kilmarnock	6,298	8,185	10,992	—
Berwick and Haddington	8,508	6,084	8,576	—
Dumbartonshire	9,802	5,726	11,705	—
Glasgow, Bridgeton	6,101	2,445	15,735	—
Glasgow, Cathcart	10,817	5,894	8,884	—
Glasgow, Central	13,392	2,870	12,976	—
Glasgow, Hillhead	9,757	4,331	5,059	—
Glasgow, Maryhill	10,342	3,179	12,508	—
Glasgow, Partick	6,315	4,358	8,397	—
Bothwell	7,569	1,846	14,211	—
North Lanark	7,165	3,168	10,526	—
Rutherglen	7,652	3,201	13,021	—
Linlithgow	8,149	4,691	13,304	—
Edinburgh, West	8,778	11,010	6,836	—
North Midlothian	6,738	3,583	8,583	—
Peebles and Southern	6,203	4,245	7,882	—
Renfrew, East	9,349	2,887	9,857	—
Renfrew, West	7,602	4,149	10,904	—
Roxburgh and Selkirk	11,258	8,046	6,811	—
Western Stirling	6,182	2,390	9,242	—

SCHEDULE 4.—NATIONAL AGENT'S REPORT
GENERAL ELECTION, DECEMBER, 1923
Four-Cornered Fight Contested by Labour

Constituency.	*Cons.*	*Lib.*	*Lab.*	*Other.*
Paisley	7,758	9,723	7,977	3,685

SCHEDULE 5.—NATIONAL AGENT'S REPORT
GENERAL ELECTION, DECEMBER, 1923
Double-Membered Constituencies Contested by Labour

Constituency.	*Cons.*	*Lib.*	*Lab.*	*Other.*
Stockport	20,308	19,223	16,340	—
	18,129	16,756	—	—
Derby	20,070	10,669	24,887 (Ex-Ser.)	9,772
	—	—	20,318	—
Sunderland	23,469	22,488	13,757	—
	23,429	22,084	13,234	—
Blackburn	28,505	31,117	25,428	—
	—	—	21,903	—
Bolton	22,833	22,173	25,133	—
	22,640	21,040	21,045	—

Constituency.	*Cons.*	*Lib.*	*Lab.*	*Other.*
Oldham	15,819	20,681	20,939	—
	13,894	17,990	—	—
Preston	23,962	25,155	25,816	—
Norwich	14,749	16,222	20,077	—
	12,713	13,180	19,304	—
Brighton	30,137	17,462	9,545	—
	29,759	16,567	9,040	—
Dundee	20,253	23,031	23,345	(Ind.) 25,753
	—	—	—	(Com.) 10,380
Southampton	20,453	13,724	17,208	—
	20,249	13,657	16,679	—

SCHEDULE 6.—NATIONAL AGENT'S REPORT
GENERAL ELECTION, DECEMBER, 1923
University Constituencies Contested by Labour

Constituency.	*Cons.*	*Lib.*	*Lab.*	*Other.*
Combined (two seats)	1,711	1,316	859	—
London	4,037	2,593	1,420	—

SCHEDULE 7.—NATIONAL AGENT'S REPORT
GENERAL ELECTION, DECEMBER, 1923
Constituencies Not Contested by Labour.

Constituency.	*Cons.*	*Lib.*	*Other.*
Bedford	12,906	12,449	—
Abingdon	10,678	10,932	—
Newbury	11,185	11,226	—
Windsor	12,648	9,023	—
Birkenhead, East	8,991	15,845	—
Wallasey	13,995	13,146	—
Altrincham	16,081	19,046	—
Eddisbury	8,716	8,520	—
Knutsford	13,838	13,758	—
Stalybridge and Hyde	14,708	17,082	—
Wirral	11,791	13,631	—
Bodmin	12,574	14,536	—
Camborne	—	11,794	—
	—	8,096	—
North Cornwall	9,581	12,434	—
Penryn and Falmouth	10,428	17,015	—
North Cumberland	9,288	9,070	—
Penrith and Cockermouth	9,205	8,878	—
Western Derby	13,419	12,966	—
Honiton	12,470	12,177	—
Tavistock	10,072	11,883	—
Tiverton	12,300	12,303	—
Torquay	14,922	15,294	—
Totnes	16,343	16,845	—
Dorset, North	10,211	10,992	—
Southend-on-Sea	15,566	15,453	—
Chelmsford	10,185	12,877	—
Epping	14,528	12,954	—
Harwich	10,142	12,059	—
Cheltenham	10,514	9,170	—
Stroud	13,355	15,179	—
Thornbury	10,252	16,722	—
Aldershot	9,131	6,315	—
Basingstoke	11,541	11,879	—
New Forest and Christchurch	13,900	11,889	—
Hemel Hempstead	8,875	8,892	—
Leominster	11,582	8,614	—
Hertford	10,660	9,763	—

Constituency.	*Cons.*	*Lib.*	*Other.*
Huntingdon	9,429	10,444	—
Canterbury	12,017	8,561	—
Chislehurst	9,725	7,806	—
Isle of Thanet	13,821	13,773	—
Sevenoaks	9,987	10,656	—
Blackpool	19,192	22,264	—
Liverpool, Exchange	10,551	—	(Nat.) 10,322
Liverpool, West Derby	10,952	12,942	—
Manchester, Blackley	7,313	12,235	—
Manchester, Exchange	10,449	12,248	—
Manchester, Moss Side	9,097	12,210	949
Manchester, Withington	10,026	13,944	—
Southport	12,776	13,704	—
Fylde	16,510	13,230	—
Lancaster	12,263	17,763	—
Lonsdale	10,176	11,186	—
Mossley	—	11,051	(I.F.T.) 11,426
Waterloo	10,615	9,965	—
Leicester, South	10,674	14,692	—
Harborough	9,537	10,841	—
Melton	13,239	13,195	—
Horncastle	9,135	10,954	—
Louth	11,003	12,104	—
Camberwell, Dulwich	10,855	9,488	—
Hackney, North	9,523	11,177	—
Hampstead	13,513	9,538	—
Lambeth, Brixton	9,476	10,881	—
Lewisham, West	12,448	12,009	—
Paddington, South	9,971	3,939	—
Stoke Newington	7,264	8,365	—
Wandsworth, Streatham	10,598	7,075	—
Finchley	10,883	13,159	—
Harrow	9,433	—	14,079
Hexham	8,887	11,293	—
Nottingham, Central	11,403	13,203	—
Nottingham, East	9,919	11,355	—
Nottingham, South	10,724	4,966	(I.Lab.) 5,176
Newark	12,357	9,741	—
Oxford	9,618	12,311	—
Henley	12,092	11,266	—
Shrewsbury	10,548	11,097	—
Bath	12,830	13,694	—
Bridgwater	12,347	13,778	—
Taunton	11,798	13,053	—
Weston-super-Mare	14,318	15,223	—
Stone	10,001	9,687	—
Sudbury	8,148	8,813	—
Kingston-on-Thames	13,418	8,095	—
Richmond	13,112	7,702	—
Chertsey	13,333	10,690	—
Eastbourne	13,276	11,396	—
Rye	11,167	9,652	—
Chichester	13,348	14,513	—
Birmingham, Edgbaston	15,459	5,962	—
Birmingham, Moseley	19,628	7,904	—
Rugby	11,286	13,798	—
Chippenham	11,156	11,953	—
Devizes	8,574	9,202	—
Salisbury	11,710	12,375	—
Bewdley	12,395	6,026	—
Kingston-on-Hull, Central	10,507	15,847	—
Kingston-on-Hull, North-West	12,674	12,559	—
Sheffield, Eccleshall	13,047	7,456	—
Buckrose	12,336	12,122	—
Holderness	11,099	10,846	—
Scarborough	15,927	14,933	—
Thirsk and Malton	11,545	6,939	—

WALES.

Constituency.	*Cons.*	*Lib.*	*Other.*
Cardigan	6,776	7,391	(I.Lib.) 12,469
Carnarvon	7,323	12,499	—
Denbigh	8,186	15,164	—
Flint	14,926	19,609	—
Monmouth	12,697	8,487	—

SCOTLAND.

Aberdeen, Central	8,507	9,818	—
Aberdeen, Eastern	6,949	8,793	—
Aberdeen, Western	6,639	6,364	—
Argyll	8,100	9,020	—
Dumfries	11,380	13,107	—
Fife, East	10,275	12,825	—
Forfar	6,758	7,605	—
Western Isles	3,158	3,391	(I.Lab.) 2,011
Glasgow (Kelvingrove)	11,025	4,662	(I.Lab.)10,021
Motherwell	9,793	4,799	(Com.) 8,712
Edinburgh, East	5,045	10,876	—
Edinburgh, North	10,909	13,744	—
Edinburgh, South	12,504	10,194	—
Moray and Nairn	8,116	7,089	—
Orkney and Shetland	4,318	5,129	—
Perth	11,134	12,655	—
Kinross and Western	9,235	9,085	—

UNIVERSITIES.

Cambridge (two seats)	4,207	—	—
	3,560	—	(I.Lib.) 3,283
Oxford (two seats)	2,950	2,472	—
	2,712	—	—
Welsh	—	560	(I.Lab.) 570
	—	—	(I.Lib.) 467

SCHEDULE 8.—NATIONAL AGENT'S REPORT

UNSUCCESSFUL CANDIDATES: GENERAL ELECTION, DECEMBER, 1923

Constituencies.	*Candidates.*	*Constituencies.*	*Candidates.*
Luton	Willet Ball	Hornsey	Col. Healey
Mid Bedford	R. L. Wigzell	Willesden (East)	J. Butler
Aylesbury	F. C. Watkins	Acton	H. A. Baldwin
Buckingham	E. J. Pay	Brentford and Chiswick	Wm. Hayward
Wycombe	G. Young	Hendon	Chas. Latham
Cambridge	A. Firth	Spelthorne	G. Scott-Cockerill
Cambridgeshire	A. E. Stubbs	Twickenham	S. Sherman
Stockport	A. E. Townend	Uxbridge	Robt. Small
City of Chester	G. Muff	Wood Green	J. Bacon
Macclesfield	A. J. Penston	Gt. Yarmouth	A. Wrigley
Northwich	J. Williams	Norfolk (East)	G. Hewitt
St. Ives	A. E. Dunn	King's Lynn	J. Stevenson
Belper	O. Wright	Norfolk (S.W.)	W. B. Taylor
Chesterfield	G. Benson	Daventry	Len. Smith
High Peak	F. Anderson	Peterborough	J. Mansfield
South Derbyshire.	A. Goodere	Newcastle (East)	Rt. Hon. Arthur Henderson
Exeter	Lothian Small	Newcastle (North)	J. Beckett
Plymouth (Drake)	J. J. Moses	Newcastle (West)	D. Adams
,, (Devonport)	J. Harris	Tynemouth	Wm. Pitt
,, (Sutton)	J. Wolfe-Brenan	Berwick-on-Tweed	Mrs. Edna Penny
Barnstaple	D. Gifford	Bassetlaw	Malcolm MacDonald
Dorset, East	F. J. Hopkins	Rushcliffe	J. Wilson
,, Southern	D. W. Thomas	Banbury	E. N. Bennett
,, Western	Mrs. Simpson	Oswestry	S. Campion
Darlington	W. Sherwood		
Gateshead	J. Brotherton		

Constituencies.	*Candidates.*
Hartlepool	G. Belt
South Shields	W. Lawther
Stockton-on-Tees	F. F. Riley
Sunderland	T. Gillinder
	D. Lawley
Sedgefield	J. Herriotts
Ilford	Dan Chater
Walthamstow (E.)	J. Gilbert Dale
Leyton (West)	A. Smith
Colchester	R. L. Reiss
Romford	A. Emil Davies
Saffron Walden	W. Cash, Jun.
Bristol (Central)	S. E. Walters
,, (South)	D. J. Vaughan
Gloucester	M. Phillips Price
Cirencester and Tewkesbury	W. R. Robins
Bournemouth	Miss Minnie Pallister
Portsmouth (Cen.)	Brig-Gen. Crozier
,, (N.)	Dr. Gleeson
,, (S.)	Miss Jessie Stephens
Southampton	Rev. R. W. Sorensen
	T. Lewis
Fareham	J. Baker
Petersfield	Major Leigh Aman
Winchester	R. Stamp
Hereford	S. Box
Hitchin	B. Skene Mackay
St. Albans	Brig.-Gen. C. Birdwood Thomson
Watford	J. J. Mallon
Isle of Ely	Comm. Hope
Isle of Wight	Mrs. Palmer
Bromley	W. G. Hall
Rochester (Chatham)	Mrs. M. Hamilton
Rochester (Gillingham)	Col. Maurice Spencer
Ashford	B. Noble
Faversham	Rev. Stanley Morgan
Maidstone	F. Seymour Cocks
Tonbridge	J. T. Davis
Accrington	C. Roden Buxton
Ashton-under-Lyne	Miss Ellen Wilkinson
Barrow-in-Furness	J. Bromley
Blackburn	J. P. Davies
	E. Porter
Bolton	Fleming Eccles
Bootle	John Kinley
Bury	H. Wright Wallace
Liverpool (Everton)	Coun. H. Walker
Liverpool (Wavertree)	Rev. J. Vint Laughland
Liverpool (West Toxteth)	J. Gibbins
Manchester (Hulme)	A. McElwee
Rusholme	Wm. Paul
Rochdale	S. Burgess
Rossendale	Norman Angell
Chorley	Z. Hutchinson
Clitheroe	A. Davis
Darwen	E. G. Thompson
Heywood and Radcliffe	W. Halls
Middleton and Prestwich	Ald. M. B. Farr

Constituencies.	*Candidates.*
Wells	C. H. Whitlow
Yeovil	W. T. Kelly
Dudley	R. Smith
Stoke-on-Trent (Burslem)	A. MacLaren
Stoke-on-Trent (Stoke)	J. Watts
Walsall	Col. Osburn
Wolverhampton (Bilston)	J. Baker
Wolverhampton (West)	W. J. Brown
Stafford	W. T. Scott
Eye	Capt. C. Kendall
Lowestoft	R. Mellanby
Woodbridge	E. J. C. Neep
Croydon (North)	G. A. Foan
,, (South)	H. T. Muggeridge
Wimbledon	Mark Starr
Epsom	J. Langdon Davies
Farnham	Mrs. Anne Corner
Guildford	W. Bennett
Mitcham	J. Chuter Ede
Brighton	A. Gordon
	Ald. H. Carden
Hastings	R. Davies
East Grinstead	T. Crawford
Lewes	Capt. Basil Hall, R.N.
Horsham and Worthing	Coun. Stanford
Birmingham (Aston)	P. Bower
Birmingham (Deritend)	F. Longden
Birmingham (Duddeston)	G. F. Sawyer
Birmingham (Erdington)	A. E. Eyton
Birmingham (King's Norton)	Mrs. Barton
Birmingham (Ladywood)	Dr. Robt. Dunstan
Birmingham (Sparkbrook)	W. Hampton
Birmingham (West)	Frank Smith
Birmingham (Yardley)	A. G. Gossling
Nuneaton	T. Barron
Warwick and Leamington	Lady Warwick
Swindon	Holford Knight
Westbury	Geo. Ward
Worcester	P. Williams
Evesham	R. Aldington
Kidderminster	L. Tolley
Stourbridge	W. Wellock
Bradford (North)	T. Blyth
,, (South)	W. Hurst
Dewsbury	B. Riley
Kingston-on-Hull (E.)	A. Stark
Kingston-on-Hull (S.W.)	J. Arnott
Leeds (Central)	H. H. Slesser
,, (North)	D. Stewart
,, (North-East)	F. Fountaine
Middlesbrough (East)	M. Connolly

Constituencies.	*Candidates.*
Ormskirk	R. B. Walker
Royton	Rev. J. Barton Turner
Stretford	J. Corlett
Widnes	J. Cotter
Bosworth	Emrys Hughes
Loughborough	E. Winterton
Grimsby	C. Franklin
Lincoln	R. A. Taylor
Kesteven (Grantham)	M. W. Moore
Kesteven (Rutland & Stamford)	A. Sells
Lindsey (Brigg)	D. Quibell
Lindsey (Gainsborough)	J. Read
Battersea (N.)	S. Saklatvala
,, (S.)	A. Winfield
Bermondsey (W.).	Dr. A. Salter
Bethnal Green (S.W.)	J. J. Vaughan
Camberwell (N.W.)	Dr. H. B. Morgan
Camberwell (Peckham)	W. A. Chambers
Chelsea	Bertrand Russell
Fulham (East)	J. Palmer
Fulham (West)	R. Gentry
Hackney (Central)	E. Hunter
Hammersmith (S.)	Wyndham Albery
Holborn	A. West
Islington (East)...	Dr. Ethel Bentham
Islington (North)	G. Bennett
Kensington (N.) ..	W. J. Jarrett
Lambeth (North).	Fred Hughes
Lambeth (Norwood)	W. Hodgson
Lewisham (East) .	E. Wilton
Paddington (North)	J. W. Gordon
St. Marylebone ...	J. J. Dodd
St. Pancras (S.W.)	G. Horne
Southwark (Cen.)	Harry Day
Wandsworth (Balham & Tooting)	E. Archbold
Wandsworth (Central)	G. P. Blizard
Wandsworth (Clapham)	L. Spero
Woolwich (West)	W. Barefoot
Ealing	A. H. Chilton
Middlesbrough (West)	J. Dundas White
Sheffield (Central)	Tom Snowden
,, (Hallam)	A. Freeman
,, (Park)...	G. Latham
York	Jos. King
Cleveland	R. Dennison
Barkston Ash	G. L. Ward
Elland	W. C. Robinson
Keighley	H. B. Lees-Smith
Penistone	Rennie Smith
Pudsey & Otley ...	P. Myers
Skipton	O. G. Willey
Sowerby	A. Dawson
Spen Valley	T. Myers
WALES	
Carmarthen	R. Williams
Carnarvon	R. T. Jones
Cardiff (Central)	J. Edmonds
,, (East).....	Hugh Dalton
Llandaff & Barry..	T. Worrall
Merioneth	J. J. Roberts
Newport	J. W. Bowen
Pembroke	W. J. Jenkins
SCOTLAND	
Aberdeen (South).	J. Paton
Ayr Burghs	J. M. Airlie
Bute & Northern Ayr	P. Stephen
Montrose Burghs..	J. Carnegie
Inverness	A. D. Kinloch
Glasgow (Cathcart)	J. P. Hay
Glasgow (Central)	Rosslyn Mitchell
Glasgow (Hillhead)	J. Kinloch
Glasgow (Pollok)	J. Rankin
Edinburgh (West)	G. Mathers
Leith	R. F. Wilson
Paisley	J. M. Biggar
Roxburgh and Selkirk	Geo. Dallas
Stirling and Falkirk	H. Murnin
UNIVERSITIES.	
Combined	Prof. J. Findlay
London	H. G. Wells

THE LABOUR PARTY AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY

"The way of the United Front leads ultimately to the Dictatorship of the Proletariat."—*Radek at the Fourth Congress of the Communist International*, 1922.

"Now during the epoch of the Communist International there is also a clean division—those who are for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat—and those who are against it."—*Zinoviev in the "Communist International"* (*No.* 4, *New Series*).

The Executive Committee of the Party has recently had under consideration the renewed application for affiliation of the Communist Party of Great Britain, and, in conjunction therewith, the general relationship of both the National and Local Labour Parties with members of the Communist Party. As a result, the following recommendations will be submitted to the forthcoming Annual Conference for discussion and decision:—

(1) That the application for affiliation from the Communist Party be refused.

(2) That no member of the Communist Party shall be eligible for endorsement as a Labour Candidate for Parliament or any Local Authority.

In conveying these recommendations to the various affiliated organisations composing the Party, the Executive Committee wish to state the reasons which have actuated them in putting them forward.

The relationships of the Labour Party and the Communist Party have occupied the attention of our Annual Conference on more than one occasion, and was the subject of a lengthy report from the Executive Committee so recently as 1922.

The affiliation of the Communist Party has been consistently refused on the ground that neither its objects or methods are in harmony with those of the Labour Party.

The Labour Party seeks to achieve the Socialist Commonwealth by means of Parliamentary democracy.

The Communist Party seeks to achieve the "Dictatorship of the Proletariat" by armed revolution.

The Labour Party realises that, unlike old Russia, with its autocracy, its memories of Siberia and the knout, the serfdom of the sixties, and its Czar-kept Duma of more recent days, this country possesses almost a wholly-enfranchised adult population, and a Parliament and system of government that will respond to the direction of the working people, so soon as they express intelligent desire for change through the ballot-box.

The Communist Party believes that Parliament and other Administrative Authorities are simply machines that should only be exploited to their own destruction; that there is no hope in the masses of the people rising to the height of their political responsibilities; and that, therefore, so soon as a minority in the community feel that they are sufficiently powerful to revolutionise the present political and industrial system, they are justified in using power, armed and otherwise, to achieve that purpose. Pending the speedy conversion of the masses, should they disagree with this procedure, the correct position is that they should be held down by force, deprived of liberty of speech, organisation, and press, and such expressions in the direction of freedom of opinion will be dealt with as counter-revolutionary symptoms.

The Labour Party holds a fundamental objection to tyranny, quite apart from the social, political, or industrial standing of the tyrant. In its opinion political intelligence wisely directed is more enduring in its results than coercion, no matter how well-intentioned. It objects to

the limitations at present suffered by masses of the people, but aids and welcomes their increasing desire for a freer and fuller social life. The advances made during its short existence form the justification for steady and continuous effort in the direction of securing the suffrages and support of the greater masses of the nation. Socialism that will secure the freedom under which men and women can develop their finest faculties and lead to a still higher social organisation must essentially be based on freedom.

These fundamental differences have hitherto been held as sufficiently diverse to justify the exclusion of the Communist Party from the ranks of the Labour Party.

That view was the conviction of British Communists when they left our ranks in the first instance, and it continued to be their conviction until the Third International, from merely tactical considerations, dictated otherwise.

That the differences are fundamental and unchanging is evident from the fact that no person with a belief in Labour Party principles can become a member of the Communist Party. Communists must renounce Parliamentary democracy.

Conversely, therefore, Communists cannot honestly hold membership in the Labour Party. They cannot have it both ways.

The Communist Party plead that as the Labour Party is of the nature of a Federation, no working-class organisation should be excluded. It is forgotten, however, that, Federation though the Party may be, it has principles at the base of its organisation—principles that it is not prepared to forswear or ignore either at the dictation of an opposing international organisation, or for mere tactical reasons. The active membership of our Party have been enrolled to secure definite objects by certain definite methods. It is not for those who dissent from these objects and these methods to bid the Party to forget them in the interests of a spurious "United Front."

The Executive Committee, therefore, has no hesitation in reiterating the recommendation that the Communist Party affiliation should again be refused.

A more complex problem presents itself, however, when the position of individual members of the Communist Party is considered. The membership of that Party now numbers somewhere about 4,000, and these are to be found actively engaged for the most part in the ranks of the Trade Unions and Local Labour Parties. Their energy and enthusiasm are undoubted, and their capacity for turning each and every political and industrial occasion to the advantage of Communist propaganda is as ingenious as, too often, it is unscrupulous.

The Party Conference has laid it down that these individual Communists should be allowed to enter the ranks of the Party if they are elected as delegates of affiliated organisations and accept the Constitution and principles of the Party. We now witness the anomaly of persons, who left the Party because they disagreed with its principles and formed the Communist Party upon new and opposing principles, seeking to return to our ranks to revolutionise our policy.

Their purpose, openly avowed, is to scrap our present methods and objects and transform the Party into a Communist organisation.

The Executive Committee does not believe that any Communist with a shred of political honesty could possibly desire to pursue this double policy. There are many Communists, however, who do desire to follow these tactics, and as, technically, they indicate their acceptance of our Constitution and principles, neither affiliated Trade Unions nor Local Labour Parties are in a position to debar their association with

the Party or curtail their activities to undermine the whole purpose of our Movement from within.

Some members of the Communist Party have been successful in the Parliamentary ballots of their Trade Unions, or have been selected by Local Labour Parties to contest seats on our behalf.

It is at this stage that the Executive Committee now feels it is justified in recommending that further action should be taken. It urges the Annual Conference to empower it to refuse endorsement to members of the Communist Party as Labour Party Candidates. It feels that while something—though not much—may be said for the participation of Communists, holding two conflicting principles, in our Local and National Conferences, the Executive must be in a position to guarantee that its Candidates—those who stand publicly for our policy—do support that policy wholeheartedly. Candidates should not be allowed to secure Labour Party endorsement for Communist Party ends, no matter how conscientious their loyalty to Communism, nor how large or influential the Trade Union with which they may be associated.

It has been suggested that this recommendation is an unwarrantable interference with the rights of the affiliated organisations. We cannot accept that implication. In the past the Party has refused to accept Trade Union Candidates who were opposed to our principles, and who were members of an opposing political party. The Trade Union concerned accepted the position and refrained from submitting such Candidates for endorsement, realising that the acceptance of the Party Constitution demands a sense of loyalty to Labour Party principles that is inconsistent with continued loyalty to another Party and another set of principles.

Organisations can select such of their members as they please as Parliamentary Candidates, but the Party Executive is entrusted with the guardianship of Party principles, and has a right to see that among our standard-bearers in the constituencies there shall not be numbered men and women who rejoice in active opposition to the Party and all it fundamentally stands for.

If there are Trade Unions and Local Parties who desire to run and finance Communist members as Candidates, no action on the part of the Party Executive will prevent them doing so. We do suggest, however, that such Candidates should run under the colours of their own Party and not under ours.

The suggestion that this proposal is dictated out of consideration for middle class supporters of the Party, like so much that figures as Communist criticism, is puerile nonsense. The differences that have arisen in every country where the Communists have sought to capture the Socialist and Labour Movement have not been based on class lines, but on honestly-held, but incompatible principles of Socialist method and progress—views, indeed, that may be held quite sincerely by people in all ranks of life.

In the opinion of the Executive Committee it is time the rank and file of the Movement was given an opportunity of realising the conflict between our own principles and those of the Communist Party, and to say definitely and distinctly that the first quality the Party is entitled to look for in its Candidates is straightforward honesty in the acceptance of our principles, our methods, and our objects. The Conference is urged to say quite clearly : " No other need apply."

It is better that the Party should develop its strength on assured and steadfast lines, than it should seek to conciliate vitally conflicting purposes, or to achieve a fictitious agreement where none is really possible.

JOINT WORK WITH THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE TRADES UNION CONGRESS.

The past eighteen months have been marked by the closest and most harmonious working of the political and industrial sides of the Movement. Joint Meetings of the General Council and the Executive Committee of the Party have been held each month, in addition to almost regular meetings of the various Joint Committees responsible for the International, the Research and Information, and the Press and Publicity Departments, the reports upon which appear on other pages. It has now become an established practice for joint discussions between the two bodies to precede public pronouncements on important questions of policy affecting the Movement as a whole.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION.

In addition to the Joint Committees indicated above, the two National Committees established a Joint Workmen's Compensation Committee, which devoted a considerable amount of attention to the necessary amendments of the Compensation Law in general, and in particular the Bill which was placed upon the Statute Book last year. Mr. Percy Cole, at that time legal adviser to the British Iron, Steel and Kindred Trades Association, undertook the duties of Secretary to the Committee, and upon its dissolution suitable appreciation of his services was accorded to him and placed on record. In view of the Compensation Law still remaining inadequate, the Committee has been reconstituted, with Mr. Russell Jones as Secretary.

THE "DAILY HERALD."

In accordance with the decision of the Trades Union Congress at Plymouth, in September, 1923, regarding the *Daily Herald,* the following circular was sent out to organisations affiliated to that body :—

CALL FOR FINANCIAL SUPPORT.

September 10, 1923.

To the Officers and Members of Affiliated Societies.

Fellow Workers, in presenting their report to the delegates attending the Plymouth Congress the General Council dealt at considerable length with the financial position of the *Daily Herald,* and reported that as it had not been found possible to obtain the necessary circulation to make the paper self-supporting the financial resources were insufficient to meet the liability involved in the weekly loss on the paper, and that the publication of the *Daily Herald* must therefore be discontinued.

The General Council report upon this important subject occupied two sittings of Congress, and eventually the delegates passed the following resolution :—

"That having considered the report and recommendations of the General Council upon the position of the *Daily Herald,* this Congress undertakes the financial responsibility involved in the publication of the paper; and if the amount of £12,500 be raised before the end of September the General Council is instructed to continue the publication of the *Daily Herald* at least until the end of the present year.

"That in the meantime a Committee of Inquiry be set up to examine and report upon any economies that can be reasonably effected, and such report shall be issued to affiliated societies in sufficient time to enable them to decide their policy thereon at a conference, the place and date to be fixed by the General Council, but not later than the second week in December.

"Further, this Congress emphasises the necessity of all Trade Unionists becoming supporters of their own daily paper in order finally to refute the charge that Labour is unable to maintain its own organ."

The General Council earnestly appeal to the affiliated organisations to *immediately* respond to the decision of Congress, in order that the sum of £12,500 may be raised by the payment in advance of next year's affiliation fees, and, where possible, by the capitalisation of the fees for the five years up to 1928.

The General Council will be meeting for the purpose of considering the financial position of the paper on Wednesday, September 26, and it is essential that replies from the societies should reach the Council on or before that date.

On behalf of the General Council,

Yours faithfully

J. B. Williams, Chairman.
Fred Bramley, Secretary.

It was also decided to form a Special *Daily Herald* Inquiry Committee, consisting of representatives of the Trades Union Congress General Council, the Labour Party Executive Committee, and the *Daily Herald* directors.

The Inquiry Committee invited the Printing Trades Federation, as representing the employés in all departments of the *Herald,* to co-operate in the direction of making proposals as to how economies could be effected and what alterations in staff or other arrangements could be made to secure the continued publication of the paper in accordance with the financial resources at the disposal of the Movement.

The Inquiry Committee held several meetings and considered detailed reports submitted by the management of the *Daily Herald* and the Printing Trades Federation regarding steps to be taken in order to secure a reduction in the cost of publication.

As a result of the united co-operation of all sections changes were made departmentally, mechanically, and otherwise which enabled us to continue publication of the paper at considerable reduction in cost, and we are now able to report that for several months the *Herald* has continued to appear without any substantial call upon the capitalisation fund raised for its maintenance. It is necessary, however, to call attention to the fact that the *Herald* is by no means the kind of paper which would be, in every sense of the term, a credit to our Movement. The management is restricted in finance, business operations are curtailed, and several important developments have been postponed pending the accumulation of the necessary capital for the promotion of new plans and contemplated efforts to secure an improvement in circulation.

If we could secure a guaranteed circulation of 500,000 copies per day the paper in its present form would pay. If a circulation of approximately a million could be secured the paper could be substantially improved. It could be put on a permanent and satisfactory financial basis and could be either a source of revenue to our Movement or enable us to publish other editions, develop special means of circulation, and supply all parts of the country with the latest news as effectively as our strongest competitors in the newspaper business.

With the continued support of our affiliated organisations, the position of the paper is now guaranteed. A more loyal support of the paper in the direction of increasing the number of Trade Union readers would enable us to push forward the developments we have in mind.

The following memorandum by the general manager, Mr. George Lansbury, M.P., shows the present position :—

The "Daily Herald" and Victoria House Printing Co., Ltd.

The *Daily Herald,* for the first time in its history, has for the past six months paid its way. This position has been reached largely owing to the very great effort which was made by the whole Movement immediately following the meetings of Congress last year, and the very important political happenings which followed the last

General Election, when for the first time in British history a Government representative of organised Labour assumed office under the Premiership of the Right Hon. J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P.

The following tables gives the monthly circulation since August 25, 1923, to July 1, 1924 :—

1923—August 25	290,200	
October 1	302,450	
November 1	298,800	
December 1	364,900	(General Election period.)
1924—January 2	370,656	(January 1, 387,972 Calendar No.)
February 1	411,800	(Rail strike ends January 30.)
March 1	394,300	
April 1	388,700	
May 1	386,672	
June 2	375,823	
July 1	367,726	

August 25 has been taken as the starting date, as the period from that date till after the Trades Union Congress was quite abnormal owing to our daily cry of " wolf ! " These figures do not include presentation copies.

It will be seen that there was a bad drop during July. A variety of causes accounts for this, including the increased and ever-increasing publicity advertising of our opponents, coupled with some dissatisfaction amongst our readers. We have taken very drastic measures to arrest the fall and start the figures again on the up grade ; but it cannot be too often emphasised that the paper is severely handicapped because of its small size and lack of money to be spent on publicity advertising. Nearly every penny spent on this is subscribed by our friends, but it is not a tenth of what is required to get the paper before the public day by day. Consequently the proprietors must consider how to raise the necessary capital to enable the directors to increase permanently the size of the paper and also carry on the necessary publicity advertising.

It cannot be too strongly insisted that, although we have had the best year in our history, we are by no means in a safe position. We shall need a good deal more money and lots more loyalty from our affiliated members. It is a disgrace to the Movement that even now after years of effort and sacrifice, the circulation is under 400,000. In saying this, we must also put on record the fact that our sales would be much less were it not for the fact that in many parts of the country hundreds of unknown friends are continually voluntarily working on our behalf. We want, however, a *Daily Herald* Committee in every branch or lodge of a Trade Union. Our friends must remember that the salvation of the paper lies in our being able to secure an ever-increasing number of readers, so that we may be able to increase our advertisement rates. Other newspapers, even those who are able to boast huge circulation figures, are obliged to continue great advertising schemes, which cost considerable sums of money. We are unable to compete on these lines, but with our membership we ought to be able to boast a much more efficient means of advertising than is possessed by any other paper. If only those who pass resolutions and cheer at conferences will but remember that enthusiasm must be followed up by hard ding-dong work, we shall be saved. There is no need in this report to call attention to the fact that the Government's policy both in regard to Russia and Germany is being grossly misrepresented by the major part of the Press of the country, both Liberal and Tory : conse-

quently, if a General Election does take place, it will be more than ever necessary that the views of the *Daily Herald* shall be heard in every part of the country.

During the financial year of the Trades Union Congress the sum of £28,047 16s. 5d. was paid to the Victoria House Printing Company. Of this sum £18,500 was paid to cover the loss from August 3 to September 28, 1923.

After that date the Congress resolution became operative, and of the £12,500 therein provided for, the sum of £5,830 was paid in respect of the loss on the paper.

Other sums, totalling £1,355 18s. 2d., to cover notices to the staff were paid, and the demand of the Income Tax Commissioners (£2,361 18s. 3d.) was also met.

Whatever financial success has been achieved is due to increased sales and increased advertisement revenue. This latter has nearly doubled during the past six months, compared with the same period last year. Unions can help by giving advertisements of special meetings, demonstrations, etc.

The general printing business has continued to be successful, as the following figures show :—

	Year ended June 30, 1924.	Year ended June 30, 1923.
Total turnover	£156,503 3 10	£144,857 4 3
The increase in turnover is made up as follows :—		
General Work—increase	£6,914 16 5	
**Daily Herald* Account—increase	4,731 3 2	

* Increased circulation and larger papers account for this.

Subsequent to the formation of the Labour Government, Messrs. J. R. Clynes, M.P., J. H. Thomas, M.P., Harry Gosling, M.P., Frank Hodges, M.P., and Arthur Henderson, M.P., resigned their positions on the Board of Directors, their places being filled by the appointment of Messrs. W. H. Hutchinson, A. A. Purcell, M.P., Robert Smillie, M.P., Dr. Ethel Bentham, and Robert Williams, who, together with Messrs. Ben Turner, M.P., R. B. Walker, and Fred Bramley, form the present Board.

BRITISH EMPIRE EXHIBITION INQUIRY COMMITTEE

Representations having been made to the two National Committees that there were questions with which they should deal in connection with the labour conditions prevailing at the British Empire Exhibition, a Sub-Committee was appointed by the joint meeting of the Labour Party Executive and the General Council on March 27, to investigate the subject, consisting of the following members: For the General Council—Mr. A. A. Purcell, M.P., Mr. J. Cotter, Mr. J. Rowan, Miss Julia Varley, Mr. Ben Tillett, M.P. For the Labour Party Executive—Mrs. F. Harrison Bell, Mr. W. H. Hutchinson, Mr. Robert Williams. Joint Secretaries: Mr. Fred Bramley and Mr. J. S. Middleton.

The Wembley Exhibition Joint Trades Organising Committee, the London Trades Council, and the London District Committee of the Building Trades Federation, at the invitation of the Sub-Committee, each appointed three representatives to co-operate with the Committee, as follows:—

Mr. A. H. Fear, Mr. M. T. Greenwell, Mr. R. A. E. Masters.
Mr. D. Carmichael, Mr. J. G. Clancy, Mr. E. R. Pountney.
Mr. J. Brown, Mr. G. Elmer, Mr. J. Murrey.

At the first meeting of the Inquiry Committee on April 14, the Right Hon. J. H. Thomas, M.P. (Colonial Secretary), was present. The memorandum adopted at this meeting and communicated to the Press contained the following points:—

1. That immediate steps be taken to secure the establishment of a properly constituted Works Council to represent all sections employed in connection with the Exhibition.

2. That the management agree to recognise the members of the Works Council as appointed by Union members employed on the job.

3. That proper canteen arrangements be provided for all employees by which meals are provided at reasonable prices.

4. That washing and lavatory accommodation be provided for employees free of charge, and such other conveniences as may be necessary for the proper protection of the health of the workers.

5. That preference be given in all cases to the employment of Union labour in view of the fact that Labour is associated officially with the Exhibition.

6. That the management be requested to agree that all possible sources of labour at present available in the country should be utilised before attempts are made to import foreign labour in connection with any department of the Exhibition.

The Inquiry Committee held frequent meetings, and on May 8 and 16 they met Mr. W. Lunn, M.P. (Parliamentary Secretary of the Overseas Trade Department), together with other representatives of the Department and of the Ministry of Labour, representatives of the British Empire Exhibition Board of Management and of certain of the Exhibition employers, to discuss these six points and the carrying into effect of the proposals contained therein, special emphasis being laid by the Inquiry Committee on the need for the immediate setting up of a Works Council to represent all sections employed in connection with the Exhibition. The largest employers failed to attend these meetings, and it was only on May 30, after continued pressure, that a Conference was secured, Mr. W. Lunn, M.P., presiding, which was attended by representatives of all the principal employers concerned.

Prior to this Conference, on the recommendation of the Inquiry Committee, a full statement was issued to the Press in the name of the two National Committees, stating the case on behalf of the British Trades Union Congress and the British Labour Party, that in the absence of any existing contractual responsibility for fair working conditions, some machinery in the nature of a Works Committee should be instituted, whereby representatives of the various sections of Exhibition workers might freely express their grievances with a genuine expectancy to have them considered with a view to removal.

At the Conference on May 30, however, very few of the employers signified their willingness to accept the setting up of a Works Council, while several of the principal employers, notably Messrs. Lyons and Company and Cave (Wembley), Limited, refused emphatically to take any part in such a Works Council.

In these circumstances the Inquiry Committee felt that it was useless to prolong the negotiations for the setting up of the Works Council as desired by the workers' representatives, and, in view of all the circumstances, at their meeting held on June 3, the Inquiry Committee decided to report to the two National Committees that they considered

no further purpose could be served by the continuance of the Committee, and the following resolution was passed:—

> That this Committee expresses its regret that its attempt to secure machinery for the ventilation of grievances at present suffered by various classes of workers at the British Empire Exhibition has been frustrated.
>
> It deplores the fact that on May 30 the Exhibition Authorities declined to give adherence to the principle involved at a time when its influence might have favourably affected other employers concerned; but noting that the Authorities have now agreed to the establishment of a Works Committee so far as their own particular employés are concerned, it places on record its conviction that from the time of its reconstruction the Exhibition Board of Management have shown no concern for upholding the best standards of labour conditions prevailing throughout the British Commonwealth, but, to all intents, have ignored purposely such considerations.
>
> The Committee, therefore, calls upon the Government and the House of Commons to withhold the granting of any further financial guarantee in respect to the Exhibition until a proper inquiry is made into the sweating conditions that still continue among certain sections of the Exhibition workers, and urges the constituent organisations in the Labour Movement and the general public to support the demand for an official inquiry.

This report was accepted by the two National Committees at their meeting on June 26.

NATIONAL JOINT COUNCIL

The National Joint Council during the past year has been constituted as follows :—

Chairman.—A. A. Purcell, M.P.

General Council of the Trades Union Congress.—A. Hayday, M.P., J. B. Williams, R. T. Jones, and Fred Bramley.

Parliamentary Labour Party.—George Lansbury, M.P., T. Johnston, M.P., J. R. Clynes, M.P., Miss Susan Lawrence, M.P., and H. S. Lindsay.

Executive Committee of the Labour Party.—Mrs. F. Harrison Bell, C. T. Cramp, A. G. Cameron, and Herbert Morrison, M.P.

Secretary.—Rt. Hon. Arthur Henderson, M.P.

Assistant Secretary.—J. S. Middleton.

" WORK OR WAGES " CAMPAIGN.

At the beginning of the winter of 1923 the National Joint Council inaugurated a campaign for " Work or Wages," in the course of which a considerable number of demonstrations were held throughout the country.

The policy of the Labour Movement on Unemployment or Maintenance was made the subject of speeches at meetings held in most of the cities and boroughs from one end of the country to the other, and the whole effort formed a valuable preliminary to the General Election Campaign which followed almost immediately afterwards.

RAILWAY RATES.

The National Joint Council appointed Alderman Herbert Morrison, M.P., L.C.C., to represent the movement before the Railway Rates Tribunal, and arranged for Mr. T. Watson Collin, chartered accountant, to render assistance in the preparation of his case. An application for an additional member representing the passenger interests on the Tribunal was put forward by the Council, and was argued by Mr. Morrison, both at the Office of the Tribunal and at the High Courts of Justice, but without success. Up to the present Mr. Morrison has been chiefly engaged in contesting the arguments of the railway companies in the determination of net revenue, with a view to securing a reduction and the consequent possibility of a reduction in fares and rates.

A certain amount of information with respect to passenger and workmen's fares and various anomalies arising therefrom have been collected by the Council for use before the Tribunal.

SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON PRODUCTION.

The Special Committee on Production set up by the National Joint Council has continued its work throughout the year, the places of members taking office in the Labour Government being filled by new appointments, the following being its present personnel:—

Messrs. A. G. Cameron, Hugh Dalton, Emil Davies, George Hicks, J. A. Hobson, W. H. Hutchinson, E. L. Poulton, A. Pugh, A. B. Swales, Ben Turner, M.P., and A. G. Walkden, with W. Milne Bailey (Secretary).

Several interim memoranda have been prepared, and an extensive and valuable Report has been drafted, and is now in course of printing.

The Committee is pursuing its investigations still further, and will

shortly be turning its attention to the industries which it is agreed have not yet reached the state of development which would make Nationalisation a natural and obvious policy. The wider question of Industrial Finance has also been referred to the Committee for consideration and report.

LABOUR MAGISTRATES.

A special questionnaire was issued to the Divisional and Local Labour Parties in all the various magisterial divisions throughout England and Wales with a view to securing as complete a survey as possible of the number and proportion of Labour members on Advisory Committees responsible for recommending the appointment of magistrates and the actual number and proportion of Labour Magistrates, men and women, on both County and Petty Sessional Benches.

In many of the rural areas this information was not forthcoming, but sufficient data was collected and classified to justify representations being made direct to the Lord Chancellor by deputation, in addition to the normal day-to-day correspondence that is conducted on behalf of the Council with the Secretary of Commissions.

The following were the members of the deputation who were received by Viscount Haldane at the House of Lords on Thursday, July 31, 1924 : Messrs. A. A. Purcell, M.P., Robert Smillie, M.P., Tom Johnston, M.P., Herbert Morrison, M.P., R. T. Jones, and Mrs. F. Harrison Bell, with J. S. Middleton (Assistant Secretary).

The following were the main points of the case put forward :—

1. The unsatisfactory proportion of Labour members to the total membership of Advisory Committees (proportion reported upon, 140 out of 809).

2. Grave disproportion of Labour Magistrates to the total number on the Benches (proportion reported upon, 719 out of 9,621). Sixty-one of the Labour appointments reported upon are Labour women. There are, in addition, 101 persons who are styled "Labour," but who are either independent, have seceded from the party, or are working men Tories or Liberals.

As the Advisory Committees are being reconstituted new appointments are being made to the Benches, but the delay is still considerable, and pressure should be exerted with a view to speeding up appointments.

3. Status of Labour Members and Labour Magistrates. The general principle has been urged that the representations of local Labour organisations should be alone taken into account when Labour appointments are made. It has been a frequent practice in the past for suggestions regarding Labour Members and Magistrates to be put forward by members of other parties.

In the past importance has been attached to the recommendation of the Royal Commission that the representations of political associations and political influence should be ignored. This Commission sat at a time when the benches were packed with Tory Magistrates, and when the Liberal Party was seeking to redress the balance in the same way as Labour is now seeking to secure appointments.

The alternative to accepting political suggestions is the eliciting of private and unofficial proposals. In the past this method has led flagrantly to a neglect of working-class appointments. Now that the three political parties are approximating to similar strength in the Boroughs and Labour is much more articulate in the Counties, there is a good deal to be said for straightforward and above board suggestions coming from the political organisations. In any case, Labour appoint-

ments should continue to be made until the proportion is more approximate to the level obtained by the members of the other parties.

4. The question has been raised of the varying amount of fees chargeable to Magistrates upon taking office. This fee should either be a nominal one or abolished altogether.

5. It has also been suggested that when Magistrates cease to reside in the Borough or County Sessional Division for which they have been appointed they should resign their appointment. This is very desirable from several points of view. In the past it has been held by numerous Advisory Committees that Labour Magistrates could not be appointed because the benches were already very full. This is quite true in many instances if the actual list of names is alone considered, but is quite untrue in many instances if only active members are counted. The position of having to wait for deaths to create vacancies is an intolerable one from the Labour point of view.

The Lord Chancellor informed the deputation that ever since he had assumed office he and his staff had been engaged in examining the composition of the Advisory Committees with a view to securing a fair proportion of Labour members thereon. That purpose had been successfully achieved in many cases and continual attention was being devoted to this phase of the subject. Representations had also been made as to the desirability of the reconstituted Advisory Committees making such appointments as would help to rectify the existing shortage of Labour Magistrates, and in numerous cases this policy had been promptly pursued. With regard to the question of fees payable upon taking office, the Lord Chancellor expressed the opinion that such fees should be of the most nominal character if it should be found impossible to abolish them altogether. He commented strongly upon instances where it had been stated that fees of four or five guineas would be imposed upon Labour men being appointed to the bench. With regard to the findings of the Royal Commission with respect to political interests in the Magistracy, he and his officers had found it desirable from time to time to consult responsible political officials with regard to the bona fides and standing of various persons proposed for the Magistracy, and while he held it would be inadvisable to appoint paid political agents to Advisory Committees, the fact that either men or women were actively interested in political affairs from the point of view of the respective Parties, was in his opinion no obstacle to their rendering useful and fairminded service either as members of the Advisory Committees or on the various benches.

The question of Magistrates resigning from their benches upon removal from the district concerned was one which would require consideration and upon which a good deal could be said upon both sides. There was no doubt, however, that in the industrial centres the lists included a great many persons who rendered no service either on their benches or in the localities for which they had been appointed, and in any case it was undesirable that the inclusion of their names upon the various rotas should be held as a reason against appointing Labour Magistrates where such were obviously necessary.

Special attention was being paid to the question of women Magistrates, and already many new appointments had been included in the lists approved during the present year. Every step was being taken to encourage the Advisory Committees to recommend women for this responsible work, and Labour women were being appointed in common with women belonging to other parties, and, in some instances, with no political affiliations whatever.

Mr. Purcell and Mr. Smillie expressed the thanks of the deputation to Viscount Haldane for the opportunity he had afforded them for discussing the whole question.

It may be noted here that similar steps to those outlined by the Lord Chancellor in respect to the benches within his own special sphere have also been taken by the Right. Hon. Colonel J. C. Wedgwood upon his assuming office as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and during his period of office the composition of the various Advisory Committees in Lancashire has been reviewed and special attention given to those where Labour has been inadequately represented; many new Labour appointments have also been made to the Lancashire benches, but, as in the rest of the country, there still remains a considerable disparity between the total number of working-class Magistrates and those belonging to the other classes of society which in the past have practically monopolised this important sphere of public service.

SCIENCE AND LABOUR.

In co-operation with the British Science Guild, the Council were responsible for convening a Conference of Scientific, Professional, and Labour organisations at Wembley on May 30 and 31, when the following series of papers were read and discussed:—

"SCIENCE IN GOVERNMENT."—Chairman: Sir Richard Gregory. Speakers: Right Hon. Sidney Webb, M.P., Sir Oliver Lodge, and Major Church, M.P.

"SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH IN RELATION TO INDUSTRY."—Chairman: Lord Askwith. Speakers: Sir Richard Glazebrook, Mr. Fleming, and Dr. Kenneth Lee.

"CO-OPERATION OF SCIENCE AND LABOUR IN PRODUCTION."—Chairman: Mr. C. T. Cramp. Speakers: Lord Ashfield and Sir Hugh Bell.

"SCIENCE AND THE HUMAN FACTOR."—Chairman: Miss Margaret Bondfield, M.P. Speakers: Sir Arthur Newsholme and Dr. Myers.

"SCIENCE IN EDUCATIONAL ORGANISATION."—Chairman: Mr. Arthur Greenwood, M.P. Speakers: Mr. R. H. Tawney and Sir Thomas Holland.

This was a new development of the Council's activities, and there is little doubt that the attention it received from the general and scientific Press has served to widen interest in Labour affairs on the one hand, while on the other it brought together two important aspects of modern social development in a manner that has not hitherto been achieved.

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE: ADMINISTRATIVE GRANTS.

Further negotiations have taken place with the National Joint Standing Advisory Committee on Unemployment Insurance, and, as a result, the National Joint Council appointed Messrs. A. A. Purcell, M.P., A. Hayday, M.P., Fred Bramley, Mrs. F. H. Bell, and a representative of the Parliamentary Party, to a Joint Committee for the purpose of investigating the administration of the Unemployment Act, and to deal with difficulties that may arise in connection with Section 17 in particular.

THE BLIND.

The General Council referred to the National Joint Council the resolution on "Pensions for the Blind" adopted by the Plymouth Trades Union Congress, and, after communications had passed between the National Joint Council and the Ministry of Health, it was agreed that the Government should be urged to bring forward the financial resolution

necessary to provide for the Blind Persons Bill, introduced by Mr. Tom Henderson, M.P., and to furnish facilities for its passage during the forthcoming Autumn Session. This Bill, the Council understood, was considered and approved by the National League of the Blind, and in these circumstances it was agreed that pressure should be confined for the present to securing the translation of these specific proposals into law. Briefly, these are to provide that every blind person who attains the age of thirty should be entitled to receive, and continue to receive, such pension as under the Old Age Pensions Act would be granted at seventy years of age, and to enable Local Authorities to provide workshops and homes for the blind.

UNEMPLOYMENT.

Following upon the constitution of an Advisory Committee by the General Council of the Trades Union Congress, in co-operation with the National Unemployed Workers' Committee, a number of grievances were remitted to the National Joint Council with a view to their submission to the appropriate members of the Government.

The following deputation was appointed and arrangements are being made for an interview with Mr. John Wheatley (Minister of Health) and Mr. Tom Shaw (Minister of Labour) : Messrs. A. A. Purcell, M.P., A. Hayday, M.P., George Lansbury, M.P., Herbert Morrison, M.P., Miss Susan Lawrence, M.P., and Mr. Fred Bramley.

JOINT INTERNATIONAL DEPARTMENT

The Joint International Committee for 1923-24 has been constituted as follows :—

LABOUR PARTY.—Robert Williams, C. T. Cramp, R. J. Davies, M.P., Herbert Morrison, M.P.

TRADES UNION CONGRESS.—A. A. Purcell, M.P., Ben Tillett, M.P., Miss Julia Varley, R. B. Walker.

SECRETARY.—W. Gillies.

The Joint International Department continues to be responsible for all the administrative work arising out of the joint international relations and joint activities on Foreign Affairs of the National Executive of the Labour Party and the General Council, including the translation work for all the Departments of the two Bodies. All the international activities of the Labour Party are carried on through this Department. In addition to other contributions to the Joint and Labour Party Publications, this Department was responsible for the preparation of the sections of the Labour Year Book, 1924, on International Affairs, International Statistical Information, and International Directories.

The Advisory Committee on International Questions has now been attached to this Department. The Acting Chairman of this Committee is Mr. C. Roden Buxton, and the Secretary, Mr. L. S. Woolf.

During the twelve months, July, 1923, to July, 1924, this Committee has prepared memoranda on the following subjects for the consideration of the two National Executives :—

Ruhr; Reparations and Inter-Allied Debts; Hungary, International Loan; Corfu; The Indians in Kenya; Wei-hai-Wei; Armenian Land Settlement Scheme; Permanent Court of International Justice; Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance; East Africa; Mosul; Taxation System in Tanganyika; Political Situation in India; Balkan Situation.

THE EUROPEAN SITUATION.

On July 13, 1923, the Joint International Committee issued the following statement on behalf of the National Executive of the Labour Party and the General Council :—

> Mr. Baldwin's statement accepting the German Note as a basis of negotiation and declaring that it is the intention of the Government to make its own position clear and to ask for the co-operation of all the Allies and of all interested States to proposals which had no other aim than the pacification of Europe and the recovery of an exhausted world, should be welcomed as being on the lines of the policy urged by the Labour Party.
>
> The British Labour Movement strongly deprecates any attempt to create ill-feeling between the French and British peoples, sends its fraternal greetings and goodwill, and pledges itself to strive so that nothing will ever prevent the harmonious co-operation of the two nations in the great movement of international justice and peace.

At Easton Lodge on July 22, 1923, informal conversations took place between representatives of the British, French, Belgian and German Parties. The German Party was represented by one of their Presidents, Adolf Braun; the Belgian Party was represented by the leader of their Parliamentary Group, Vandervelde; and the French Party by the leader of the French Parliamentary Group, Leon Blum. Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald and Mr. Arthur Henderson represented the British Movement, and Mr. Thomas Shaw was present as Secretary of the International.

A confidential exchange of information and opinions of a very helpful character took place.

The Conference was impressed by the feeling of isolation shown by the workers in the Ruhr Valley, who were prevented from knowing what the International and its affiliated Parties had done and proposed to do to bring about a solution of the problem.

The Conference decided, in view of this fact and in view of the exchange of Notes and opinions between the Allied Governments regarding the Occupation of the Ruhr and matters arising out of it, to request Mr. Thomas Shaw to go to the Ruhr and report afterwards what steps it would be possible to take to arrive at a satisfactory settlement.

Very soon afterwards Mr. Shaw visited the Ruhr, and at a series of six meetings met the leading Trade Union and political officials, conveyed to them information as to the steps which had been taken and were being taken to get a solution of their difficulties, and received their opinions and impressions.

He summed up the general position of the responsible delegates as follows :—

(1) No settlement will be acceptable that does not give the workers freedom, which they demand even under French Occupation.

(2) No settlement can be accepted unless the expelled and imprisoned workers are restored to their homes.

(3) The present state of uncertainty in which the worker can be turned out of his home at a moment's notice must cease.

So far as the sum to be paid for Reparations is concerned, to the Ruhr workers a few millions of gold marks are nothing. What they insist upon is that the production and distribution of goods should be in German hands, and that French and Belgian bayonets should not be used in any way to compel people to work.

If these terms could be agreed, the Ruhr workers, Mr. Shaw wrote, would be willing to-morrow to give up passive resistance.

Finally, Mr. Shaw expressed the opinion :

(1) That unless negotiations can be begun at the earliest possible moment there is a danger of a terrible outbreak in the Ruhr.

(2) That the Ruhr population is quite prepared for a reasonable compromise.

(3) That the Ruhr population realises that it is impossible to expect the French to leave the Ruhr without an arrangement being made in advance, and that, given guarantees of anything like a reasonable settlement being arrived at, and freedom to work in a normal way, the Ruhr workers are quite prepared to give up passive resistance.

The situation created by the latest development of international policy was again considered by the Bureau of the Labour and Socialist International and the Bureau of the International Federation of Trade Unions meeting at Brussels on October 3 and 4, 1923.

On the proposal of the French and Belgian representatives, this meeting unanimously adopted the following resolution :—

In their constant effort to re-establish a solid and stable peace in Europe the trades union and political organisations of the workers have, from the first, applied themselves to find a just and effective settlement of the problem of Reparations.

The English, French and Belgian workers came to a complete understanding on the matter with the German workers. The resolutions of Amsterdam and Frankfort specially gave a precise form to this agreement, and the value of the proposals is shown by the fact that experts and men of good faith are becoming more and more favourable to them. The following principal proposals are finding support in all circles and all countries :—

(*a*) The obligation on the part of Germany to restore the devastated regions to the full extent of her capacity, this capacity to be determined by an impartial authority.

(*b*) The cancellation of the charges imposed on Germany for military pensions contrary to the 14 points of President Wilson, which were accepted by both sides as the basis of the armistice.

(*c*) The cancellation of inter-allied war debts.

(*d*) The adoption of the system of reparations in kind and in labour wherever possible.

(*e*) The issue of loans for the prompt execution of reparations and the transformation of the German debts to the Allies into an ordinary debt of a non-political character.

The interested States have not followed this policy of peace and true reconstruction. Whilst the workers agreed, the Governments refused to agree. The representatives of the Allied Powers cannot even agree on what should be demanded from Germany, and their disagreement has further aggravated the already precarious situation in Europe.

Finally, by recourse to brutal force contrary to International law—really an act of war—the French and Belgian Governments, taking as a pretext a minor failure to carry out the arrangements made, have occupied the Ruhr basin. They have expelled from their homes over a hundred thousand workers, have suppressed the most elementary citizen rights, and have brutally separated from Germany a region essential to her economic existence. They have provoked economic chaos, misery, want, and the most frightful social disorganisation.

The workers of France and Belgium, in agreement with all the sections of the two Internationals, have never ceased to protest with all the energy at their command against this attack on the rights of peoples and of workers.

They have never ceased to call public attention to the fact that this wrongful action is also bad business. The facts have demonstrated how right the workers were. The policy of M. Poincaré, with which the Belgian Government has associated itself, has not produced reparations; the "productive pledges" have proved sterile. Violence has always produced nothing but disaster. German distress has put back the possibility of settlement, and is increasing economic difficulties all over the world.

The political crisis in Germany and the chaos which menaces her, threatens all Europe. Never before have we been confronted by a crisis of such gravity. If care be not taken, the whole of Western civilisation will be imperilled.

The workers' organisations call the attention of all workers to this danger. They recall the fact that violence provokes violence, and that if violence be permitted to be used against the German workers, all other workers risk becoming the victims in their turn of war abroad, and of the brutal dictatorship of Fascism at home. They demand a redoubling of propaganda for peace and international understanding.

They address an urgent appeal to the United States to take their full part in securing the peace and the financial and economic reconstruction of the world. The workers' organisations energetically denounce the policy of M. Poincaré and all those who, after the cessation of passive resistance, now aim at the dismemberment and economic disorganisation of Germany and impose new and ever increasingly rigorous conditions to hinder the opening of negotiations.

They call attention at this critical moment to the imperious and urgent necessity of securing:—

(*a*) The return of those expelled from the Ruhr and the proclamation of an amnesty for all those who have been punished simply because they have refused to carry out the orders of the occupying forces.

(*b*) The re-establishment of free intercourse between occupied and unoccupied Germany.

(*c*) The withdrawal of the obligations imposed on German officials to render an oath of fidelity to the occupying forces against which practice, during the war, the populations of the then occupied territories made the most legitimate and energetic protests.

(*d*) The immediate reopening of negotiations without new conditions between the German and the Allied countries.

Following Lord Curzon's address to the Imperial Conference on the international situation, another important statement of policy was issued on October 6, 1923, by the Joint International Committee. The complete text is as follows:—

The Joint International Committee of the Trades Union Congress and the Labour Party express their profound regret at the decision of the British Government, in the words of Lord Curzon, "to await and expect the next proposals

from the French Government" before taking more active steps to avert the "disaster and ruin" with which M. Poincaré's policy is threatening Europe.

The British Note of August 11, with its urgent warning that "in the common interests positive action can no longer be safely delayed," and that "separate action may be required in order to hasten a settlement which cannot be much longer delayed without the gravest consequences to trade and peace," declared a policy of something more than passive, if reluctant, acceptance of the situation.

M. Poincaré announces, in effect, the scrapping of the settlement of 1919 and the framing of a new one by France alone on the basis of a complete disregard of British interests and the rights and opinions of other signatories of the Treaty. He and those for whom he is acting are apparently prepared to sacrifice the restoration by Germany of the devastated regions of France and the financial solvency of the French Government to the policy of breaking off the Ruhr and Rhineland from the German State, thereby ensuring the economic servitude of the German people and the military domination of Europe by France. A British policy dependent on French initiative gives time and opportunity for the complete realisation of French plans. It means British acquiescence in a course of action fatal to international interests and to the restoration of the world's trade. This will stand in the way of any substantial amelioration of the unemployment which is now making a devastated area of our own industrial regions.

In this new situation British Labour asserts that it is more than ever necessary for the British Government to formulate a clear programme with reference to Britain's Continental policy.

We are of opinion that the British Government should at once make a public declaration that, in their view, the abandonment of passive resistance by the German Government deserves immediate recognition in the form of a prompt restoration of the civil and economic life of the Ruhr Valley under the administration of the German State. The prisoners and exiles should be permitted to return to their work and homes; the displaced officials should be reinstated; communications should be re-established between Eastern and Western Germany; the seizure of goods and persons by the occupying forces should cease.

It is specially urgent that the British Government should make an immediate declaration against the open or veiled annexation of German territory, and should denounce, not only as contrary to the Treaty of Versailles, but also as a violation of the rights of peoples, the French demand that German railwaymen and postmen should take oath of allegiance to the French Administration.

With the Germans, as Lord Curzon recognises in the case of the Turks, a final agreement can be reached only by "discussion, persuasion and compromise." There ought therefore to be full and immediate negotiations between the Allies and Germany, whose right to participate in these negotiations ought no longer to be challenged.

The British Government should declare that they will never consent to any alterations of the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles which do not recognise that the administration and control of the Ruhr and the Rhineland belongs to the German people and is essential politically and economically to the fulfilment of any Reparations agreement by the German Government.

Moreover, the British Government should address an urgent appeal to the United States to take their part in securing the peace and the financial and economic reconstruction of the world; and should move for the summoning of an immediate conference between the United States and the other Powers concerned, with a view to arriving at an agreement upon inter-Allied debts.

In the event of a refusal of the French Government to join Britain in immediate negotiations with Germany, and to reconsider M. Poincaré's policy of continuous violation of the Treaty of Versailles, the British Government ought to convoke a conference of the signatories of the Treaty in order to deal with the new situation.

The above manifesto of the two National Committees, and the manifesto of the two Internationals—political and industrial—were reprinted as a four-page leaflet, with a view to the widest possible circulation among the affiliated bodies.

Another declaration of policy was made by the Joint International Committee on November 6, 1923, on behalf of the two National Committees, as follows:—

> We are faced with a European situation which becomes daily more and more serious and the inevitable consequences must react unfavourably upon British Labour in the form of increasing unemployment and falling wages.

The recent declarations of Mr. Baldwin and of General Smuts show that the British Government, with the support of the Dominions, have arrived after five years at the partial adoption of Labour's view.

The latest news from Germany makes it signally clear that the Militarists and Nationalists are preparing to overthrow by force Parliamentary Government. Germany was told again and again during the war that she would be encouraged in the ordinary pursuits of her economic life if and when she rid herself of the domination of the Hohenzollern and Militarists accused of promoting the World War.

The policy of the Allies, especially France, has undermined the prestige of Constitutional Government in Germany and at the same time has been the most effective propaganda for the return to power of the Monarchists and Militarists.

We strongly condemn the ill-concealed efforts of the French Government and the French forces of occupation to promote a Separatist scheme for the establishment of a Rhineland Republic. We welcome, however, the belated disapproval of our own and the Belgian Government of any Separatist plans which cut across the terms and provisions of the Peace Treaty of Versailles.

The Committee, further, reaffirms the resolutions adopted by the Trades Union Congress at Plymouth :—

That this Congress, representing the organised workers of Great Britain, declares that the continued occupation of the Ruhr by armed forces is causing irreparable harm in fomenting national hatreds and intensifying international suspicions, is heading for war and social disaster, and perpetuating economic paralysis, not only internally, but also in other countries.

This Congress, therefore, appeals to the French and Belgian workers to recognise that this policy of violence nullifies the purpose for which 20,000,000 casualties were suffered in the late war, and calls upon them to honour their international pledge and strive so to change the national policy of their countries as to promote peace among the nations!

PARLIAMENTARY CONTROL OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

The two National Committees agreed that the members of the Joint International Committee should join with representatives of the Executive Committee of the Parliamentary Labour Party in urging the Prime Minister, by deputation, to arrange for time being given in the present Session of Parliament for the discussion of the following resolution which appears on the Order Paper of the House of Commons in the name of Mr. E. D. Morel, M.P., and others :—

> That, in the opinion of this House, no diplomatic arrangement or understanding with a Foreign State involving, directly or indirectly, national obligations shall be concluded without the consent of Parliament, and no preparations for co-operation in war between the naval, military or air staffs and the naval, military or air staffs of a Foreign State shall be lawful unless consequent upon such arrangement or understanding; and this resolution shall be communicated to all States with which we are in diplomatic relations and to the League of Nations.

"NO MORE WAR" DEMONSTRATIONS.

The two National Committees recommended the Local Labour Parties and Trade Unions to demonstrate against war in the week-end, September 20-21, 1924, a date fixed by the International Federation of Trade Unions.

At Vienna, in June, 1924, the Management Committee of the International Federation of Trade Unions had a consultation with the Executive Committee of the Labour and Socialist International with regard especially to the date of the " No More War " Demonstrations.

It was then agreed that in some countries the " No More War " Demonstrations would be held on July 31, and in other countries Demonstrations would be held both on September 21 and on the anniversary of the outbreak of war. It was therefore agreed that the International " No More War " Demonstrations should begin on the date of the outbreak of war, and that the International Federation of Trade

Unions, the Labour and Socialist International, and the International of Socialist Youth would issue a Joint Manifesto, and that the week-end, September 20-21, would mark an important event in these Demonstrations. A circular on the subject in the following terms was issued to all the affiliated bodies:—

"NO MORE WAR."

Dear Sir or Madam,—In connection with all sections of the International Federation of Trade Unions and the Labour and Socialist International, the General Council of the British Trades Union Congress and the Executive Committee of the Labour Party have agreed to the holding of

"NO MORE WAR" DEMONSTRATIONS

During the week-end September 20 and 21, 1924.

The National Committees desire Local Labour Parties and Trades Councils to take the initiative locally, wherever possible, in organising Socialist, Trade Union, Co-operative and general Labour opinion against the possibilities of warfare and the many circumstances from which warfare springs.

The Local Committee would make the arrangements for the Friday, Saturday or Sunday, according to the form of Demonstration, whether indoor or outdoor, a meeting or a procession.

The influence of Labour in International Affairs is steadily increasing. The fact that a Labour Government is in office in this country has been notable for the greater hopefulness with which the European situation is at present being viewed. An opportunity now presents itself for the promotion of International feeling that has never before been afforded to the Labour and Socialist Movement in the various countries of the world, and it is essential that the British Movement should make a special effort on this occasion to bring our International Policy prominently before the public.

There are sections in the various nations which are already instilling into the minds of the youth of this and other countries "the inevitability of the next war." It therefore becomes the duty of the organised Labour Movement to counteract this pernicious propaganda, and so seek to promote those feelings of fellowship and understanding among the working men and women and the youth throughout the world, that, on the contrary, will make for the inevitability of a lasting Peace.

The following draft resolution is suggested for adoption at the Demonstrations throughout the country:—

"This Mass Meeting of Citizens sends fraternal greetings to the similar gatherings now being held throughout the world, expresses abhorrence of War and Militarism, and calls upon the Government to pursue a policy of International Co-operation through a strengthened and all-inclusive League of Nations, the settlement of disputes by conciliation and judicial arbitration, and the creation of conditions which will make possible the convocation of an International Conference to reduce Armaments by mutual agreement as a first step to Universal Disarmament."

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,

FRED BRAMLEY,
Secretary, Trades Union Congress General Council.

J. S. MIDDLETON,
Assistant Secretary, The Labour Party Executive Committee.

GERMAN RELIEF FUNDS.

In January last the two National Committees called the attention of their affiliated bodies to the grave situation confronting the Labour Movement in Germany, both on its political and industrial sides, and asked them to render help quickly.

Subscribers were asked to indicate whether their contributions were to be allocated to (1) the Central Organisation of German Trade Unions; or (2) to the United Social Democratic Party of Germany; or (3) to be divided equally between the industrial and political wings of the German Labour Movement.

The General Council itself subscribed £500, and this sum, together with £301 18s. 1d. received in response to the Joint Appeal, was sent direct to the General Federation of German Trade Unions.

The Joint Appeal also brought in £167 17s. 5d. for the German Social Democratic Party.

We have also been informed that £68 7s. 6d. was collected in Great Britain and sent to the German Social Democratic Party by the Labour and Socialist International, and that £7,490 8s. was remitted by various British Trade Unions to the corresponding German Trade Unions, directly or through their respective Trade Internationals.

Moreover, during the German seamen's dispute on German ships lying in British ports, the National Sailors' and Firemen's Union paid out to the German seamen the sum of £14,519 to assist them in their fight.

Therefore, altogether we have information that in the winter and early spring £23,047 11s. was contributed as above for the assistance of the German Labour Movement.

ITALY.

Upon receiving the report of the assassination of Matteotti, who had addressed the two National Committees upon affairs in Italy only a few weeks previously, the Joint International Committee adopted the following resolution of indignation and protest on June 18, 1924, and sent it at once by telegram to Mr. Mussolini, to the Executive Committee of the United Socialist Party of Italy, and to the widow of Comrade Matteotti.

> On behalf of the General Council of the British Trades Union Congress and the Executive Committee of the British Labour Party, the members of the Joint International Committee express profound indignation that their comrade Matteotti, himself an opponent of violence, should have become a victim of the violence of Fascism. Whoever may be the actual culprits, British Labour holds that the leaders of Fascism are morally responsible for his death.
>
> Comrade Matteotti was the Secretary of the United Socialist Party of Italy, and in that capacity addressed a joint meeting of the General Council of the British Trades Union Congress and the Executive Committee of the British Labour Party a few weeks ago. He impressed us by the moderation of his political outlook and his complete agreement with the democratic political methods of the British Labour Movement. He was a man of gentle disposition, remarkable for his moral and intellectual fearlessness. His death is a blow at the best interest of Italy. We join with the Italian people in mourning for his loss.
>
> To the Italian Trades Union and Socialist Movement we send best wishes for the success of their efforts to recover the right of free combination, political and civic freedom, and a judiciary free from Government influence.
>
> A. A. PURCELL,
> *Chairman of General Council of British Trades Union Congress and President of the International Federation of Trades Unions.*
>
> C. T. CRAMP,
> *Chairman of Executive Committee of British Labour Party.*

INDIA.

On July 25 and 31, 1924, representatives of the two National Committees met Lord Olivier, the Secretary of State for India, at the India Office, and engaged in a full and frank discussion of the political and industrial situation in India. It was agreed that the proceedings should be private.

At their first interview, Lord Olivier was accompanied by Mr. A. C. Chatterjee, C.I.E., I.C.S., Member of the Viceroy's Council and Secre-

tary of the Department of Industries and Labour, Mr. R. Richards, M.P., Under-Secretary of State for India, Sir Louis Kershaw, and Mr. George Middleton, M.P. The members of the deputation were:—

Messrs. A. A. Purcell, M.P., Robert Smillie, M.P., A. B. Swales, Miss Julia Varley, George Lansbury, M.P., George Hicks, R. B. Walker, Miss Mary Quaile, C. T. Cramp, John Turner, and W. Gillies.

It was explained on behalf of the deputation that whoever might be responsible for the welfare of the masses in India, it was certainly not the masses themselves. In as far as the British Government was responsible, the British working-class shared that responsibility, and it was in that conception of their duty that the deputation met the Secretary of State for India.

In the course of a lengthy discussion, the deputation raised many questions concerning the welfare of the Indian masses, notably the responsibility of the Indian Government as a great employer of labour, which might, for example, introduce the practice of paying wages weekly—which, combined with legislation to protect the poor from the usurer, would be an immense boon; the employment of women in coal mines to the extent of one-third of the whole underground population and the desirability of its being prohibited; the fact that workers in coal mines may be underground from 24 to 36 hours continuously and the consequent need for a statutory limitation of the daily hours of work; and the need for the introduction of legislation for the registration and protection of Trade Unions. They called attention to the allegations that a system of impressment of labour still existed in India, and to the conditions in the tea plantations in Assam. They suggested that it would be appropriate if the representative of India on the Governing Body of the International Labour Office were an Indian with actual experience of industrial life in India. Finally, they suggested that the Government should institute an inquiry into the economic conditions of labour and industry in India, with a view to future legislation. Meanwhile, they thought more might be done to collect and circulate information.

The deputation also handed to Lord Olivier, for his information, copies of the resolutions of the fourth annual session of the All-India Trades Union Congress. Mr. A. C. Chatterjee replied at length.

On July 31, 1924, Lord Olivier was accompanied by Sir Louis Kershaw and Mr. Richards, and the deputation was composed of: Messrs. George Lansbury, M.P., C. T. Cramp, E. L. Poulton, Miss Varley, Will Thorne, M.P., John Turner, A. A. Purcell, M.P., Ben Tillett, M.P., Robert Smillie, M.P., R. B. Walker, J. S. Middleton, and W. Gillies.

The deputation expressed the hope that the Government would make a definite statement that they intended to send out a Commission to India in order to examine wherein the political reforms had broken down; they called attention to the need for the separation of the judicial and executive functions; and they asked that the evidence in the Communist trials at Cawnpore should be published as a Parliamentary Paper. Lord Olivier replied.

Discussion also took place from the British and Indian workers' point of view with regard to the desirability of legislation in India for the prevention of anthrax.

BRITISH COMMONWEALTH LABOUR CONFERENCE.

At their meeting in July, 1923, the two National Committees agreed to communicate with the Dominion Labour Parties and Trade Unions, and to ask whether representatives of their respective organisations would be attending the British Empire Exhibition in London in 1924, and whether they would be willing to appoint about five delegates to attend a British Commonwealth Labour Conference; to inform them that if they were ready to co-operate, the British Labour Movement would be willing to organise such a Conference; and at the same time elicit their opinion about the Conference Agenda.

In November it had been ascertained that the Labour Parties of South Africa, New Zealand and Canada welcomed the suggestion of a Conference, and it was therefore decided that a British Commonwealth Labour Conference should be held in London.

Later, it was agreed that the Conference should open on Monday, August 18, 1924; that organisations should only be represented at the Conference by persons whose usual place of residence is in the same country as the headquarters of the organisation; and that the Labour and Socialist International and the International Federation of Trade Unions should be invited to send fraternal delegates.

The following provisional Agenda was adopted on the basis of communications received from organisations in the Dominions, and it was agreed that the following organisations should be asked to participate in the Conference :—

Provisional Agenda.

1.—Inter-Commonwealth Relations :—
   (*a*) Political.
   (*b*) Economic.
2.—Migration.
3.—Native or Subject Races.
4.—Party Relations.
5.—The Maintenance of World Peace.
6.—The Programme of the Labour Party and Trade Unions.

Parties.

Australia: Labour Party and Trade Unions.

Canada: Trades and Labour Congress of Canada and the Canadian Labour Party.

India: Trade Unions.

Ireland: Irish Labour Party and Trades Union Congress.

Newfoundland: Fishermen's Protective Union.

New Zealand: Labour Party and Alliance of Labour.

Rhodesia: Labour Party.

South Africa: Labour Party, Cape Federation of Trades and Labour Unions, and the Associated Trade Unions in the Transvaal.

British Guiana: British Guiana Labour Union.

During May, the South African Labour Party withdrew its delegation in view of the General Election Campaign unexpectedly thrust upon them. No Trade Union Delegation had been appointed. It also appeared that New Zealand would not send any delegation, industrial or political, and it was ascertained by cablegram that Australia would only send one delegate and expressed regret that Federal Members of Parliament were unable to leave Australia at present.

It was therefore decided to abandon the Conference for the time being, and ask the organisations concerned what suggestions they had

to make with regard to the organisation of a Conference at some future date which would really represent the authority and influence of Labour in the British Commonwealth.

New Zealand confirmed this decision by welcoming the postponement of the Conference until the Spring of 1925.

In the meantime, it was arranged that any accredited delegates who may be in London at the time should be invited to confer informally with representatives of the two National Committees on September 17, 1924.

Representatives of the Irish Labour Party and Trades Union Congress and of the Northern Ireland Labour Party were asked to take part in this informal consultation.

RAND STRIKE.

The resolution which was brought before the last Annual Conference by the Barrow Labour Party and Trades Council upon the Rand murders was communicated, and a report of the discussion was brought to the attention of the South African Labour Party.

In reply, Mr. Thomas Boydell, M.L.A., National Organiser, wrote that it was exceedingly difficult for his Party to suggest in what way the British Labour Party could take action, and at the same time pointed out that time and again, both in Parliament and out of it, the South African Labour Party had fought hard for a more impartial investigation into the causes of the upheaval. They also repeatedly brought pressure to bear on the South African Government to secure the release of men imprisoned for happenings during that period. They were pleased to say that all had now been released except nine, and they were hoping to secure their release before long.

Mr. Boydell mentioned that they had always to bear in mind in South Africa that with a large section of their population any overseas political action was apt to be received as an interference with the affairs of a self-governing Dominion, and unless discreetly handled might do more harm than good.

Later, Mr. Boydell informed us that the Mine Workers' Union, together with other Trade Unions, had organised a big petition to the Governor-General, praying for the release of the nine. This was referred to the Ministry for Justice.

Further steps were taken by the South African Parliamentary Labour Group. They organised a deputation to the Prime Minister, who replied that no good purpose would be served by meeting them, as he hoped before long to be able to move in the desired direction.

Finally, towards the end of May, 1924, Mr. Boydell told us that the remaining nine prisoners had been released.

FRATERNAL DELEGATIONS.

France.

Mr. Robert Williams conveyed our fraternal greetings to a special Congress of the French Socialist Party, held in January, 1924, at Marseilles, and expressed our hopes for the success of the Party in the May Elections.

The most important thing done by this Congress, in Mr. Williams' opinion, was the unanimous adoption of a resolution on Political Tactics. This resolution declared that the existing electoral law made it necessary for the Socialist Party to form a temporary and entirely exceptional coalition with all the democratic parties of the Left, in order to defeat

the Bloc National. Local branches were left free to exercise their discrimination. They were urged, however, to make common cause only with Radical candidates who had not compromised themselves in the past by being elected on a Bloc National ticket. Socialist candidates must present themselves as Socialists and adopt the Party programme. After the elections the Socialist Party would preserve its independence, and would not participate in a bourgeois Ministry.

The Party at the same time rejected the Communist offer of a Socialist-Communist Alliance against the Radicals as well as against the Bloc National, but was prepared to make common cause and offer a joint list of candidates with the Communist Party in any constituency.

Mr. Robert Williams also represented the Party at the Commemoration Ceremony in honour of Jean Jaurès, which was held in Paris on July 31, 1924.

Hungary.

The Congress of the Hungarian Social Democratic Party at Easter, in Budapest, was attended by Mr. C. T. Cramp.

In his report Mr. Cramp expressed the view that the Labour Movement in Hungary is labouring under disadvantages which do not appear to have been mitigated since the British Labour Delegation made their investigations in 1920.

He found that the doors of the Congress were guarded by armed police, and throughout the proceedings uniformed policemen sat on each side of the Chairman, taking note of what was said by the speakers.

Hungary was under the heel of feudalism and militarism. The only form of Trade Unionism which is permitted is a particularly ineffective kind, and in some cases Trade Unionism is not permitted at all. The railwaymen, for example, begged Mr. Cramp to do anything possible that might result in their being allowed to organise in a Trade Union.

Real wages were very low. Mr. Cramp had no hesitation in saying that it would be a great disservice to the Hungarian working class to describe the Hungarian regime as a Liberal one.

The Hungarian Party expressed their deep gratitude to the Executive Committee for the kind evidence of their perfect sympathy with the Hungarian working class, of which Mr. Cramp's visit was a proof.

Germany.

Mrs. Harrison Bell attended the Congress of the United Social Democratic Party of Germany, held at Whitsuntide, June 11 to 16, in Berlin, and addressed several public meetings in the evenings.

On the following Sunday she attended a Conference of 200 Socialist Women delegates from all parts of Germany.

Belgium.

The Party also accepted an invitation to be represented at the Congress of the Belgian Labour Party, held in Brussels at Easter, and Mr. W. H. Hutchinson attended to convey our greetings.

Sweden.

At the Congress of the Swedish Social Democratic Party held at Stockholm, on June 6-12, 1924, we were represented by Mr. W. Lawther.

Denmark.

We were also represented for the first time at the Annual Congress of the Social Democratic Party of Denmark at Odense, on September 2-5, 1923. Mrs. Bell was our delegate.

RUSSIA.

Political Prisoners.

Many representations having been made from time to time to the General Council and the National Executive of the Labour Party with regard to the existence of political persecution in Russia, the two National Committees sent to the Russian Delegation an expression of their appreciation of the conditions under which the Soviet Government was obliged to maintain its existence in the past, and their recognition of the fact that during a period of civil war the civil and political rights of the individual were inevitably interfered with or even suspended; and further to express the hope that normal conditions are now being established in the internal life of the Russian people and, in particular, that very soon there will be opportunities for free and unfettered expression of the minority thought within the working-class and Socialist movement.

LABOUR AND SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL.

In the sixteen months which have elapsed since its foundation, the new International has become consolidated to a degree beyond expectation. With the exception of the Swiss Social Democratic Party, all the parties affiliated to what were known as the London and Vienna Internationals have joined the new International. It is still doubtful whether Switzerland will join. The party in the Argentine, which had not been affiliated to London or Vienna, has become affiliated to the new International. The British Trades Union Congress has withdrawn from the British Section of the International.

Membership.

Of the forty-three parties affiliated, twenty parties have furnished statistics of membership to the Secretariat, showing a total membership of 6,673,692. The membership of all the affiliated parties exceeds seven millions.

Meetings.

The Administrative Committee has held ten meetings in London. The Bureau met in Brussels on July 11, 1923, and on October 3 and 4, 1923. The Executive Committee met at Luxembourg on February 16 and 17, 1924, when Great Britain was represented by Mr. Clifford Allen, Mrs. F. Harrison Bell and Mr. C. T. Cramp. Mr. R. C. Wallhead, M.P., also attended in an advisory capacity as a member of the Administrative Committee. Mr. W. Gillies was present as Secretary to the British delegation.

The Executive Committee again met in Vienna on June 5—7, 1924, when Great Britain was represented by Mr. Clifford Allen, Mrs. Harrison Bell and Mr. C. T. Cramp, with Mr. W. Gillies as Secretary. Mr. R. C. Wallhead, M.P., was also present as Treasurer of the International.

Organisation.

It is very clearly indicated by the Constitution that any person who holds an office in the International is expected to resign that office when he joins a Government. Therefore, when they became members of the

Government, Messrs. A. Henderson, M.P., J. R. MacDonald, M.P., J. H. Thomas, M.P., Sidney Webb, M.P., and H. Gosling, M.P., ceased to be members of their respective Committees in the International.

It was agreed that Mr. C. T. Cramp, Mr. A. G. Cameron and Mr. Clifford Allen should be the new representatives of Great Britain on the Executive Committee; and at Luxembourg, the Executive Committee unanimously elected Mr. R. C. Wallhead, M.P., as Treasurer, and Mrs. F. Harrison Bell, Mr. H. N. Brailsford and Mr. C. R. Buxton as members of the Administrative Committee, with Mr. Herbert Morrison, M.P., as substitute. The Administrative Committee now consists of Messrs. Allen, Cameron, Cramp, Mrs. Bell, Brailsford, Buxton, together with Wallhead and Adler.

Mr. Tom Shaw, one of the joint Secretaries of the International, asked for leave of absence on his acceptance of a ministerial post, or, failing that, tendered his resignation. Mr. Shaw has been granted unpaid leave of absence until the matter has been further considered at the next Executive meeting.

Finance.

In the first financial year, the contributions from Great Britain to the Labour and Socialist International in respect of affiliation fees amounted to £1,059, divided as follows:—Labour Party, £520; Trades Union Congress, £520; Independent Labour Party, £19.

The approximate total expenditure was £2,460. The total affiliation fees from other parties amounted to £576. It was therefore agreed, in order to meet the deficit, that parties should pay an additional sum of £6 per annum for every Congress vote, being £180 from Great Britain, which was divided as follows:—Labour Party, £84; Trades Union Congress, £84; Independent Labour Party, £12. The supplementary contributions, from other parties, amounted to £604. The total income of the International in the first year was thus £2,419.

The estimated expenditure of the Labour and Socialist International in its second financial year is £3,616, and at the Vienna meetings the Executive agreed that the supplementary fee would also be required for the second year. Owing to the withdrawal of the Trades Union Congress from the L.S.I. the liability of the Labour Party will be accordingly increased.

It is recognised, however, that the present system of calculating contributions ought to be revised, and the Executive has instructed the Administrative Committee to draw up a proposal for the next International Congress, in which the fees will be divided in better proportion than is the case under the present system.

The Labour and Socialist International, as an exception and only for the first year, has renounced its claim to fees from Italy, where Fascism rules; from Germany, where the United Social Democratic Party has had to struggle through a great economic crisis; from France, disturbed by party division and only now in a position to reconstruct its organisation; and finally from Russia, where the parties, forced to adopt illegal methods, have had to suffer bitter sacrifices.

Relations with Other International Organisations.

The Labour and Socialist International agreed, at the request of the International Federation of Trade Unions, to co-operate with them in the setting up of a Joint Committee, to be composed of two representatives of each of the three Internationals, *i.e.*, the International Federation of Trade Unions, the Co-operative International, and the Labour and Socialist International. The latter appointed Cramp and

Adler as their representatives, the I.F.T.U. appointed Mertens and Oudegeest, and the Co-operative International, Poisson and May. Finally, the International Co-operative Alliance came to the conclusion that the declared neutrality of the Alliance in politics prevented them from acceding to the proposal, however much they desired to establish closer relations with other International organisations.

Meantime a Joint Committee of representatives of the Labour and Socialist International (Cramp and Adler), with representatives of the International Federation of Trade Unions (Jouhaux and Oudegeest), has been constituted for the time being to deal with two special questions, *i.e.*, the question of the ratification of the Washington Convention on the Eight-Hour Day and the Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance.

It was agreed at Luxembourg that the Socialist Youth International should have the right of representation at Executive meetings of the L.S.I. without the right of voting, and that the L.S.I. would send a representative to the Executive of the Youth International.

It was also agreed that a representative of the International Socialist Women's Committee, constituted at Hamburg, should be invited to Executive meetings of the L.S.I. Should the Women's Organisation develop and extend, Executive representation would be reciprocal.

Relations with the Communist International were non-existent. Only on the death of Lenin had any communication passed, but in the telegram sent on that occasion the differences of principle between the two Internationals were mentioned.

The Secretariat had received repeated demands to take up direct with the Communist International the question of their treatment of Socialists in Russia. The Secretariat had always refused to intervene directly in these matters. After the British Elections, however, the Administrative Committee had commissioned Mr. Shaw, as a representative member of the British Labour Party, to inform Rakovsky, the Soviet representative in London, of all the recent complaints received from Russian Socialist Parties. The commutation of the death sentences of the Social Revolutionaries has been attributed in part to this intervention.

Publications.

The Labour and Socialist International now publish a Bulletin from time to time, which is obtainable from the Secretariat at the price of 3d. per copy, and has made arrangements for the publication in English of Matteotti's pamphlet on Fascism.

Czecho-Slovakian Commission.

The Commission appointed by the Hamburg Conference to examine the conflicts between the Socialist Parties in Czecho-Slovakia met on October 25-26 in Prague. Those present were: Buxton (England), Graber (Switzerland), Huysmans (Belgium), T. Shaw (England), the members of the Commission appointed by the Hamburg Conference, with De Brouckere (Belgium) and Bauer (Austria), confidential representatives of the Czecho-Slovakian and German Social Democratic Parties respectively.

The result of the discussion was a resolution submitted by the Czecho-Slovakian and the German Social Democrats, in which they agreed that:—

> Both parties are of opinion that the organisational fusion of the Socialist Parties in Czecho-Slovakia and the agreement of the Parties to a joint policy is, for the time being, impossible. But both parties believe it to be their duty to make the necessary preliminaries, in order to prepare for such an agreement.

Therefore both parties agree to the proposal of the Hamburg Commission to appoint a Commission composed of representatives of all such Socialist Parties in the Czecho-Slovakian Republic as are affiliated to the L.S.I.

This Commission should be empowered to examine in detail the questions at issue between the Parties.

Balkan Conference of Socialist Parties.

The Executive of the Labour and Socialist International, at its meeting in Luxembourg on February 17, 1924, decided to call an International Conference of the Balkan Socialist Parties. Adler and Tseretelli were chosen to represent the Executive.

The Conference was held at Bucharest on March 11, 12, and 13. The Social Democratic Party of Bulgaria was represented by Sakasoff, Zankoff and Neikoff, Members of Parliament. N. Divac, M.P., and Dr. Topalovic represented the Socialist Party of Yugoslavia. The Federation of Socialist Parties in Roumania was represented by Flueras, Moscovici and Dr. Pistiner, M.P. A certain number of comrades from the Executive Committees of the Roumanian and Bulgarian Parties were also present as guests.

The development of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party's policy was the subject of a very searching inquiry, introduced by exhaustive statements by Sakasoff and Zankoff.

As the result of a thorough discussion, the Bulgarian delegation made a declaration, and the general opinion of the Conference on the danger of war in the Balkans was stated in the resolution.

Celebration of the Sixtieth Anniversary of the International. It has been agreed that the Sixtieth Anniversary of the founding of the International shall be celebrated in London by a Demonstration on Sunday, September 28.

Workers' International Relief.

The Secretariat of the L.S.I. has informed the affiliated Parties that any contributions for German workers should be forwarded through the Central Committee for Workers' Welfare, which is run by Social Democrats, at the following address :—Dorotheenstr. 2, Berlin N.W. 7, Germany.

Next Congress.

It has been decided to hold the next meeting of the Executive Committee in London on the occasion of the Sixtieth Anniversay of the International. The International Congress in 1925 will be held in France.

The resolutions and manifestos of the International during the past year have been reprinted in Appendix VIII. to this Report.

JOINT RESEARCH AND INFORMATION DEPARTMENT

During the past year the composition of the Research and Information Committee has remained substantially the same and the present membership is as follows :—

Trades Union Congress General Council.—Mr. J. W. Bowen, Mr. A. H. Findlay, Mr. John Hill, Mr. R. B. Walker.

Labour Party Executive Committee.—Mr. Frank Hodges, M.P., Mr. W. H. Hutchinson, Miss Susan Lawrence, M.P., and Rt. Hon. Sidney Webb, M.P. (chairman). Acting Secretary, Mr. W. Milne-Bailey.

During the period under review the staff of the Department has been slightly decreased. The work, however, has steadily increased both in volume and variety, and the resources of the Department are taxed to the utmost in the endeavour to keep pace with the growing demand for its services. With the formation of the Labour Government at the beginning of 1924, Mr. Arthur Greenwood, M.P., who had organised the Department from its inception and had acted as Secretary, became Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Health. The National Executives decided that during Mr. Greenwood's tenure of office in the Ministry, Mr. W. Milne-Bailey should be appointed Acting Secretary of the Department, the position to be reviewed when the Labour Government went out of office.

Owing to the shortage of staff and the great pressure of work, it has not been possible to complete the inquiry into *Trade Union Organisation.* The sections already completed deal with the wool textile industry, printing, railways and mining. It was decided during the year to proceed with an entirely new edition of the "Local Government Handbook." The handbook has been re-planned, and it will be on sale shortly. The activities of the Department were, during the autumn of 1923, largely concerned with the preparation of the "Labour Year Book," 1924, and with the General Election in December. The Year Book, which was published at the end of the year, contained sections on unemployment, wages, hours, cost of living, profits, Trade Unionism, banking, Government, finance, agriculture, land, etc., prepared by the Department. During the General Election, the Department was kept very busy compiling voting records of M.P.s, notes for speakers, leaflets, etc.

The Secretary and the Acting Secretary have successively acted as Secretaries to the *Committee of Inquiry into Production,* etc., set up by the National Joint Council. The Department has prepared a very large amount of material for the use of this Committee, the first part of whose main report has now been published. The Secretary and Acting Secretary also acted as Secretaries to the Joint Committee of the British Science Guild and the National Joint Council which was set up last year to arrange a *Conference on "Science and Labour."* This Conference was successfully held at Wembley on May 30 and 31, when a large gathering of Labour speakers and scientists discussed a number of important subjects. The Chairman and Secretary of the Joint Research and Information Committee were among the principal speakers.

The system of issuing voting records has been re-organised and the records are now supplied three times a year instead of once as formerly.

The number of candidates and agents making use of this service has steadily increased and the records continue to pay for themselves despite the fact that the rate of subscription is the same for three issues per year as it was for one issue per year.

A report on *Banking* is in preparation, and in connection with this it should be mentioned that Mrs. Barbara Wootton, a member of the staff of the Department, has been appointed a member of the Committee set up by the Government to consider the problem of the National Debt. A large amount of work has been done for the Agricultural Advisory Committee, the Housing Advisory Committee and the Industrial Affairs Advisory Committee. An outline agricultural report was prepared and the report of the Special Advisory Committee on *Land Policy* was also compiled by the Department. A fuller report on agriculture is now in preparation. A request from the Trade Boards Advisory Council regarding the prevalence of *annual holidays with full pay* led to a useful investigation being made, the results of which were communicated to a number of Unions. The Department has on a number of occasions provided material on wages, profits, etc., in connection with wage-claims made by Unions, and information as to wages, hours, and conditions has been supplied on request to Foreign and Colonial Governments, and to a large number of Trade Unions and other organisations both British and Foreign.

Comprehensive statements on the *Financial Position of the Railway Companies* were supplied for the use of the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen and for the Labour witness before the Railway Rates Tribunal. In connection with the latter inquiry a statement was also compiled on the case against higher workmen's fares and season ticket rates. For the women's section of the Labour Party an investigation was made into the question of *Maternity Hospitals*.

In connection with the *Shipbuilding Dispute in May*, 1924, a brief was prepared for the Engineering and Shipbuilding Trades Federation, giving details as to profits, wages, etc., in the industry.

A Report on the Dawes Plan in relation to the Mining Industry has been prepared for the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, and extensive investigations are in progress for the Amalgamated Engineering Union and other Unions in the Engineering and Shipbuilding Trades.

Material has been supplied for the use of the Parliamentary Party, or for individual Members, in debates in the House of Commons, including Memoranda on Over-capitalisation, the White Lead Convention, Reparations, the National Debt (2), Safeguarding of Industries Act, etc.

Publications during the year include a pamphlet on the Cost of Living Index Number and one on Social Insurance and Trade Unionism. A pamphlet on the Capital Levy was prepared for the Islington Labour Party.

The amount of routine work in connection with day-to-day inquiries has grown rapidly, as it is becoming the practice for Local Labour Parties, Trade Union branches, Trades Councils, and other organisations to apply to the Department for information on a great variety of political and industrial topics, for lists of books on specific subjects, and for criticism of resolutions and other expressions of opinion. Assistance is very frequently sought in connection with Unemployment Benefit, Workmen's Compensation, Health Insurance, Old Age Pensions, etc., and the Department is frequently able to render service on these matters. Numerous articles, reviews, etc., have been contri-

buted by the Department to the *Labour Magazine,* the *Labour Woman,* and the *Labour Press Service.* The library has now undertaken the preparation of bibliographies of a large number of subjects for which requests for book lists are frequent, and during the year a detailed subject catalogue has been circulated. In addition a large mass of material taken over from the Trades Union Congress has been classified and indexed. Further steps are contemplated for increasing the value and efficiency of the library. The compilation of a more or less complete record of wage rates has now been begun, and it is hoped shortly to extend this record to cover other factors on which it is important to have accurate information at a moment's notice.

ADVISORY COMMITTEES, 1923-24.

The personnel of the Advisory Committees has changed somewhat since the date of the last report, but the work of the Committees has proceeded without interruption. Several new Committees have been set up and have already done valuable work. The Chairmen, Vice-Chairmen, and Secretaries of the Advisory Committees have been as follows :—

Agricultural and Rural Problems.—Chairman : Mr. George Dallas. Vice-Chairman : Mr. Noel Buxton, M.P., till February, 1924, followed by Mr. R. B. Walker. Secretary : Mrs. Barbara Wootton.

Army, Navy and Pensions Problems.—Chairman : Mr. F. O. Roberts, M.P., till February, 1924, followed by Mr. W. J. Baker, M.P. Vice-Chairman : The late Captain E. Gill, till his death in June, 1923, followed by Major D. Graham-Pole. Secretary : Mr. J. F. Shillaker.

Education.—Chairman : Mr. R. Richardson, M.P. Vice-Chairman : Mr. R. H. Tawney. Secretary : Mr. G. S. M. Ellis, till June, 1924, followed by Mrs. Barbara Drake.

Finance.—Chairman : Mr. Philip Snowden, M.P., till February, 1924, followed by Mr. F. W. Pethick Lawrence, M.P. Vice-Chairman : Alderman A. Emil Davies, L.C.C. Secretary : Mrs. C. D. Corbett Fisher.

Home Office.—Chairman : Mr. C. Edwards, M.P. Vice-Chairman : Mrs. B. Ayrton Gould. Secretary : Mrs. M. I. Cole.

Housing.—Chairman : Mr. T. Mardy Jones, M.P. Vice-Chairman : Captain R. L. Reiss. Secretary : Mrs. Barbara Wootton.

Industrial Affairs.—Chairman : Mr. J. Wignall, M.P. Vice-Chairman : Mr. W. H. Hutchinson, till March, 1924, followed by Sir Leo C. Money. Secretary : Mr. A. S. Firth, till March, 1924, followed by Mr. W. Milne-Bailey.

Legal System and Administration of Justice.—Chairman : Sir Henry H. Slesser, K.C. Secretary : Mr. A. Henderson, M.P., jun.

Local Government.—Chairman : Mr. George Lansbury, M.P. Vice-Chairman : Mr. John Scurr, till February, 1924, followed by Mr. W. H. Hutchinson. Secretary : Mrs. M. I. Bolton, till May, 1924, followed by Mr. G. Grant McKenzie.

Machinery of Government.—Chairman : Mr. G. Middleton, M.P. Vice-Chairman : Major D. Graham-Pole. Secretary : Mr. H. Shayler.

Public Health. — Chairman : Mr. R. J. Davies, M.P., till February, 1924, followed by Dr. Somerville Hastings, M.P. Vice-Chairman : Dr. A. Bygott. Secretary : Mr. G. P. Blizard.

SCIENCE.—Chairman: Major A. G. Church, M.P. Secretary: Professor H. Levy.

Two reports prepared by Advisory Committees have been published as pamphlets: "Staffing in Public Elementary Schools" (Education Advisory Committee) and "National Health Insurance Medical Benefits" (Public Health Advisory Committee).

During the year 237 memoranda have been compiled by the Advisory Committees, and a large number of these have been considered by the two National Committees and the Parliamentary Party.

Cordial thanks are due to the officers and members of the Advisory Committees for their voluntary services during the past year.

JOINT PRESS AND PUBLICITY DEPARTMENT

The press publicity and literature work of the two National Committees has been continued since the last Annual Conference under the Joint Press and Publicity Committee, which was composed as follows :—

Labour Party : Mr. George Lansbury, M.P. (Chairman), Mr. Will Lawther, Mrs. F. Harrison Bell, Mr. T. I. Mardy Jones.

Trades Union Congress : Mr. G. Hicks, Mr. J. W. Ogden, J.P., Mr. Ben Turner, M.P., Miss Julia Varley.

Secretary : W. W. Henderson, M.P.

In June, 1924, Mr. Lansbury resigned the chairmanship of the Committee owing to the pressure of other work, and Mr. Ben Turner, M.P., was unanimously elected to fill the vacant post. A resolution of appreciation of the valuable services rendered by Mr. Lansbury during his tenure of office was passed. Mr. Lansbury continues his membership of the Committee.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

During the period under review the following new publications have been issued :—

Pamphlets.—" Better Times for the Housewife," " Labour and the Liquor Trade," "Liberalism and Socialism," " Labour Policy v. Protection," " The Capital Levy " (reprint), " Labour and the War Debt " (reprint), " The Labour Year Book " (reprint), " The Broad High Road in Education," " Mines and Men," " The Housewife's Budget," " Houses to Let," " Social Insurance and Trade Union Membership," " Staffing in Public Elementary Schools," " The Hospital Problem," " What the Open-Air Nursery School Is," " Health and Welfare of Mothers and Babies," " Boys and Girls—Their Education and Employment," " The Housewife and World Supplies," " The Waste of Capitalism (Report of Committee of Inquiry into Production)," " What May *Not* Be Done at an Election."

Leaflets.—In addition to the pamphlets published, a series of new leaflets have been issued for the Labour Party, while further new leaflets and pamphlets are in the course of preparation.

" The Labour Year Book."—The Joint Departments co-operated in the preparation and publication of the " Labour Year Book," which will be issued annually in future.

Local Government Handbook is now in the press.

" LABOUR PRESS SERVICE."

The Department has continued its activities with a view to encouraging the establishment of local Labour newspapers. The following table shows the number of papers that have been continued or launched during the last year based on the *Labour Press Service* :—

Weekly local Labour papers	6
Monthly local Labour papers	4
Special issues	20
Service in stereo form	2

For the municipal elections two special editions were issued for a total circulation of 34,600 copies. At the General Election of 1923 two special issues of the *Labour Press Service* were produced, with a total circulation of a quarter of a million. These formed the basis of 26 local

election sheets, in addition to which a special four-page crown folio paper, *The Election News,* was produced, with a circulation of 24,000 copies. A slight profit was made on the special General Election efforts in connection with the *Labour Press Service.*

"THE LABOUR MAGAZINE."

The Labour Magazine completed its second year of publication at the end of April, 1924. Its circulation has not only been maintained—it shows a gradual increase. A profit has been made on the second year of publication, and taking the journal for the two years of its existence, its production has been carried through without any subsidy from the two National Committees, and without any financial loss to them. *The Labour Magazine* has now definitely reached the point at which, in its present form, it is paying its way.

GENERAL ELECTION ACTIVITIES.

During the General Election the Joint Departments co-operated in the production of special election literature. One hundred and thirty-seven pages of Speakers' Notes were issued, 1,500 copies of each being printed and circulated to candidates and agents. The number of new or revised leaflets issued during the period of the campaign totalled 39. Twenty and a half million leaflets were disposed of. Three million copies of the Labour Manifesto were sold. Eighty-six thousand copies of new topical posters were sold, in addition to a considerable quantity of posters already in stock. Labour election notes were sent out each day to 16 daily newspapers, while also a considerable amount of special information was issued to the Press generally.

AUTUMN CAMPAIGN, 1924.

In connection with the Labour Party's Autumn Campaign, the Joint Press and Publicity Department, in co-operation with the other Joint Departments, has published or arranged to publish the following new pamphlets and leaflets :—

Pamphlets.

"MacDonald the Peacemaker."
"Labour's Great Record."
"Can Labour Rule?" Series :
No. 1.—"Labour Looking After Agriculture."
No. 2.—"The New Spirit in Education."
No. 3.—"Labour and War Pensions."
No. 4.—"Labour and Industrial Peace."
No. 5.—"Housing."
No. 6.—"Russia and the Treaties."
No. 7.—"Germany and the European Settlement."
No. 8.—"Labour's Industrial Legislation."
No. 9.—"The Government's Unemployment Programme."
No. 10.—"Old Age and Mothers' Pensions."
No. 11.—"The Labour Government and the League of Nations Assembly."

Leaflets.

"Labour Brings Help to the Farmer," "Six Months of Labour Government," "Better Times For the Farmer," "Labour Keeps Its Promises to the Farm Worker," "British Workers and Russia," "Labour Makes Peace in Industry," "Unemployment Insurance," "Labour and Reparations," "Labour and Unemployment," "Labour and Education," "Labour's Work for Women," "Equal Opportunities in Education."

Notes for Speakers.

In addition " Notes for Speakers," in handy form for platform purposes, have been prepared and issued. These notes cover the work of the Labour Government as a whole, and of the individual Departments. They will be added to from time to time in order that the material for speakers may be up-to-date.

GENERAL ACTIVITIES.

There has been no diminution in the general activities of the Joint Department. The issue of official press communiques, the work of receiving newspaper correspondents from home, dominion, and foreign newspapers, and the giving of advice to local organisations regarding the production and running of newspapers, have formed a substantial part of the routine work of the Department. Special attention has been given to the provision of industrial news and information to the Press. In particular, the industrial contents which form a regular and answerable part of *The Labour Magazine* and the weekly industrial features of the *Labour Press Service* have been highly appreciated, especially by industrial correspondents of provincial newspapers. The services of the Department as a whole are available when industrial disputes are on foot to the Trade Union concerned, and have frequently been made use of. Close contact with the Department has been maintained by representatives of London and provincial newspapers desirous of securing information and guidance on industrial matters.

STAFF.

Changes in the personnel and arrangements of the present Joint Publicity Department have taken place during the present year. Mr. W. W. Henderson, who was elected to Parliament at the last General Election, continues in the Secretaryship of the Department on a part time basis. Mr. W. H. Stevenson, Parliamentary correspondent, resigned his post as member of the staff of the Joint Department to take up special work as Publicity Officer for the Party. In order to bring the staff of the Department to its normal complement, a new Parliamentary correspondent and a junior journalist have been appointed, without any increase to the cost of the Department.

GENERAL PARTY ADMINISTRATION.

PARTY FINANCE.

The Statement of Accounts for 1923 will be found on pages 84-88 of this Report.

Taking the General and Literature accounts there shown, together, the total income of the Party from these sources will be seen to be £57,159 6s. 8d.—an increase over the previous year (1922) of £5,437 13s. 2d. This increase in receipts is due to the upward tendency of affiliation fees after the slump which followed the boom years.

On the other side, expenditure amounted to £53,776 19s. 10d., as against £70,782 17s. 2½d. in 1922—a reduction of £17,005 17s. 4½d. This decrease is due to (*a*) a diminution in the sums granted in aid of the *Daily Herald* from current income and (*b*) a reduction in the sum spent on printing literature. General office expenses also show a reduction.

The Literature account shows a credit balance of £2,706 1s. 2d. This does not mean that head office is making a profit on its literature sales. It only means that the heavy stocks left on hand from the General Election of 1922 have, in part, been realised. At the close of the 1922 financial period the Literature account showed an adverse

balance of £5,362 3s. 5d. This was practically covered by stocks in hand, which totalled £5,361. Some of these stocks have now been realised.

Stocks in hand at December 31, 1923, written down 30 per cent., amounted to £3,142, whilst outstanding accounts due to us at the same date came to £1,659. Owing to the change in Government, some of the stock left on hand has since become obsolete, but good use is being made of it where possible for propaganda purposes.

The commitments of the Party to the *Daily Herald* are now shown separately, in accordance with the decision to capitalise the next five years' grants by loans. The Development scheme began to operate in September, and at the close of the year £9,000 had been paid over under it.

SPECIAL ELECTION FUND.

At the last Annual Conference a Fighting Fund was inaugurated for the purpose of assisting rural constituencies to contest the next General Election. An appeal was made from the platform, with the result that during Conference or just subsequently the sum of £1,015 was received. Later, when it became obvious that Parliament was about to be dissolved, a wider appeal was made, principally through the columns of the *Daily Herald*. Donations, large and small, came in rapidly from both Trade Unions and individuals, and a total of £18,505, including the munificent gift of £10,000 from the National Union of Railwaymen, was collected. In addition, the Secretary to the Party was instrumental in raising by personal appeals a further sum of £4,045. The total collected from all sources amounted, therefore, to £23,565.

The Committee, in dealing with applications for assistance from the Fund, had regard to (*a*) the sum available for division, (*b*) the local conditions obtaining in the constituencies asking for aid, and (*c*) the financial backing such Candidates would be receiving from other sources. Grants were made for 215 constituencies in varying sums to a total of £16,775. The sum of £1,737 was expended on Manifestos and other literature, etc. The total spent came to £18,512, leaving a balance, carried forward, of £5,053.

JOINT DEPARTMENTAL FINANCE.

The Statement of Accounts of the National Joint Departments, which appears elsewhere in this Report (see pages 90-93), covers a period of fifteen months—January, 1923, to March, 1924. This is due to the decision of the two National Committees to end the financial year for Joint Accounts on March 31 each year, instead of June 30. This change is made in order to ensure that the same Statement can be made to both the Labour Party Conference and the Trades Union Congress, and to enable a complete period to be shown, without splitting into two, audited by the same auditors. In future, of course, a full year only will be shown.

On the Statement of Accounts little need be said, as it explains itself. Taking the two sections together, it will be noticed that the amounts credited on the receipt side by way of Grants from the two National Bodies do not equalise. This is incidental, and since the closing of the books the Grants from the two Committees have been equalised.

As is explained in a footnote to the Statement itself, the difference between receipts and expenditure on Literature is accounted for by stocks in hand and amounts due from sales; £1,515 12s. 8d. was outstanding under this head at March 31, 1924, £780 17s. 1d. of which has since been received.

MEMBERSHIP.

	Trade Unions. No.	Trade Unions. Membership.	Trades Councils and Local Labour Parties. No.	Socialist Societies, etc. No.	Socialist Societies, etc. Membership.	*Total.
1900-1	41	353,070	7	3	22,861	375,931
1901-2	65	455,450	21	2	13,861	469,311
1902-3	127	847,315	49	2	13,835	861,150
1903-4	165	956,025	76	2	13,775	969,800
1904-5	158	855,270	73	2	14,730	900,000
1905-6	158	904,496	73	2	16,784	921,280
1906-7	176	975,182	83	2	20,885	998,338
1907	181	1,049,673	92	2	22,267	1,072,413
1908	176	1,127,035	133	2	27,465	1,158,565
1909	172	1,450,648	155	2	30,982	1,486,308
1910	151	1,394,402	148	2	31,377	1,430,539
1911	141	1,501,783	149	2	31,404	1,539,092
1912	130	1,858,178	146	2	31,237	1,895,498
1913	†	†	158	2	33,304	†
1914	101	1,572,391	179	2	33,230	1,612,147
1915	111	2,053,735	177	2	32,838	2,093,365
1916	119	2,170,782	199	3	42,190	2,219,764
1917	123	2,415,383	239	3	47,140	2,465,131
1918	131	2,960,409	389	4	52,720	3,013,129
1919	126	3,464,020	418	7	47,270	3,511,290
1920	122	4,317,537	492	5	42,270	4,359,807
1921	116	3,973,558	456	5	36,803	4,010,361
1922	102	3,279,276	482	5	31,760	3,311,036
1923	106	3,120,149	503	6	35,762	3,155,911

* The totals to 1917 in this column include the membership of the Co-operative and Women's Labour League affiliations, in addition to those of the Trade Unions and Socialist Societies.

† Owing to the operation of the Osborne Judgment it was impossible to compile membership statistics for 1913.

THE PARTY SECRETARYSHIP.

Upon the formation of the Labour Government and the appointment of the Secretary of the Party as Secretary of State for Home Affairs, with the approval of the Party Executive, Mr. Henderson, M.P., relinquished his secretarial salary, but continued in charge of the Party administration. The position was reconsidered, however, in August last, and the following re-arrangement agreed to:—

(1) That Mr. Arthur Henderson be granted leave of absence during his membership of the Labour Government.

(2) That Mr. Henderson be designated Honorary Secretary during the period of his leave of absence, and that he be available for consultation and advice on questions of election policy, organisation and finance.

(3) That Mr. J. S. Middleton be appointed Acting Secretary during Mr. Henderson's temporary absence, and be responsible for the work of the Head Office, including Committees, the Annual Conference, and the signing of reports and other documents during this period.

(4) That Mr. Egerton P. Wake, acting in consultation with the Honorary Secretary and the Acting Secretary, be responsible for the carrying out of election policy as decided from time to time by the Executive Committee or Special Election Sub-Committees.

PARTY DEPUTATIONS, ETC.

In addition to the fraternal delegates to the Congresses of kindred Parties abroad, Mr. R. J. Davies, M.P., represented the Executive at the Annual Conference of the Manx Labour Party, Mr. C. T. Cramp attended the Annual Conference of the National Labour Housing Association, held at Plymouth in September, 1923, and Mr. Will Lawther attended a similar gathering at Hull in September this year; while Mr. George Lansbury, M.P., conveyed the greetings and congratulations of the Party at a Demonstration held in the Queen's Hall, on July 23, 1924, to celebrate the completion of Dr. Annie Besant's 50 years of public service.

EASTON LODGE.

In the spring of 1923, Lady Warwick placed Easton Lodge at the disposal of the Labour Party, primarily for use as a week-end guest-house for Parliamentary Members and others. The Lodge was in use during eleven week-ends, the total number of individual visitors being 132, only 16 of whom paid more than one visit. These visits included the attendance at conferences on International Affairs and on Agriculture, and the necessary attendance of officials in connection with the Labour Gala.

In the early months of this year, Lady Warwick expressed a desire that the place should continue to be used, and she put before the National Executive proposals which had for their object the throwing open of the Lodge to the whole of the Movement. It was decided to accept her very generous offer, and to set up an Administrative Committee, consisting of Mr. Herbert Morrison, M.P. (Chairman), Mrs. Harrison Bell, and Dr. Ethel Bentham, with Mr. A. Luckhurst Scott (Secretary). The Parliamentary Labour Party was invited to co-operate, and they appointed Mr. J. Scurr, M.P., as their representative. The Committee proceeded to Easton Lodge, and discussed arrangements with Lady Warwick, after which a tariff was formulated, and a circular drafted setting out the advantages of the offer. It was decided, in the first instance, to forward the circular to the Executive Committee of the Labour Party, the General Council of the Trades Union Congress, the Parliamentary Labour Members, the Labour Candidates in the London area, members of the Labour Party Advisory Committees, and the Chairmen and Secretaries of affiliated Local Labour Parties and Trades Councils in the London area. The response was a very satisfactory one, although not sufficient to take up all the accommodation during the whole of the summer season, and accordingly, in consultation with Lady Warwick, the Committee decided to throw the house open to anyone who was a definite member of a Local Labour Party or one of its affiliated organisations. Circulars were accordingly despatched to all the Local Parties and affiliated bodies in the London area and the counties within easy radius of Dunmow, and, in addition, two notices were inserted in the press columns of the *Daily Herald,* setting forth the arrangements and the terms upon which week-end visitors would be accepted.

The publicity given to this decision brought a very large number of applications to Headquarters, and in the first few weeks of August the list had to be closed, as all the available accommodation had been booked up to the middle of September, when it had been decided to close down the house in order to give a holiday to the maids and staff.

For the five months during which the Lodge has been open, *i.e.*, from April 26—September 15, 476 week-end visits have been paid. Sixty-nine people have stayed for one week, 28 for two weeks, and

seven for three weeks. The Committee feel that this response has justified Lady Warwick's very generous offer, and they desire to place on record their sincere appreciation of the interest thus exhibited in the Movement, and the very kindly and thoughtful feeling which prompted her to place her house at the disposal of our members.

At Lady Warwick's desire, the Administrative Committee intend meeting her at an early date with a view to discussing future arrangements.

THE HOSPITAL PROBLEM.

At the suggestion of the Advisory Committee on Public Health, the Executive convened a Conference of representatives of the Movement and of various Hospital, Medical and kindred bodies, which was held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, on April 28 and 29, 1924. The general subject of discussion was the question as to " whether further State aid should be given for the extension and maintenance of Hospital accommodation? " Mr. Herbert Morrison, M.P., presided at the opening session, when Dr. Somerville Hastings, M.P., F.R.C.S., stated " The Labour View " of the problem, which was followed by a full morning's debate. Under the chairmanship of Dr. A. Bygott, Medical Officer of Health for West Suffolk, and Chairman of the Advisory Committee, the afternoon session was devoted to a discussion on " The Voluntary Hospital View," which was put forward in a vigorous and highly controversial address by Lord Knutsford, Chairman of the London Hospital. At the morning session, on April 29, presided over by Mr. G. P. Blizard, Secretary of the Advisory Committee on Public Health, " The Doctors' View " was introduced by Dr. Bishop Harman, F.R.C.S., Chairman of the Hospitals Committee of the British Medical Association, when the published policy of the Movement was subjected to analysis and criticism, and was followed by a debate of unusual interest. The final session of the Conference was presided over by Mr. G. W. Canter (Post Office Approved Society), when Dr. John Buchan, Medical Officer of Health for Bradford, gave a very instructive contribution on the question of " State-Aided and Rate-Aided Hospitals," which was followed by vigorous debate. At the conclusion of the session the following resolutions were agreed to :—

> The accommodation, equipment, and finance of Hospitals generally are inadequate and must be supplemented.
>
> The geographical distribution of Hospitals is uneven, leading to overlapping and the lack of co-ordination. The unit of co-ordination should be such as to include a sufficiently large population to constitute a satisfactory unit.
>
> There should be closer relationship between Voluntary Hospitals themselves; between the Voluntary Hospitals and the various Hospitals provided by Local Authorities; between the curative and preventive medical services; and between the Hospitals and the private medical practitioner.
>
> Some form of public assistance is essential if a complete and adequate Hospital system is to be maintained, and the development and maintenance of an adequate Hospital system should be provided in such fashion as will preserve the best features of the present voluntary system.
>
> The Infirmaries at present under the Poor Law should be thrown open to all citizens and removed from all taint of the Poor Law.

The Conference was the first of the kind that the Party has been responsible for convening, and its success was undoubted. It served to indicate the interest of the Party in the problem under discussion and

while there were sharp divisions of opinion on certain aspects of our policy, it was satisfactory to secure the measure of agreement indicated above.

By the courtesy of the *British Medical Journal,* which reported the Conference at considerable length, a reprint of the Report was issued and is available on application, price 6d., post free.

Subsequent to the Conference, communications were received from organisations catering specially for the Nursing profession, complaining that the workers' side of the Hospital Problem had not received the consideration at the Conference that the present state of the profession demanded. As this was felt to be a just criticism, the Conference having concerned itself with the more general and public aspect of the problem, the Executive Committee have asked the Advisory Committee on Public Health, in conjunction with the Standing Joint Committee of Industrial Women's Organisations, to inquire into and report upon the present position of the Nursing profession.

APPOINTMENT OF PENSIONS OFFICER.

In the course of the Parliamentary Session of 1923, it became evident that an enormous amount of time was devoted by Members of the Parliamentary Party, and in some instances by the Head Office staff, to dealing with Army and Navy Pensions grievances. An opportunity arose for the appointment of Mr. J. F. Shillaker (formerly Deputy Regional Director, Northern Region, Ministry of Pensions, and Regional Organisation Officer), and he took up his duties in March, 1923. Mr. Shillaker has found full scope for his practical knowledge of the ramifications of the innumerable Pensions Orders, and his appointment has been of the greatest service to the Party, the Movement, and the pensioners in whose cases he has been interested. In addition, Mr. Shillaker contributes expert notes to the *Daily Herald* and deals with a large number of inquiries through its columns.

THE ANNUAL CONFERENCE.

Early in the year the Executive Committee had to consider the prospect of the Labour Government continuing in office, and, if such should be the case, the difficulty of holding the Annual Conference at a time when the House of Commons would be in session and Ministers absorbed in their Departmental and Parliamentary duties. Under the circumstances the Committee felt they were serving the best interests of the Movement by waiving the terms of the Party Constitution and postponing the date of the Conference until October. Approximately similar periods were allowed for the receipt of resolutions, nominations and amendments. It is evident, however, that the Party is becoming so wide an organisation that the Conference Agenda is becoming quite beyond the scope of adequate Conference discussion. The Executive Committee, by putting forward a series of resolutions, has sought to focus discussion upon the more vital issues of policy at present before the public. It would appear that as the Conference Agenda is likely to develop to still greater dimensions the Executive Committee will find it necessary to make recommendations with respect to the whole character and scope of the Annual Conference proceedings.

THE STANDING JOINT COMMITTEE OF INDUSTRIAL WOMEN'S ORGANISATIONS.

The election of the additional four representatives of the Labour Party at the Private Conference of delegates of Labour Parties and Women's Sections each year has been of great advantage to this Committee, and the representatives, from their constant work among the Women's Sections, have been very helpful. The Standing Joint Committee now consists of representatives of the following bodies :—Labour Party, General Council of the Trades Union Congress, Co-operative Union, Women's Co-operative Guild, Railway Women's Guild, Workers' Union, National Union of General Workers, Railway Clerks' Association, National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers, Transport and General Workers' Union, Association of Women Clerks and Secretaries, National Union of Clerks, National Amalgamated Union of Shop Assistants, Fabian Society, The Union of Post Office Workers, National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives, Association of Civil Service Sorting Assistants, The Tailors' and Garment Workers' Trade Union, National Society of Pottery Workers, The Actors' Association, Power Framework Knitters' Society, Municipal Employees' Association, Independent Labour Party.

One of the most important pieces of work of the Committee has been the preparation of reports for the National Conference of Labour Women. It also prepared a Questionnaire on Lying-In Hospitals, which was sent to Women's Sections and other bodies in 1923, and formed the basis of a report publishd in the *Labour Woman* in May, 1924. A Sub-Committee was appointed to consider the question of Birth Control, and as a result of its report a proposal was incorporated in the resolution on Maternity submitted to the National Conference of Labour Women, urging that the question of Birth Control should be made part of a special inquiry into the Care of Maternity. The Conference, however, added to this a further resolution urging that public health authorities should be allowed to give information upon this subject to people desiring it at Welfare Centres.

The subject of Women Temporary Civil Servants and of women in the Civil Service generally has been frequently considered, and recommendations in regard to the former made to the Labour Party Executive and submitted by them to the Parliamentary Labour Party.

On Pensions for Widowed Mothers the Committee asked the Labour Party Executive, the General Council of the Trades Union Congress, and the Executive of the Parliamentary Labour Party, to join with them in a deputation to the Chancellor of the Exchequer in order to put before him their point of view that such pensions should not be given on a contributory insurance scheme or connected with the administration of National Health Insurance. As the Chancellor was not able to receive the deputation at the time requested, he agreed that he would receive it during the Recess before any decision had been finally made.

The Committee has also taken action with regard to the Enfranchisement of Women, Guardianship of Infants Bill, Factories Bill, and the Coal Mines (Washing and Drying Accommodation) Bill, and has lately, at the request of the Labour Party Executive, formed a Joint Committee with the Public Health Advisory Committee to consider and report upon the present conditions of service in the Nursing and kindred professions and changes which are necessary in the interests of the workers themselves and the community generally.

After the National Conference of Labour Women, the Standing Joint Committee arranged deputations to the Home Secretary on the Report and Resolution on Penal Reform and Poor Persons' Defence, and to the Minister of Health on the Care of Maternity. Full reports of both these deputations were published in the *Labour Woman.*

The Committee have agreed to give evidence before the Departmental Committee on Child Adoption, and are considering the question of giving evidence before the Royal Commission on National Health Insurance.

WOMEN IN THE INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT.

International Federation of Working Women.

The Biennial Congress of the Federation was held in Vienna in August, 1923. At this Congress proposals were put forward for the future development of the Federation, under which, at the suggestion of the British delegation, efforts were to be made for the Federation to become more closely connected with the International Federation of Trade Unions, so that it might become a Women's Section of that body. So far as Great Britain is concerned the management of the Federation affairs now lie with the General Council of the Trades Union Congress, though it is hoped, through their representatives upon the Standing Joint Committee, to keep in close touch with it. Reports of the Congress have been printed by the International Federation of Trade Unions. In June, 1924, the International Federation of Trade Unions held a special Conference to consider the question of the organisation of women, at which the International Federation of Working Women presented a Memorandum embodying the proposals of their Congress. These proposals have been adopted, and it is hoped that within a short time arrangements will be made for development upon these lines, so that the separate Women's Federation will cease and there will be a Women's Section of the I.F.T.U.

International Conference of Labour and Socialist Women, held at Hamburg, May, 1923.

At this Conference Miss Susan Lawrence, Dr. Ethel Bentham, Mrs. Sidney Webb and Dr. Marion Phillips attended for Great Britain, and as a result of its work the Committee of the Labour and Socialist International, which was founded on the following days at Hamburg, has decided to invite a representative of the International Conference of Labour and Socialist Women to attend its meetings and take part in its discussions, though without voting power. In this way it is hoped that there will be further impetus given to the development of interest amongst women in the work of the Labour and Socialist International as a whole, and a reciprocal interest in the needs of Socialist women. The Presidium of five appointed at the Women's Conference has arranged for advantage to be taken of this proposal, and Frau Adelheid Popp (Austria) attended the meeting of the Labour and Socialist International, held at Vienna in June, 1924, and Dr. Marion Phillips has been appointed to attend the meeting to be held at the end of September in London.

Poland.

Dr. Marion Phillips attended the Congress of the Polish Socialist Party and a Conference of Polish Socialist Women at Cracow, December 30 to January 1, 1924.

DEATHS.

It is our regretful duty to report the passing of our oldest Labour and Trade Union veteran, Robert Applegarth, at the unusual age of 90 years. His varied life is recorded in his biography, which was published some time ago, and need not be commented upon at length in these pages. His services to Trade Unionism in the seventies, when he and his colleagues of "The Junta" strove successfully for greater liberties being granted to the organised workers, is always recalled with grateful remembrance. His work in the amalgamation of the Carpenters' Trade Unions was a notable achievement at that time, but, like all who make or build, he had his critics and his opponents, and his share of disappointments. His selection as the first working man member of a Royal Commission—that which crowned the life work of Mrs. Josephine Butler and led to the abolition of the Contagious Diseases Act—marked the beginning of immense service rendered in a similar capacity by unnumbered members of the Labour Movement in later days, as it also served to indicate the continued and close association of Labour interests with the social freedom of women. His share in the fight for elementary education in the days of his prime found a pathetic echo in his attempt, when over 70 years of age, to found an association for the Industrial Education of Youth. He had an inventive mind and a keen appreciation of the new movements and the new men and women they attracted to the service of the workers. For many years he was a regular visitor at the Head Offices of the Party: cheery, bright, and always encouraging, proud of the advance that Labour had achieved in his long lifetime, and soundly democratic in sentiment to the end of his active career. First to be proffered the Companionship of Honour during the war, he preferred to be remembered as he had always lived and worked—plain Robert Applegarth. He was a great little man, and fine and heartfelt were the tributes paid by his bier at Norwood. There, at his own wish, his ashes were cast beneath the trees to nurture the good earth which his long life had already rendered richer and fairer for the common people from whom he sprung.

Other old friends who have passed on since last we met in Conference are Dan Irving and Rose Scott, probably better remembered as Rose Jarvis. Both were active pioneers of the Social Democratic Federation, the former in Burnley, where immediately following his last election for the borough he had been created a Freeman, while the latter had spent many active years in Northampton and district.

By the death of Miss Isabella O. Ford last month the Independent Labour Party lost a great friend, and the cause of women a firm supporter. Russell Smart, an early and active I.L.P. propagandist, and J. R. Penfold, who helped to hold the forlorn fort of Westminster for long years before Fenner Brockway routed Winston Churchill, have also been lost to the Movement.

The older ranks of the Coventry Socialists have been reduced by the death of S. G. Poole; while both political and industrial movements have been bereft of ardent workers like Owen Connellan, of Leeds, Arthur Taylor, of Halifax, Harry Lynas, of Sunderland, T. H. Cann, of the Durham Miners' Association, and Sam Roebuck, of the Yorkshire Miners' Association.

W. S. Royce's tragic death, while on his way to the Colonial Office to accept the post of Governor of Tasmania, deprived the Parliamentary Party of a man of wide culture, great practicality and a geniality that made him immensely popular in all circles.

We should be lacking, too, if we did not pay our tribute here to the memory of H. W. Massingham—for years an active Radical, but latterly of our own Labour ranks. Fired with the love of freedom and the need for outspokenness, he was victimised on more than one occasion for the views he held—notably during the South African war. As a Parliamentary journalist he was unrivalled during his day, and his current comments on the affairs of politics, literature, and social life, had an attraction peculiarly their own.

Our Norwich friends have mourned the passing of a rare spirit in Dr. Margaret Boileau, who, doomed to die of cancer, gave careful record of her case as it developed, so that the pangs of other similar sufferers might possibly be eased. Such was the final flame of a life of service rendered in medicine alongside a close association with our own Labour Movement.

Many others, too, have passed, and the last of all that we would name here is Edward Gill, who died in the Party's direct service while campaigning in the Morpeth by-election last year. " Ted " won his way in the South Wales Miners' Movement, fought through the war like many another for the sake of the freedom and the democratic peace they had previously worked for. Badly wounded on more than one occasion—once leaping from his stretcher to rally the men he had been leading—he won military honours, but permanently undermined his health. Modest, thoughtful and persuasive of speech, he came near to winning the Frome Division in 1922, and certainly laid the foundation for the victory of 1923. Engaged as Party propagandist, he was in great demand, and fell from sheer overstrain of his weakened constitution in his endeavours to make Morpeth secure for his greatly-admired old friend—Robert Smillie. His comrades of the Party Staff, the Executive—indeed all who knew him closely—mourn a good friend and a brave, bright spirit.

J. Ramsay MacDonald (*Chairman and Treasurer*).
C. T. Cramp (*Vice-Chairman*).

W. Adamson.	T. I. Mardy Jones.
F. Harrison Bell.	F. W. Jowett.
Ethel Bentham.	Geo. Lansbury.
A. G. Cameron.	A. Susan Lawrence.
J. R. Clynes.	Will Lawther.
R. J. Davies.	Herbert Morrison.
Agnes Dollan.	F. O. Roberts.
Edward Duxbury.	W. R. Smith.
Frank Hodges.	Sidney Webb.
W. H. Hutchinson.	Robert Williams.
J. Jones.	

J. S. Middleton (*Acting Secretary*).

Mrs. F. Harrison Bell was in Canada investigating Juvenile Emigration, and the Rt. Hon. Arthur Henderson (*Hon. Secretary*) was in attendance at the Assembly of the League of Nations in Geneva when this Report was considered and approved.

THE LABOUR PARTY

Statement of Accounts

for Year ending December 31st, 1923

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS

GENERAL

RECEIPTS.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Balance brought forward, January 1, 1923				3971	19	10
Affiliation Fees :—						
Labour Parties and Trades Councils...	955	7	3			
Trades Unions and Socialist Societies	48385	15	0			
				49341	2	3
Donations :—Miscellaneous to Party Funds				23	17	0
"Daily Herald" Maintenance Fund :—On closing account				530	2	4
Dividends :—Woolwich Equitable Building Society ...				9	15	0
Credit Balance from Literature, etc., Account ...				2706	1	2
Miscellaneous :—Sale of Waste Paper				43	14	4
				£56626	11	11

Year Ending December 31st, 1923

ACCOUNT

PAYMENTS.	£ s d.	£ s. d.
ORGANISATION :—		
National Organisers—Salaries and Expenses ...	10959 2 2	
Propagandists—Salaries and Expenses	2836 17 10	
General Organisation—Expenses	908 15 6	
Scottish Organisation—Expenses	667 8 8	
Grants to Local Parties *re* Agents' Salaries ...	5152 9 8	
National Gala, Easton Lodge, 30/6/23 (excess of expenditure over receipts)	33 9 8	
		20558 3 6
ANNUAL CONFERENCES :—		
London £1501 10 10		
Less Delegates' Fees received ... 258 18 6		
	1242 12 4	
York (Women's Conference) 161 15 6		
Less Delegates' Fees received ... 64 15 0		
	97 0 6	
		1339 12 10
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE :—		
Members' travelling, etc., expenses		866 5 7
PARLIAMENTARY PARTY OFFICE :—		
Salaries, Wages of Staff and General Expenses ...		2802 1 10
LEGAL RETAINER :—Fee		55 0 0
GRANTS :—		
"DAILY HERALD" (to complete year 1922/3) ...		5500 0 0
National Departments Account (Controlled jointly by the Trades Union Congress and the Labour Party)		4000 0 0
INTERNATIONAL :—		
Affiliation Fees (1923)	520 0 0	
Delegates' Expenses, Hamburg Conference and various other Continental Parties	527 3 4	
		1047 3 4
OFFICE FURNITURE ACCOUNT :—Filing Cabinets, Typewriters, etc.		109 11 1
GENERAL OFFICE EXPENSES :—		
Addressograph	54 6 0	
Auditors' Expenses	34 7 11	
Cheque Stamps	17 10 0	
Heating and Lighting	486 13 4	
Insurance—Employers' Liability, Fire, Burglary, Staff Health and Unemployment	216 10 3½	
Postages	795 7 11	
Repairs and Alterations	245 11 1	
Rent, Rates, Taxes	452 18 5	
Salaries, Wages, Overtime	9122 11 11	
Stationery	789 14 11	
Telegrams, Cables, Telephone	215 14 7	
Miscellaneous—Printing, Departmental Expenses and Office Sundries	534 17 0½	
		12966 3 5
Interest and Commission charged on current account	87 16 11	
Less Interest allowed on same...	59 13 3	
		28 3 8
Balance at Co-operative Wholesale Society Bank ...		7354 6 8
		£56626 11 11

Statement of Account

LITERATURE

RECEIPTS

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
ORGANISATION :—		
Canvass Cards, Membership Forms, Rules, etc. ...		420 3
PROPAGANDA :—		
Leaflets and Manifestos	3927 15 7	
Pamphlets	448 2 5	
Posters	458 10 8	
		4834 8
REPORTS :—		
Edinburgh (1922)	59 3 9	
London (1923)	277 8 4	
		336 12 1
"LABOUR WOMAN" (Monthly Magazine)		1335 13 9
"LABOUR YEAR BOOK" (1916)		2 15 0
"LOCAL GOVERNMENT HANDBOOK"		27 2 11
"SECONDARY EDUCATION"		95 13 9
"SPEAKER'S HANDBOOK"		140 10 7
SUBSCRIPTIONS :—Annual, for Literature		17 16 0
		£7210 15 9

THE "DAILY HERALD"

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS,

CAPITALISATION

RECEIPTS.

	£ s. d.
Loans in cash	3500 0 0
Loans by Bank against Securities and Guarantee	5500 0 0
	£9000 0 0

GENERAL

RECEIPTS.

	£ s. d.
Anonymous (Gift, per Mr. George Lansbury, to meet interest and other charges on loans)	500 0 0
	£500 0 0

Year Ending December 31st, 1923 (Continued)

ACCOUNT

PAYMENTS.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
ORGANISATION :—		
Canvass Cards, Membership Forms, Rules, etc. ...		394 17 4
PROPAGANDA :—		
Leaflets and Manifestos	662 4 2	
Pamphlets	511 5 0	
Posters	3 3 0	
		1176 12 2
REPORTS :—		
London (1923)		803 17 0
"LABOUR WOMAN" (Monthly Magazine)		1530 9 7
"SECONDARY EDUCATION"		24 2 6
"SPEAKER'S HANDBOOK"		326 6 4
Cost of Advertising Literature		5 16 10
Carriage and Packing Literature		242 12 10
CREDIT BALANCE carried to General Account		2706 1 2
		£7210 15 9

DEVELOPMENT FUND

SEPTEMBER 1ST TO DECEMBER 31ST, 1923

ACCOUNT

PAYMENTS.	£ s. d.
"Daily Herald," towards capitalisation of five years grants	9000 0 0
	£9000 0 0

ACCOUNT

PAYMENTS.	£ s. d.
Interest on loans and advances	95 17 10
Legal charges on transfer of securities	25 4 3
Cheque Stamps	0 8 4
Balance at Co-operative Wholesale Society Bank	378 9 7
	£500 0 0

INVESTMENTS

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
WOOLWICH EQUITABLE BUILDING SOCIETY.						
(Late Miss Mary Chambers' bequest.)						
3 £50 "C" Shares fully paid				150	0	0
LEICESTER CO-OPERATIVE PRINTING SOCIETY LTD.						
20 £1 Shares	20	0	0			
Loan Account (Accumulated Dividends and Interest)	205	15	2			
				225	15	2
				£375	15	2

AUDITORS' REPORT

We have examined the books and vouchers and verified balances in connection with the 1923 accounts. We have, also, examined the deeds and documents relating to the leases of Nos. 33 and 34, Eccleston Square, London, S.W. We hereby certify that they are correct and that the financial statement as printed in this Report shows the position of the Party on December 31, 1923.

ROBERT YOUNG,
THOS. TROTTER, } Auditors.

May 27, 1924.

TRADES UNION CONGRESS
AND
THE LABOUR PARTY

National Joint Departments

Statement of Accounts

January 1st, 1923, to March 31st, 1924

TRADES UNION CONGRESS & THE LABOUR PARTY

Statement of Accounts

RECEIPTS.

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
BALANCE brought forward January 1, 1923		1399 1 6
GRANTS from—		
General Council, Trades Union Congress	2000 0 0	
Executive Committee, Labour Party	3000 0 0	
		5000 0 0
SALES OF LITERATURE, etc.—		
Pamphlets	117 10 2	
Leaflets	8 7 9	
		125 17 11
"The Labour Magazine"		1063 4 7
The Labour Press Service (for Local Editions)		822 6 6
Parliamentary Voting Records supplied		11 0 0
Interest allowed by the Co-operative Wholesale Society Bank	15 16 6	
Less Commission charged by them	5 0 3	
		10 16 3
		£8432 6 9

THE "DAILY HERALD"

Raised to assist the General Council of the Trades Union Congress and joint guarantee of financial

Statement of Accounts

RECEIPTS.

	£ s. d.
DONATIONS to the Fund	3694 9 4
CO-OPERATIVE WHOLESALE SOCIETY BANK— Interest allowed	13 15 7
	£3708 4 11

NATIONAL JOINT DEPARTMENTS

January 1st to June 30th, 1923

EXPENDITURE.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
DEPARTMENTAL EXPENSES—		
International—		
Salaries, Wages, Overtime	539 6 2	
Sub-Committee Members' Expenses	18 12 6	
Delegations abroad	155 15 0	
		713 13 8
PRESS AND PUBLICITY—		
Salaries, Wages, Overtime	1335 14 6	
Sub-Committee Members' Expenses	6 0 0	
Newspapers, Periodicals and Sundries	23 2 11	
		1364 17 5
RESEARCH AND INFORMATION—		
Salaries, Wages, Overtime	1804 17 1	
Sub-Committee Members' Expenses	44 18 1	
Newspapers, Periodicals and Sundries	166 19 1	
		2016 14 3
GENERAL EXPENSES—		
Auditors' Expenses	4 0 0	
Insurance—Health and Unemployment	27 13 7	
Postages	231 12 5	
Stationery	52 10 7	
Miscellaneous, Telegrams, Telephone, Cheque Stamps, Carriage and Sundries	43 4 9	
		359 1 4
OFFICE FURNITURE		75 7 9
NATIONAL JOINT COUNCIL—		
Hire of Halls, Miscellaneous Printing, Members' Expenses		52 3 6
LITERATURE, etc.—		
"The Labour Magazine"	637 9 1	
The Labour Press Service	1575 8 1	
Leaflets	777 0 7	
Voting Records	23 10 6	
		3013 8 3
BALANCE at Co-operative Wholesale Society Bank		837 0 7
		£8432 6 9

Audited and found correct, August 13, 1923.

H. H. ELVIN, ROBERT YOUNG, } Auditors to National Joint Departments.

MAINTENANCE FUND

the National Executive Committee of the Labour Party to meet their help to the "Daily Herald."

June 1st, 1922, to September 30th, 1923

EXPENDITURE.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Stationery, Printing, Circulars, etc.		507 11 10
Postages		140 6 5
Cheque Stamps		0 2 0
Grants direct to "Daily Herald"		2000 0 0
General Council Trades Union Congress (to close account)	530 2 4	
National Executive Labour Party (to close account) ...	530 2 4	
		1060 4 8
		£3708 4 11

We have examined the books and vouchers presented to us relating to the above, have accepted the statement of receipts and certify the expenditure as correct.

S. LOMAX, R. YOUNG, } Auditors to National Joint Departments.

June 27, 1924.

Statement of Accounts

RECEIPTS.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
BALANCE brought forward July 1, 1923		837 0 7
GRANTS from—		
General Council, Trades Union Congress	5050 0 0	
Executive Committee, Labour Party	3050 0 0	
		8100 0 0
LITERATURE, etc.—		
Pamphlets		282 15 6
Leaflets		141 12 6
"The Labour Magazine"		1370 15 11
The Labour Press Service (for Local Editions) ...		1241 12 4
Labour Year Book (1924)		297 16 9
International Federation of Trade Unions—Publications		17 4 3
Voting Records		97 15 7
Interest allowed by Co-operative Bank	11 16 8	
Less Commission charged by same	6 1 2	
		5 15 6
		£12392 8 11

NOTE.—The difference between receipts and expenditure on literature is accounted for by (1) stocks in hand, and (2) outstanding accounts for sales. The sum outstanding on March 31, 1924, was £1,515 12s. 8d., of which £780 17s. 1d. has since been received.

NATIONAL JOINT DEPARTMENTS

July 1st, 1923, to March 31st, 1924

EXPENDITURE.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
DEPARTMENTAL EXPENSES—		
INTERNATIONAL—		
Salaries, Wages, Overtime	825 14 10	
Sub-Committee Members' Expenses	33 13 6	
Delegations Abroad and Miscellaneous	49 5 9	
		908 14 1
PRESS AND PUBLICITY—		
Salaries, Wages and Overtime	2108 8 8	
Sub-Committee Members' Expenses	9 11 2	
Periodicals and Miscellaneous	66 19 9	
		2184 19 7
RESEARCH AND INFORMATION—		
Salaries, Wages and Overtime	2703 15 10	
Sub-Committee Members' Expenses	53 10 10	
Periodicals and Miscellaneous	232 15 5	
		2990 2 1
GENERAL EXPENSES—		
Auditors' Expenses	7 5 6	
Cheque Stamps	5 8 4	
Income Tax on Bank Interest	3 5 3	
Insurance—Health, Unemployment and Employers' Liability	32 16 10	
Postages	269 0 1	
Stationery	114 18 9	
Sundry Committees—"Daily Herald" Inquiry ...	26 12 6	
Finance and General Purposes ...	9 1 0	
Miscellaneous, Printing, Carriage and Sundries ...	150 13 11	
		619 2 2
Furnishing, etc., ...		15 10 0
WORK AND WAGES CAMPAIGN		268 16 6
NATIONAL JOINT COUNCIL—		
Hire of Halls, Miscellaneous Printing, Council Members' Expenses, etc.		107 19 0
LITERATURE, etc.—		
Pamphlets		677 9 4
Leaflets		18 18 6
"The Labour Magazine"		1907 17 2
The Labour Press Service		2513 3 6
Labour Year Book (1924)		21 0 9
International Federation of Trade Unions—Publications		13 10 2
Voting Records		28 10 0
Carriage on Literature		43 9 3
BALANCE at Co-operative Wholesale Society Bank		73 6 10
		£12392 8 11

Audited and found correct.

SAMUEL LOMAX, } Auditors to National
ROBERT YOUNG, } Joint Departments.

June 27, 1924.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE ATTENDANCES

The Executive Committee met on 34 occasions between June, 1923, and October, 1924. The following were the attendances of the various members :—

J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P. (*Chairman & Treasurer*)	9
C. T. Cramp (*Vice-Chairman*)	31
W. Adamson, M.P.	24
Mrs. F. H. Bell	32
Dr. Ethel Bentham	32
A. G. Cameron	20
J. R. Clynes, M.P.	16
R. J. Davies, M.P.	29
Mrs. Agnes Dollan	25
Edward Duxbury	29
Frank Hodges, M.P.	10
W. H. Hutchinson	34
Jack Jones, M.P.	8
T. I. Mardy Jones, M.P.	31
F. W. Jowett, M.P.	30
Geo. Lansbury, M.P.	32
Miss A. S. Lawrence, M.P.	23
Will Lawther	33
Herbert Morrison, M.P.	28
F. O. Roberts, M.P.	26
W. R. Smith, M.P.	26
Sidney Webb, M.P.	11
Robert Williams	29

PARLIAMENTARY REPORT.

Session 1923.

A fairly full report of the Party's activities in 1923, up to Whitsuntide, was submitted to the last Conference, and the following will complete the report for that session:

RENT CONTROL.

The Government's Rent Restrictions Bill to amend and continue the law regarding rent and possession of dwelling-houses was keenly examined, and, on the Second Reading, the following Motion was moved:—

> "That whilst recognising the necessity for legislation to amend and prolong the duration of the Increase of Rent and Mortgage Interest Restrictions Act, 1920, this House cannot assent to the Second Reading of a Bill which immediately excludes from the application of the Act a very large number of dwelling-houses, fails to provide for a reduction in the permitted increases in rent, gives further power to the landlord to coerce the tenant, is calculated to give rise to vexatious litigation, and is not in harmony with the expressed will of the electorate."

123 voted for the Amendment and 287 against.

During the Committee Stage a large number of amendments, including one to continue full control until 1930, was moved, but not one of any importance was accepted, and, on the Third Reading, the Party moved the following:—

> "This House, being desirous of continuing the full measure of protection afforded to tenants by the Increase of Rent and Mortgage Interest (Restrictions) Act, 1920, cannot assent to the Third Reading of a Bill which will deprive a very large number of tenants of all protection, will encourage landlords to exercise undue pressure upon their tenants by litigation and otherwise, and only continues the law for a period within which there is no probability under the Government's housing policy of the shortage of housing accommodation being met."

111 voted for the amendment and 212 against.

UNEMPLOYMENT.

Several debates on the question of Unemployment were initiated, and when Parliament adjourned in August the Party appointed an Emergency Committee to watch the situation during the Recess; and, in co-operation with the National Joint Council, to take any action deemed advisable in the interests of the unemployed.

MINING INDUSTRY.

June 21 was secured for a debate on the Second Reading of the Coal Mines (Minimum Wage) Amendment Bill promoted by the Miners' Federation. The Bill provided for the minimum wage being based upon the cost of living, and also applied the original Act, so amended, to surface workers. It was thrown out by 230 to 154.

CAPITALIST SYSTEM.

The debate on this Motion was resumed on July 16. The Motion was as follows:—

"That, in view of the failure of the capitalist system to adequately utilise and organise natural resources and productive power, or to provide the necessary standard of life for vast numbers of the population, and believing that the cause of this failure lies in the private ownership and control of the means of production and distribution, this House declares that legislative effort should be directed to the gradual supersession of the capitalist system by an industrial and social order based upon the public ownership and democratic control of the instruments of production and distribution."

To this the National Liberals had moved the following amendment:—

"This House, believing that the abolition of private interest in the means of production and distribution would impoverish the people and aggravate existing evils, is unalterably opposed to any scheme of legislation which would deprive the State of the benefits of individual effort, and believing that far-reaching measures of social redress may be accomplished without overturning the present basis of society, is resolved to prosecute proposals which, by removing the evil effects of monopoly and waste, will conduce to the well-being of the people."

On the Motion being put, 121 voted for and 368 against, the minority being composed exclusively of Labour Members, one Communist, and one Independent.

MILITARY EXPENDITURE AND DISARMAMENT.

On July 23 the Party secured a day for a discussion on the following:—

"That this House deplores the enormous and growing expenditure on the naval and air forces and on other military preparations which is beginning once more a competition in armaments and is depleting resources that should be available for expenditure on education, public health, and similar social and human services, and, recalling the pledges of political leaders and the expectation of the nation that the great world war was to end war, urges the Government to take immediate steps to call an international conference to consider a programme of national safety based upon the policy that by disarmament alone can the peace and liberty of small and large nations alike be secured."

The Conservatives moved the following amendment:—

"That this House views with alarm the danger of renewed competition in armaments among nations, and is of opinion that at the earliest favourable opportunity His Majesty's Government should use its influence to the utmost extent both through the League of Nations and otherwise to prevent a recurrence of such international competition and bring about a general limitation of armaments."

The Motion was defeated by 286 to 169.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION.

In Committee, on the Government's Workmen's Compensation Bill, very many important amendments were moved and pressed; but, with hardly an exception, they were all successfully resisted by the Government. The final stages of the Bill were postponed until the Autumn, and when it became known, prior to the resumption of Parlia-

ment on November 13, that the Government intended to make an immediate appeal to the Country, the Party, whilst realising the shortcomings of the measure, but realising also that the War Additions Acts would expire at the end of the year, used all its influence to secure the passage of the Bill before Parliament was prorogued. The Bill was passed; but the Party made it clear that it could not regard the measure as a settlement of the question.

DISSOLUTION.

When Parliament met on November 13, the Prime Minister announced the decision of the Government to advise a dissolution of Parliament in order that they might ask for a mandate from the Country to carry out Protectionist proposals for the cure of Unemployment. The Party promptly put the following Motion on the Paper, and it was debated on November 15:—

> "That this House censures the neglect of His Majesty's Government to deal with the pressing needs of the unemployed, regrets its failure to devise and pursue a national policy calculated to restore the influence of the Country abroad and re-establish international peace and trade; condemns the decision of the Government to leave millions of British people in want in order to fight an election on an undisclosed scheme of tariffs and imperial preference, conceived by sections of capitalists in their own interests, and the effect of which must be to increase the cost of living and encourage the formation of anti-social trusts and combines."

The Motion was defeated by 285 votes to 190.

Session 1924.

The General Election took place in December, 1923, and 191 Labour Members (an increase of 49) were returned, as compared with 258 Conservatives, 158 Liberals, and 8 Independents.

The new Parliament met for the election of the Speaker on January 8, 1924, and on the 15th of that month Parliament was formally opened.

THE KING'S SPEECH.

The King's Speech prepared by the Conservative Government and evidently framed in the knowledge that the Conservative Government would have little chance of carrying out the proposals contained in it, proposed to give effect to the recommendations of the Imperial Conference on Imperial Preference; an extension of the existing method of dealing with Unemployment; an Agricultural Conference; an additional bonus to Pre-war Pensioners; and legislation to deal with the discouragement of thrift operating under the Old Age Pensions Acts.

In a general debate on the Speech many questions were raised, such as Foreign Affairs, Education, Feeding of School Children, and Unemployment. On January 17 the Party moved the following Amendment to the Address in Answer:—

> "But it is our duty respectfully to submit to your Majesty that your Majesty's present advisers have not the confidence of this House."

The debate was continued for three days, and the Amendment was then carried by 328 to 256—a majority of 72.

On the following day (January 22) the Prime Minister announced the resignation of the Government, and the House was adjourned until February 12.

FIRST LABOUR GOVERNMENT.

Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald was requested by the King to form a Government, and action was taken accordingly.

It may be stated here that, prior to the opening of Parliament, when it was seen that the Conservative Government would probably be defeated on the Address, the National Executive of the Party and the Parliamentary Executive met and decided in favour of the Party taking office should the opportunity offer.

Within twenty-four hours of the present Prime Minister accepting Office, the Labour Ministers were at work in their respective Departments. A list of the Members of the Government is given as an Appendix to this Report on page 198. It being necessary to have some Ministers in the House of Lords, several peers were appointed, and these, with one or two others, form the first Labour contingent in the hereditary Chamber.

Parliament reassembled on February 12, and the Prime Minister made a comprehensive statement of Government policy dealing with such questions as the European Situation, Recognition of Russia, Disarmament, the League of Nations, Housing, Unemployment, Agriculture.

PARLIAMENTARY EXECUTIVE.

With the Party in Office, a new situation, from the point of view of Parliamentary internal organisation, arose.

All the officers of the Party, and many of those who served on the Executive in the previous Session, had become Ministers, and it was decided therefore, that, instead of an Executive composed mainly of the officers of the Party, there should be an Executive composed of twelve Members not in the Government, plus three Ministers, to act as a liaison committee between the Party and the Government. It is convenient to the Government to be able to consult a representative committee of the Party at short notice, and it is convenient to the Party as a whole to have a committee to make representations to the Government when it is considered necessary.

The Constitution of the Committee was as follows:—

Government Members: Rt. Hon. J. R. Clynes, Rt. Hon. Arthur Henderson, Mr. Ben Spoor (Chief Whip).

Members not in Government: Messrs. R. Smillie (Chairman), C. Edwards, J. H. Hayes, T. Johnston, G. Lansbury, J. Maxton, E. D. Morel, J. Scurr, H. Snell, R. C. Wallhead, Miss D. Jewson, Miss S. Lawrence.

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE.

The first Bill introduced by the new Government was one to abolish the "gap" in the payment of Unemployment Insurance as provided in the 1923 Act. The measure was passed very speedily.

In April another Bill was introduced, and passed, to extend the payment of benefit from 26 weeks in the year to 41.

A more comprehensive Bill was also introduced. Its main provisions were as follows:—

(1) To establish a statutory right to uncovenanted benefit;
(2) To increase the benefit for men from 15s. to 18s.;
(3) To increase the benefit for women from 12s. to 15s.;
(4) To increase the allowance in respect of a child from 1s. to 2s.;
(5) To provide payment of benefit for 52 weeks in the year;
(6) To repeal the provision whereby a person thrown out of work in consequence of a dispute in the same factory, in which he is not concerned, is deprived of benefit;
(7) To include juveniles between the ages of fourteen and sixteen who are unemployed in an insured trade.

No. 6 above was modified by the House; No. 7 was keenly criticised and eventually rejected, and an unfortunate amendment, confining the statutory right to uncovenanted benefit to a period of two years, was carried.

During the progress of the Bill the Minister of Labour consented to reduce the waiting period to three days, and the Bill, as passed, represents a substantial improvement in the scheme of Unemployment Insurance.

RENT CONTROL.

By luck in the Ballot, an early Friday was secured for the Second Reading of the Party's Rent Restrictions Bill, the general provisions of which were:—

(1) Continuation of full control until June, 1928.

(2) The permitted increases of rent to be reduced from 40 per cent. to 25 per cent.

(3) Repeal of the provision in last year's Act whereby a house, on becoming vacant, ceases to be covered by the Rent Acts.

The Conservatives moved a hostile Amendment on the Second Reading; but the Bill was carried at that stage by 248 to 101.

The Bill went to Committee, and it soon became evident that all sorts of obstructive tactics were to be adopted to prevent its passage. Meeting after meeting was taken up dealing with frivolous Amendments, and, eventually, hope of ever getting the Bill had to be abandoned.

There is one reform in procedure which is certainly required. It is the practice of Chairmen of Standing Committees to which Public Bills are referred to allow much more latitude in debate, and consequently in obstruction, in the case of a Bill promoted by a Private Member than with a Government Bill; but every Bill which receives a Second Reading becomes a House of Commons Bill, and all should be treated alike.

No progress having been made with the above Bill, the Government brought forward another to prevent evictions. Its main provision was that a Court should not make an order for eviction on the ground of non-payment of rent in any case where the non-payment is due to unemployment, unless the Court is satisfied that greater hardship would be caused by refusing to grant the order than by granting it.

This provision was very keenly criticised by both Conservatives and Liberals on the ground that it would throw an unjust burden upon the landlord. Although the Government intimated their willingness to move or accept an Amendment which would obviate this, the Second Reading of the Bill was rejected by 221 to 212.

Shortly afterwards a small Bill to modify the law whereby a landlord could obtain possession of a house for his own use, or for the use of his son or daughter, or any person employed by him, was carried and passed into law.

LONDON TRAFFIC BILL.

This measure was introduced early in the Session in order to help in the settlement of the London transport strike. The Bill was originally prepared by the late Government, and its purpose was to confer upon the Ministry of Transport powers with respect to the regulation of London traffic, and to establish an advisory committee, representative of the various interests, to advise the Minister.

It was an emergency measure and was subjected to a great amount of criticism, but eventually passed into law.

THE BUDGET.

On April 29 the Chancellor of the Exchequer introduced the Budget. He revealed a surplus of £48 millions, and announced a reduction in taxation to the extent of £34 millions in the present year, and £47 millions in a full year. The reduction in food taxation amounted to £23,700,000, and, in announcing his decision to propose the abolition of the Inhabited House Duty, the Chancellor stated that that concession would be a greater relief to the married man with £500 a year than 6d. off the Income Tax. He also intimated the intention of the Government to deal with the thrift disqualification under the Old Age Pensions Acts, and to produce a scheme of Mothers' Pensions at the earliest moment.

The Budget, as a whole, was well received except that the Conservatives strongly opposed the abolition of the import duties, commonly known as the McKenna Duties, and the failure of the Government to include the proposals for Imperial Preference submitted by the Imperial Conference.

HOUSING.

After lengthy negotiations with the employers and Trade Unions in the building trades, the Government's Housing proposals were submitted to Parliament. The Minister of Health explained that he had been in consultation with the industry with a view to securing an adequate supply of labour and materials for a long-term housing programme. The programme was to cover a period of fifteen years during which it was proposed to provide two and a half million houses. A greater subsidy was to be provided, namely, £9 per annum per house for 40 years, or if the house is situated in a rural area, £12 10s. One condition attaching to the payment of the increased subsidy would be that the house was built for letting.

The Minister of Health also intimated that a second Bill would be brought forward to prevent profiteering in building materials.

The Government suffered one or two defeats on minor points during the passage of the Bill, and a few modifying amendments were forced by the combined Liberals and Tories; but the Bill was eventually passed and sent to the Lords. Owing to lack of time, the Building Material (Purchase and Supply) Bill was postponed until the Autumn.

The Labour Government's housing scheme is the biggest effort yet proposed to deal with the problem, and its success depends a great deal upon the hearty co-operation of the building trades.

AGRICULTURAL WAGES BILL.

This Bill provided for the establishment of a Central Wages Board and local committees to fix minimum rates of wages in agriculture, and, apart from the fact that it did not contain a minimum figure, its provisions were a considerable improvement on the provisions in the Corn Production Act, 1917. The Government had decided not to insert a figure on account of the changes in prices and of a difference of opinion among the Unions concerned. The Second Reading was opposed, and only carried by 252 to 212.

In Committee, the Order Paper was covered with hostile amendments, and very early in the proceedings a Liberal amendment taking away the power of the Central Wages Board to revise the decisions of local committees was carried. This seriously lessened the value of the Bill, but the Government came to the conclusion that it would be better to proceed and try to get the best Bill possible in the interests of agricultural workers.

The crippling Amendment referred to having been carried the opposition to the measure was weakened, and it passed through the remaining stages fairly quickly. It is a pity that the Amendment was made to the Bill, but as an instrument for establishing machinery to fix minimum rates the Bill will still be valuable.

LEAD PAINT (PROTECTION AGAINST POISONING) BILL.

This Bill, to ratify the Geneva Convention of 1921 with respect to the use of lead paint, was submitted for Second Reading on June 20.

Keen opposition was shown to Clause 1, which prohibits the use of lead paint for interior work after November, 1927, and in order to avoid the complete rejection of the Bill, the Home Secretary had to agree that if Clause 1 should be defeated in Committee, he would be prepared to proceed with the remainder of the Bill. On this understanding the Second Reading was agreed to.

The Committee Stage has been deferred until the Autumn, and a very stiff fight will have to be put up for the retention of Clause 1, which is really the heart of the measure.

OLD AGE PENSIONS.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer submitted the Government's proposal for dealing with the thrift disqualification under the Old Age Pensions Acts. The Motion provided that, for the purpose of determining the weekly rate of pension to which a person is entitled, there shall be deducted from his means, as calculated under the Acts, such part, if any, of the means, but not exceeding in any case £39, as is derived from any other source than earnings.

The Chancellor explained that this would mean that a single person would be able to have, in addition to an income of 10s. weekly from any source, a further sum of 15s. if it is derived from thrift or benevolence, but not employment, and still be entitled to the full pension of 10s. In the case of a married couple the extra income allowed would be 30s. Therefore, a single person would be able to enjoy an income of 35s. per week, including the pension, and a married couple 70s. per week, including the double pension of £1.

He expressed regret that financially he was unable to abolish the means limit altogether, but described the present proposal as a step in that direction. The cost of the proposal was estimated at about £4 millions in the first full year, rising in a few years' time to £7 millions.

Apart from some criticism that the extra income to be allowed must not be in the shape of earnings, the measure passed through unanimously.

PRE-WAR PENSIONS.

A short measure to increase pensions payable to pre-war pensioners, and to compel public and other statutory bodies to pay the maximum allowed to their pensioners, was passed into law.

FACTORIES BILL.

This very compendious measure of 143 clauses is to be taken in the Autumn. It marks a great advance in Factory Law, and, if passed without any serious alteration, will be a great boon to many workers.

HOURS OF INDUSTRIAL EMPLOYMENT.

The Government have introduced this Bill to give legislative effect to the Washington Convention on Hours of Labour, and it is hoped

that, by the time the Second Reading is taken, the objections at present held by certain Unions affected will have been disposed of; otherwise the passage of the Bill will be placed in jeopardy.

UNEMPLOYMENT.

A series of debates have taken place on the question of Unemployment, and Conservatives and Liberals have vied with one another in taunting the Government on its failure to produce a positive remedy, regardless of the short time Ministers have been in office, and of the obvious explanation that, in the application of Labour principles in the direction of re-organising industry, Parliament will have to dig very deeply.

The first job that lay to hand was to see to it that every genuine unemployed person customarily employed in an insured trade should be able to receive unemployment benefit, and this has been done.

It was realised too, that a settlement of the European situation would have a most profound effect upon British trade, and the Party gladly noted the efforts of the Government, by international negotiations, to bring peace to Europe, and a restoration of normal trade.

With regard to the immediate provision of work, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, as Chairman of the Cabinet Committee on Unemployment, made a comprehensive statement on July 30, in which he drew attention to the extensive and greatly increased financial development of existing measures for relief work; but he pointed out that the Government did not regard that method as a means of solving the problem. He reported that the Unemployment Grants' Committee had approved, since February, 750 schemes to the value of £5,500,000, and that they had under consideration at the moment schemes to the value of £3,400,000. He referred to certain Drainage schemes, intimated that a Road programme of £13,500,000 had been approved, the Government contribution to that amount being £10,400,000, and announced the intention of the Government to bring forward in the Autumn legislation to lay the foundation of a national policy on Electricity Supply, including a State scheme for standardising frequency right throughout the country, and the laying of transmission lines touching every centre of population.

The Chancellor also announced the decision of the Government to give substantial Exchequer assistance to the Sugar-beet industry of this country, believing that this would have a very beneficial effect on agriculture.

It is hoped that the work already done in the way of preparing plans and starting works will be pressed forward, and the situation well in hand in the interests of those who would otherwise be unemployed during the coming winter.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Universal and anxious interest was centred upon the proceedings of the Inter-Allied Conference held in London in the latter part of July and beginning of August.

It is well-known and recognised that the Labour Government have made tremendous efforts to bring about reconciliation and agreement on the very thorny problems arising out of the Peace Treaties, and the payment of Reparations.

These efforts were successful at the London Conference when Inter-Allied agreement on the basis of the Dawes Report was reached, and when the representatives of Germany, acting freely on equal terms, entered

into the agreement. The general question underlying the payment of Reparations will doubtless have to come up later; but the London Agreement is undeniably the first substantial step taken since the War to promote an atmosphere of conciliation and to open the way to a restoration of peace and international amity in Europe.

The pronouncements of the Labour Government at the recent Assembly of the League of Nations on the questions of Security and Disarmament have also helped to lay what is hoped will be the foundation of a real and lasting scheme of International Disarmament.

RUSSIA.

One of the first administrative acts of the Labour Government was to recognise the Russian Soviet Government, and arrangements were at once commenced for calling an Anglo-Russian Conference to consider and decide on outstanding questions between the two countries. This Conference met in April, its deliberations were carried on into August, and finally drafts of a General Treaty and a Treaty on Commerce and Navigation were agreed to. The drafts were discussed in Parliament before the Adjournment for the Recess, and, as signed Treaties are to be laid before Parliament, there will be a full discussion on them in the Autumn.

The success of the Conference is a piece of work which will give immense satisfaction to the whole Labour Movement.

IRELAND.

One of the problems confronting the Government was the failure to set up the Commission to determine the boundary between Northern Ireland and the Irish Free State, due to the refusal of the Northern Government to appoint its representative. It was decided, as a first step, to ask the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, strengthened by the addition of representatives from the Dominions, to give a decision as to whether the Commission could be set up in the absence of a Northern representative. The decision was that such action was impossible without an alteration in the law. The Government thereupon intimated their intention to introduce a Bill to enable it to appoint the third representative on the Commission in the event of default by the Northern Government; and unless agreement can be reached to end the deadlock before September 30, Parliament will meet on that date to pass the Bill. It is hoped that, even yet, wise counsels will prevail, and that some means will be found of carrying out the Irish Treaty in its entirety without recourse to special legislation.

PARTY BILLS AND MOTIONS.

In addition to the Rent Restrictions Bill already referred to, Members of the Party were able to bring forward the following Bills :—

Representation of the People.—This Bill provided for equality in the franchise by conferring the vote upon women at the age of twenty-one; assimilated the Parliamentary and Local Government franchises; abolished the university fee for registration; and removed the disqualification now resting upon members of certain local authorities who may have received poor relief. The Second Reading was carried by 288 to 72.

In Committee it was soon made evident that if all the provisions of the Bill were adhered to, it would never get through, and eventually it was agreed to confine the Bill to equality in the franchise. With the consent of all Parties it got through Committee. The Government

promised to take charge of the further stages, and it is hoped to pass the Bill in the Autumn; but it will have to be very carefully examined on the next stage in order to prevent the creation of further anomalies arising out of the business qualification.

Industrial and Provident Societies Bill.—This Bill, promoted by the Co-operative movement, received a Second Reading and passed through Committee. Its main provisions are to prevent the use of the title "Co-operative" by spurious organisations, and to increase the maximum of holding allowed in a co-operative society. There was little or no opposition to the measure; but, unfortunately, it could not get through the final stages in the time devoted to Private Members' Bills.

Government of Scotland.—This Bill for Home Rule for Scotland came up for Second Reading, but the Closure was not granted, and the Second Reading Stage was not completed.

Nationalisation of Mines and Minerals.—This measure, promoted by the Miners' Federation and approved by the Party, came up for Second Reading. It was strongly opposed by Conservatives and Liberals alike, and was rejected. In the division only five Liberals voted with the Party in support.

The following Motions were brought forward:—

National Minimum Wage.—On March 4 the following was moved:

"That in view of the practically universal acceptance of the principle that a living wage for all workers should be the first charge upon industry, and in view of the large measure of agreement with respect to the advisability of fixing legal minimum time rates of wages reached at the national industrial conference, this House urges the Government to proceed without delay with the Bill introduced by the Government of the day of 1919, constituting a Commission to inquire into and report upon legal minimum time rates and wages."

The Minister of Labour stated that the Government were definitely in favour of any measure that would guarantee to every decent working man and woman a minimum standard of comfort. The situation was, however, that the Government had a tremendous amount of business on the stocks which would have to be cleared out of the way before any further commitments could be entered into; but the Government were whole-heartedly in favour of the principle. The Motion was agreed to without a division.

Mothers' Pensions.—On the 20th February it was moved:

"That, in the opinion of this House, pensions adequate for the proper upbringing and maintenance of children should be paid to all widows with children, or mothers whose family breadwinner has become incapacitated, such pensions to be provided by the State and administered by a committee of the municipal or county council wholly unconnected with the Poor Law."

The Chancellor of the Exchequer intimated that the Government had instituted an inquiry into this question, and it was hoped they would have before them, without unnecessary delay, all the details of a practical scheme. The Government fully accepted the principle, and the obligation rested upon them to translate the principle into a practical legislative measure.

The Motion was accepted without a division.

BY-ELECTIONS.

Since the General Election the Party has lost two Members by death, Mr. Dan Irving and Mr. W. S. Royce. Mr. Irving's sterling worth was well-known, and Mr. Royce proved himself a very loyal and useful Member of the Party. Their death was felt very keenly by their colleagues.

Mr. Irving's seat at Burnley was held; but, unfortunately, the Labour candidate in the by-election for Holland-with-Boston was unsuccessful.

GENERAL.

In the last report to Conference it was stated that the Party by general recognition was the alternative Government. It was not then imagined that before the next report should be given Labour would be in office.

The situation last Autumn developed very quickly; but it found the Party fully prepared to accept its responsibilities, and any impartial political observer will freely admit that the first Labour Government has held its own up to now, although it entered into a heritage of hard times and trouble both at home and abroad. There have been occasions when disappointment with the policy of the Government on a particular question has been expressed; but, generally speaking, and taking the broad view of the Government's work, the Government has done well. It has been gathering strength politically and consolidating its position.

The Session has been a very busy one and the output of legislation heavy. The record up to date of the first Labour Government will compare favourably with any other, and if the full programme for the Session is completed in the Autumn, comprising as it will a great Housing Scheme, a good working-class Budget, a welcome improvement in the Old Age Pensions Scheme, a substantial amendment of the Unemployment Insurance Scheme, an agreement with Russia which, if ratified by Parliament, will help considerably towards increasing the volume of employment, an Inter-Allied agreement with Germany which it is hoped may pave the way to a durable peace and the economic restoration of Europe, a Factories Bill which will confer great benefit upon many workers, an Eight-Hours Day, Equality in the Franchise, and a national scheme of Electricity Supply, the record for the year will be phenomenal.

ROBERT SMILLIE,
Chairman of Parliamentary Executive.

H. S. LINDSAY,
Secretary.

THE LABOUR PARTY

REPORT OF CONFERENCE

The Twenty-fourth Annual Conference of the Labour Party opened at the Queen's Hall, Langham Place, London, on Tuesday, October 7, 1924, the number of delegates, organisations, and voting power represented being as follows :—

	No.	Delegates.	Votes.
Trade Unions	85	680	3,116,000
Trades Councils and Local Labour Parties	317	341	341,000
Socialist Societies, etc.	6	38	38,000
	408	1,059	3,495,000

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 7th

Morning Session

On the motion of Mr. A. G. CAMERON, seconded by Mr. WILL THORNE, M.P., the Rt. Hon. J. RAMSAY MACDONALD (the Premier) was elected to preside over the Conference.

Mr. WILL THORNE presented the Preliminary Report of the Conference Arrangements Committee, and said he did not want to keep the delegates in suspense on account of the very important speech they were going to listen to in a few moments, but later on they would have the time-table which had been arranged in their possession. It was proposed that after the Chairman had delivered his address a resolution would be moved, which would be in the hands of the delegates in a few moments. That resolution would be moved by Mr. Cramp and seconded by a delegate in the body of the hall.

The motion to receive the Report was duly seconded and carried unanimously.

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

The Rt. Hon. J. RAMSAY MACDONALD, M.P., then delivered his address, which was as follows :—

Last year, that optimistic prophet and calculator, Mr. Sidney Webb, told you from this chair that by 1926 the Labour Party would have a majority and be in office. We cheered, but, I am sure, as we cheered, we doubted. Had he told you that he had made a calculation or had had a vision that within seven months of his addressing you your representatives in Parliament would form the Government, and that the next time you would be called together the Chairman's address would be delivered by a Prime Minister and the front chairs on the platform occupied by heads of Departments your comments, I am sure, would have been of the nature of "Poor old Webb," and in the evening you would have filled your glasses to drink to his memory. And yet that apparently insane miracle has happened. As a matter of fact it was one of the most likely of things to follow an election whenever it came.

PROGRESS IN SPITE OF HUMBUG.

Mr. Baldwin precipitated the events by a miscalculation of the strength of his Party and of Protection, and dissolved Parliament. A hurried union of the divided Liberal forces followed. Although we were the official Opposition at the time, throughout the critical part of the election the Press seemed to have conspired to say the very minimum about us. Our meetings were hardly reported. When the success of our campaign became disquieting and some notice had to be taken of us, you will remember that false reporting became the rule and forecasts of the most discouraging kind appeared from our constituencies. In spite of such a campaign, with all its loud speakers, lobster tin cans, and the mobilisation of all the humbug that could be brought together to deceive the electors, we won 47 seats, and brought our representation from 144 to 191, truly a satisfactory achievement gained almost exclusively owing to the confidence we had earned whilst acting as the responsible Opposition. There is some comfort in the assurance thus given to us that there is a fixed limit to the influence of tricky conspiracies and resourceful demagogues.

The Conservative Party was well under half the House of Commons; we came next with a clear lead over the Liberals. No coalition was possible; the Labour Party, if it thought it desirable to take office, must, under the circumstances, very soon have had a chance of taking office.

When the opportunity came, so far as I was concerned I never had a moment's hesitation as to what we should do. To have shirked responsibility would have been cowardly, and this country does not like cowards; it would have put us into a bad Parliamentary fix. Altogether it would have shown the spirit of shivering fear rather than that of trustful gallantry, and the latter is the spirit of the Labour Party.

THE NEED FOR FIRM FOUNDATIONS.

But there was another call also in the situation. We honestly believed that the country was in bad hands and that its policy was not well directed. Could we manage to do something to mould national policy in new shapes? Some things we should like to do we saw quite plainly we could not do, and in these we had to face boldly a little disappointment amongst our own people and a violent attack from the other parties. But, my friends, let there be no doubt about this. To ask a party to undergo the discipline and the loyalty of confessing that it has not been able to create or command the power and the conditions necessary for success on this great issue and on that, to get our rank and file to understand that the bigger and more enduring the structure the greater is the preparation required for laying its foundations and for beginning it, that, my friends, is essential to the gathering together of a movement that will not be blown hither and thither by every fair or troublesome wind.

BRITISH LABOUR GIVES THE LEAD.

Other things we thought we could do. We believed that the very fact of our existence would have an encouraging influence upon movements and political ideals similar to ours all over the world. We believed that we should be like genial springtime air dissolving the frosts, all the hates, all the cruelties, that were keeping back new growths in the hearts and the actions of men. We believed that we could make our country stand for something inspiring and attractive to the other nations. We had no hope of a new world created by magic. We had hope of the old world beginning to show a response to a new creative spirit. I think we have succeeded in that.

Some of our work had to be frankly patchwork. Problems like unemployment, an essential feature in the economic system and one that was aggravated by the political, financial and industrial disturbances of the war, and perhaps even more by the hot-headed follies of the peace, present an intricate system of adjustments that have to be dealt with in detail, involving labour, thought, experiment and change in supporting opinion.

TORY NEGLECT.

For real constructive work practically no preparation had been made by our predecessors, whose assumption seemed to have been that, after a few years—I think they generally thought months—of relief work, conditions would become normal. Thus it was that relief work, which ought to be employed as a reserve by men striving to effect economic changes, was used by our opponents as a fund to be exhausted whilst they were whistling for the change of wind, and they did not get it. We came in when the reserve was getting pretty low down, and obviously whilst we turned to consider the best schemes for reconstruction we had to see to it that the relief work reserve was added to and used economically, whilst the Insurance Funds were better adapted to the needs of the unemployed. A cure for unemployment is not yet, but I can claim that no Government has done more than this, under such unprecedented conditions, to alleviate the hard lot of the victims of unemployment.

HOUSING PROBLEM SOLVED.

So with housing. Again we found a policy being pursued, the benefits of which directly affected only a stratum of our people either at the top of the wage-earning classes or even above that. To that we offer no opposition. None whatever. The professional man in a small way and the whole class of people with modestly good incomes have a right to be housed, but that alone leaves untouched the great mass of wage-earners whose incomes are low and intermittent. They had been left out of account because the problem of how to house them is by far and away the most difficult part of the housing shortage to solve. There again we have brought new ideas to our assistance, and not merely more money. A combination of capital and labour, an organisation of the whole trade for the service of the community, is the most promising industrial development that has taken place in recent years, under Government influence. I appeal to every section to make it a success. The machinery may have to be adjusted, adapted and re-adapted. Rome was not built in a day, as the homely proverb runs, but the possibilities and evolution of Mr. Wheatley's expedient are unlimited.

THE PEOPLE'S BUDGET.

In national finance we have been doing equally distinctive work. A Budget, which took 6d. off Income Tax and a 1d. off beer, was followed by one of ours which took 1½d. off a pound of sugar and 3d. to 4d. off tea, and put £30,000,000 into the pockets of the consumers of the country, and whilst it did that it took other burdens off the backs of the middle classes. That is business, and the next Labour Budget will carry on this good work. That reflection is, perhaps, the real explanation of our present difficulties. A second Labour Budget would jeopardise the lives of the two other parties.

In a different field the Government has also been striving against very troublesome forces. When we took office I determined to take upon my own back a double burden, not that I was unmindful of the weakness of human flesh or ignorant of the weight and the worry I was taking upon myself, but I was convinced that if our country was to pull its full weight the authority of the Premiership would have to be cast into the same scale as that of the

Foreign Secretaryship. So I made my will and took up my burdens, leaving one of those burdens, and that a very considerable one, on the capable shoulders of Mr. Clynes. The circumstances which called for this were exceptional; national interests asked for it, and we responded. What was the situation?

OUT OF THE OLD RUTS.

The world was steadily falling back into the old ruts of alliance and pact, and force and its organisation, without the nations being made fully aware of what was happening, were creeping back into the minds of statesmen as the only bulwark upon which they could lean for security. We found waiting for us a draft Treaty of Mutual Guarantee, in some ways a great advance on what had gone before, marked in several of its provisions by the hand of men who undoubtedly had laboured hard and sincerely for peace, but yet a great menace to the League of Nations, and essentially a war preparation document. By persistent propaganda and pressure the question of national security had become exclusively one of armed force. Young nations born in the war, old nations exhausted by the war, were beginning to look round and in the sky of each they saw a cloud of menace, set there mostly by their own hands.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF PEACE.

Once international policy was determined by that psychology, then farewell to peace; then limitation of armaments is nothing but an easement of burdens of taxation, it is not a measure of peace. Peace is something different from a mere limitation in preparation for war. Peace is not an interlude of apparent quiet in a germinating war policy. Peace has its own natural policy and organisation, its own method of handling questions, its own mentality, its own standards of justice, of right and of wrong. We came in just at the moment when the future was being settled. In that future alone we shall be able to see with what measure of success our work has been attended. A good fight has been put up, but we must scrutinise with almost meticulous care every proposal that is being made lest the germs of the old-world minds of militarism cling to them, for these germs will destroy them if they are there. We are not to be rushed. This is a job which has to be done in an efficient and workmanlike way, and it has to be done bit by bit as the nations find increasing security in a ruling justice. Of this I *am* sure. The work of the Labour Delegation at Geneva last month may give pride to all the men and women who, longing for the security of peace, have joined the Labour Party in search of it. Sometimes when I see the facts from the inside, I am never quite sure whether I should be indignant with the chicanery or wild with the ignorance of people who imagine that the war has left us in the position we were in before it broke out, and that all we have got to do is to wait for it to drift back into the old condition.

THE PROBLEM OF REPARATIONS.

In all this unmaking and remaking of Europe—and, indeed, of the whole world—there is involved a disquieting upsetting of old trade conditions. To this natural dislocation has been added the purely gratuitous one of Reparations imposed in such ways as to show sublime ignorance of the most elementary facts of economics. This error has been woven so closely into the peace settlement that no Government can, by employing the simple method of a pair of scissors, return to a sound position, either for itself or for the rest of the world. We were fortunate in that the Experts' Report gave us an opportunity of creating a machinery of control which I hope will in the end bring us back to wisdom. But meantime we must pass through some troubled waters before we get out of our present conditions, which we inherited from the war and the peacemakers.

PUNISHING OURSELVES BY PUNISHING GERMANY.

Our method of punishing Germany has, as a matter of simple fact, contributed to her efficiency as a competitor, whilst it has weakened ourselves; and we must face for some time the pressure of Germany as an exporter. Our predecessors wasted valuable years after the armistice either in pursuing policies that were shortsighted or in doing nothing to direct our industry and to save our people. I know as a matter of fact that they were warned again and again by friends both at home and abroad of what was coming, but all that happened was that the Tariff Reformer enjoyed some facilities to tinker with legislation. Mr. Baldwin with commendable courage—whatever the result may have been to his party—did produce his nostrum. It was no good. He said it was his only cure, but he has now dropped it. For ourselves we have asked the guidance of some of the most representative business men and workers—the two sides equally efficiently represented—and we shall be vigilant in protecting our interests.

THE GREAT DANGER.

The greatest danger to the industrial life of a nation is conservatism—the state of mind which has done far more damage to our agricultural interests than even the English climate—and with conservatism I put indolence, and the aim of Socialism is to get at the hearts of men, because we cannot survive unless we discover how to produce the *willing* worker and not merely the man who toils for reward. We have been too long thinking and speaking as though the spirit of artistic production was different in kind from the spirit

required for manual production. Those of us who drank early from the refreshing springs which William Morris made to flow in a dull and deadening generation never held that heresy and never will. Men live by their generosities, by their loyalties, not by their interests, and their self-regarding impulses. And until somehow or other, by a change of heart and of condition, or both, we can put our industry on the footing of the willing gift of service, we shall have nothing but quarrels and the sacrifice of the common weal. It is the aim of getting our industry on that footing, that is the aim of the Socialist inspiration that gives us power in our Labour Movement.

I AM NO COMMUNIST.

For that reason I am no Communist. Pettifogging conspiracy, secret associations, backstair wirepulling, mischievous stirring up of strife are neither in method nor in ideal the Socialism that has built up our Labour Party. They were detestable to our honoured founders like Hardie and Morris. They respected opinions with which they did not agree, but they kept them at arms' length. When they had enemies they preferred to have them outside, rather than open the door to have them inside. Never was it more necessary for our Labour Movement to raise as its own flag the banner of democracy, of freedom, of progress by reason and of condemnation of tyranny by power. The war has threatened to make the world safe for dictatorships, for conspiracy, for mischief, for force coercing both the bodies and the minds of men. Unless we are prepared to engage upon a crusade against that, we had better put up our shutters and declare that we have wearied in well-doing. Communism, as we know it, has nothing practical in common with us. It is a product of Czarism and war mentality, and as such we have nothing in common with it.

THE ONLY WAY TO PEACE.

The only practical policy that could be adopted under these circumstances in order to try and bring peace on the one hand and create natural conditions of work on the other was to take Europe just as we found it, with all its engagements and arrangements, and begin from what we found to straighten out point after point, one after another. That has been our aim. For instance, had Labour been at Paris, Reparations would have been very different from what they are, but the general agreement of the nations—Germany included—now is to accept the Experts' Report and see how it is to work, watching its effects almost from day to day and being prepared by the systems of arbitration and checks provided by the London Conference and the Report itself, to adjust expectations to facts. It is very sad that you have got to teach leading statesmen theoretical economics through the pockets of other people. I wish it were their own pockets that were bearing the financial consequences of their mistakes and blunders that you unfortunately are bearing. Against one thing I would warn the Movement. The German employers are using the fact that these Reparations have to be paid as a reason for reducing the wages, increasing the hours, and intensifying the slavery of the German workers. Whatever may be the ill effects of the Experts' Report, that is certainly not one of them, and I hope that the Labour Movement in this and in other countries will not be induced to fall into the trap thus laid for them and lend their countenance to one of the ordinary excuses which capitalism is always seeking to increase its grip on the lives of the workers.

THE COMMON MENACE.

The whole Trade Union Movement of the World is morally bound to support German Trade Unions struggling to recover lost ground, for so long as the deterioration in social conditions in Germany which followed the Micum Agreement and the occupation of the Ruhr in particular lasts, low industrial standards will be a common menace not only to the political tranquillity of Central Europe, but to the standards of life of every competing country. So far as I know, every International Labour Organisation has passed resolutions asking for a trial to be given to the Experts' Report, and that has been the attitude of the Labour Government in this country.

RECOGNISING RUSSIA.

In pursuance of the Government's policy of pacification, we recognised the Government of Russia because it *is the Government* of Russia, for exactly the same reason that Christian Foreign Secretaries have recognised Mohammedans and people whose religious persuasions were of somewhat more doubtful quality even than that. If my colleagues and my friends are to be accused of being Bolsheviks because we recognised Russia, of what an infinity of crimes and misdemeanours is my predecessor in office—the pre-eminently respectable Marquis Curzon—to be accused for having come to an agreement with Turkey. Immediately after the recognition of the Russian Government we proceeded to negotiate Treaties which would regularise our relations. The results are before the country now, and, as there was ample evidence whilst the negotiations were still proceeding, there are interests in the country prepared in the most bitter way to sacrifice every national concern for themselves.

LLOYD GEORGE'S SHORT MEMORY.

Sometimes I have time to read speeches. I am now getting into the habit of making an opportunity, whatever the difficulties may be, of reading the speeches of those who are

opposed to the Russian Treaty, and the reason is this. When I went into Downing Stree I was unable to take any novels and light literature with me. I was half way through a old Scotch novel, and in the course of a week or two I had finished it, and then I w stranded. I used to have to go to bed with no preparation for sleep beyond a dip in Hansard or some Blue Book or something of that kind, and the result was that the stra upon my moral character was getting excessive. Then the Russian Treaties came out. The the speeches against them began to be delivered, and then I had an ample supply of th literature of which I had been so long deprived. I hope Mr. Lloyd George is going on. would be a great grief to me if his speech of last night were the last of its kind.

THE NEED FOR CALM REASON.

But seriously, at a time when calm reason should be enlisted, if the country is to recove its feet, we have the spectacle of wild endeavours to overwhelm opinion in earthquakes an tidal waves of heaving ignorant emotionalism. The destructive Plutos of society—not us but respectable people, bankers like Mr. Grenfell and so on—shake the earth by scar headings, false news, and wild ravings, and whoever wishes to help the State by reflectiv common sense and reasonable endeavour is encompassed in mad upheavals of fear and passion The criticisms on the Treaties have gone through various stages of perfervid excitement an no suggestion yet of calm examination. That, perhaps, will come when we get them int operation, and no more sobering exercise could be undertaken by you than to turn up file of newspapers for the last two months and see the fluctuating and contradictory argument and statements that have gone to upset public opinion.

MOB PASSION OR THE PUBLIC WILL.

They seek to turn popular government into the rule of mob passion rather than that o the public will. Men for a time overwhelmed in that have an uncanny habit of returning again in increased strength. Malignity and ignorance are the life, not the death, of wha they attack. I refer to the stunt performances, not to certain criticisms made by the bette type of journalists; but it is quite evident that so far as the other two parties are concerned their one interest regarding the Russian Treaties is to prevent us from doing the work that the nation—and especially the working classes—requires. In so far as the Treaties come short of a really satisfactory settlement, that is due to the fact that the blunders and escapades of our predecessors still hang like poison clouds over all our endeavours. They may be wrecked, and then in years to come a troubled and out-manœuvred nation will reflect with regret upon that, as it now reflects upon Denikin decorations, Koltchak calamities and Archangel asininities.

THE DIGNITY OF GOVERNMENT.

For some days now the political situation has been causing us some little concern. When Mr. Asquith made that first speech of his after the Election, at the National Liberal Club, both my colleagues and myself took it as a plain intimation that if and when we took office we should have to eat out of his hand. Men who have any right to hold high State offices must, from their very nature, resent and repudiate such a relationship. That speech, unfortunately, settled for good the relations between us, and was the beginning of a policy which has been unwinding its unworthy course ever since then. Its latest phase demands a definite stand on our part. They have decided to have an election in three weeks, if they can force it. In preparation for it they are laying their traps, and when I saw in the newspapers this morning, and especially the Liberal Press, the shaking of heads about an election, I really wondered did they think that all their readers were fools. There has been a trumped up stunt about the dropping of a certain prosecution. What a chance for a worry! What a chance for a humiliation! What a chance for the wiles of a pettifogging lawyer!

THE COUNTRY WANTS OUR WORK.

Everyone knows that the country wishes us to go on with our work and not disturb and distract it yet with an election. We are perfectly willing to do our best—perfectly willing. We have never sought a rupture. We are not seeking it now. But the nation has never respected a Government without spirit or self-respect. The nation does not ask us to go on with our work under conditions that would lower the dignity of future Governments and cheapen the whole conception of the Cabinet. Every watchful person knows that we are in the midst of work which cannot be interrupted except to the grave disadvantage of the nation, but which at the same time cannot be carried on except by men whose authority, in the eyes of the foreigner and of our own people, is respected by Parliament. If the challenge came on large issues, very well, no one could complain—the Government least of all. But every member of any Government who has held office since the Irish troubles just before the war knows that if our Government had done everything of which it has been accused regarding this prosecution it could seek justification in what its predecessors have done.

SATAN CONDEMNING SIN.

Satan reproving sin! That is totally inadequate. Reproving! Why, it is Satan pretending to condemn sin, and to be the judge of the sin, after he himself has lived a sinful life through eternal years. If this were a mere disconnected blunder, a mere disconnected

unfortunate incident, that, of course, would be no cause for anything more. But it is not that, and every man and woman who goes into the lobby for us or against us to-morrow knows perfectly well that it is not that. Every man and woman who refers to this question in the country may use words to deceive the electors, but if they tell the truth that is in themselves, they know it is not that. It is part of a scheme which in three weeks' time is designed to force a humiliated Government to the country. That is the situation. There is a dishonesty, an obliqueness, in the whole business. The Conservatives have a straightforward motion of censure down. I hear they are going to run away from it and vote against it. They are so afraid of us. To kill 192 needs all the wits and wiles and elastic conscience of 423. One of the most enjoyable spectacles to be witnessed would be, if I am spared till to-morrow night, to see the Conservatives running away from their vote of censure.

WHY AN ELECTION?

But we understand a vote of censure, however. That we understand. That is straight fighting, though the poor victimised nation may well want to know what really is the occasion for it. How many Tory Governments would have survived votes of censure properly passed upon them for wire-pulling the law in their own governmental and party interests? I am not at all sure, however, that this is not a vote of censure caused by the shadow of our success upon their partisan prospects. The amendment, which in its form and origin must be treated equally as a vote of censure, is conceived in the spirit of mediæval crookedness and torture. The Government is not to be censured. It is only to be insulted. It is not to be executed; it is, in the words of one of the Liberal papers, to be put on the rack. It is to be suspended as you suspend one of your clerks when suspected of a misdemeanour. You tell him to go away till the end of the week until you have inquired into it. At the end of that time, without hearing what he has to say about himself, you decide whether he is going to be discharged. It is to be suspended, as it were, whilst a packed committee, consisting of seven sworn opponents and three defenders—none of whom can come from our front bench, whilst the other front benches can choose their strongest partisans—are to have a roving commission of injudicial inquiry, and are to report in censure on the Government —for I know the document is already drawn up—and then this is going to be published, with a minority report signed by our three members, on the eve of the election, which then they will force on some other issue.

HOW THE PLAN WORKS.

This is how the plan works. To-morrow night seven men out of ten to be appointed will go into the lobby condemning us, and the next day they will be appointed as judges to consider our case impartially.

Our opponents are to pretend on the one hand that no election is required, and that we should go on with our work, at the same time as they rob us of the virtue of respect and lay us open to a charge, which it is their game to make at the end of this week, that when our usefulness as a Government has been destroyed we are mean-spirited enough to cling to office after we had received our death wound. If we go, they will pretend that we have caused the election; if we stay, they will accuse us of being limpets on £5,000 a year. They propose to drive us into the jails of their Inquisition, whilst the special pleaders and the executioners at their leisure prepare the biased indictment, the rack and the block. What a gorgeous game!

LIBERAL PARTY'S GRAVE ERROR.

By this little manœuvre we are to go down, and the fortunes of the Liberal Party are to be restored. They mistake their men. It remains to be seen if the inheritance of principle and tradition, which still retain for the Liberal Party the allegiance of many worthy people, is to regard small tactics as Liberal principle and partisanship as Liberal tradition. It also remains to be seen how the decently minded members of the Conservative Party will relish being made tools of in this kind of strategy by opponents whom they profess to hold in contempt. But before this Conference is over we shall know what the Fates have in store for us. Depend upon this—we shall surrender nothing of the rights of a Government. If there be an election, the responsibility is not ours. It will be caused by partisan abuse of Parliamentary votes, and the resentment against this chicanery, which will be in the heart of every Labour supporter in the country, will make our victories all the more numerous when the country is allowed to judge our work. Some fresh, clean fighting in the constituencies may clear the air and give us strength in the House of Commons which will make us independent of partisan interest.

ATTACK!

I hope that in its deliberations the Conference will remember what is at stake, that it will guard with special vigilance the spirit and the principles of our Movement, and when it is time for it to dissolve, the thousand men and women here gathered together will return to their posts and sleep in their armour until the word is given forth that the Labour Party is to take the field, not to defend itself, but to attack its enemies.

Conference Arrangements

Mr. WILL THORNE, in presenting the report of the Conference Arrangements Committee, said that in accordance with the powers vested in the Committee they had brought up certain recommendations. The Chairman had already delivered his address, and now they recommended that the Conference should proceed to consider the special resolution which had been printed and handed round. Then there was the appointment of tellers. The Committee recommended that eight tellers should be appointed and also eight scrutineers, as follow :—

TELLERS.

W. Lorrimer (*Blacksmiths' and Ironworkers' Society*).
T. F. Richards (*Boot and Shoe Operatives*).
J. S. Simpson (*Distributive and Allied Workers*).
Herbert H. Elvin (*Clerks and Administrative Workers*).
W. Kerr (*Amalgamated Engineering Union*).
Alfred Cooper (*Boilermakers, Iron and Steel Shipbuilders*).
A. Young (*Aston Labour Party*).
W. Grainger (*Newcastle North Divisional Labour Party*).

SCRUTINEERS.

Alderman W. Dobbie (*National Union of Railwaymen*).
T. M. Walsh (*Sailors' and Firemen's Union*).
A. Conley (*Tailors and Garment Workers*).
Jas. Bell (*Textile Factory Workers*).
W. Sherwood (*National Union of General Workers*).
H. Kershaw (*Transport and General Workers*).
F. Corbett (*Wood Green Divisional Labour Party*).
Miss F. Henderson (*St. Albans Labour Party*).

Then they made certain recommendations as to the time limit for speeches. They recommended that the movers of resolutions be allowed ten minutes and succeeding speakers five minutes. They also recommended that on Wednesday, Thursday and Friday the Conference should be opened at 9.30, adjourned at 12.30, resumed for the afternoon session at 2 p.m., and continue until 5 p.m.

On that afternoon (Tuesday) the annual report and the report of the Parliamentary Committee would be taken, and they recommended that the discussion on the affiliation of the Communist Party be taken on the Executive recommendation, which would be found on page 38 of the annual report. If Delegates would be good enough to turn to page 25 of their agenda, and the top of page 26, they would see that there were a certain number of resolutions and amendments. He wished to draw attention to the star which appeared attached to the resolutions with regard to the affiliation of the National Unemployed Workers' Committee and the affiliation of the Communist Party. Those resolutions were ruled out of order. Then if they would pass on in their agenda they would find a good many other stars attached to resolutions. These were all ruled out of order, not by the Conference Arrangements Committee, but by their Standing Orders which stated that if a resolution or a decision had been arrived at in regard to any particular question, it could not come up again for the next two years. Therefore it would be no good Delegates complaining at the action of the Conference Arrangements Committee, because this matter had been settled by Standing Orders. He wished to draw attention to the bottom part of page 26—"participation of members of the Communist Party in Labour Party Administration." They would notice that resolution (c) said: "That no member of the Communist Party be eligible for membership of the Labour Party." That resolution would be taken by itself, but it would come on with the report. It seemed to the Committee that when the Conference was considering and discussing the Annual Report of the Executive, when they came to that particular paragraph dealing with the Communist Party, they thought, rightly or wrongly, that that matter ought to be swept out of the way so that it would not be necessary to have a second discussion.

They recommended that on Wednesday the Conference should consider the Nationalisation of Mines and the Electric Power resolutions, and also amendments to the Party Standing Orders. On Wednesday afternoon they would take the discussion on the various resolutions on the agenda. On Thursday at 9.30 they would take the Unemployed Resolution. He wished to mention that they had had a delegation from the Unemployed Committee, who were very anxious to put their case before the Congress, and they were recommending, on the advice of the Executive, that the Delegation from the Unemployed Committee should appear on the platform at 4.30 on Wednesday afternoon and be allowed fifteen minutes. At 3.30 on Wednesday afternoon there would be a private Session dealing with Finance, and at that Session Mr. George Lansbury, the manager of the *Daily Herald*, would make a statement in regard to the progress of the *Daily Herald*. There were a number of resolutions on the agenda dealing with that matter, and the Committee thought that after Mr. Lansbury had made his statement and the matter had been discussed, no further discussion should take place. He moved the adoption of the Committee's report.

The resolution was duly seconded and carried unanimously.

CONGRATULATIONS TO THE GOVERNMENT

Mr. C. T. Cramp (National Union of Railwaymen) then moved the following resolution:—

"*That this Annual Conference of the Labour Party takes this, the first, opportunity of congratulating J. Ramsay MacDonald upon the success achieved in the political organisation of the Labour Movement, the task to which he set his hand twenty-five years ago, and upon his attainment to office as Prime Minister at the head of the first Labour Government; we place on record our appreciation of the service he has devoted to the Party, and express our hearty confidence in his leadership.*

"*Approving the decision to form a Government under most difficult circumstances, we have witnessed with the greatest satisfaction the manner in which the Premier has sought to replace national suspicions and animosities by concord and goodwill among the nations, and rejoice that under his inspiration the League of Nations is becoming a living force for peace, security, and disarmament.*

"*We extend to our colleagues in the Ministry our thanks for so ably demonstrating to the British people and to the world at large that Labour has proved itself within its short period of office the equal of any of its predecessors in its fitness to undertake the responsibilities of Government.*

"*We emphatically support them in their endeavours to honour the pledges given to the Irish people by previous administrations, and trust that goodwill and cool reason will find a solution of Ireland's difficulties and lead to a period of economic development and peaceful prosperity.*

"*We applaud the Government's immediate recognition of the Russian Government. While holding our firm opinion that the Soviet system is a subject for the determination of the peoples of the Russian Republic, we reiterate our oft-expressed opinion that Russia, like other countries, must be assisted to recover from the economic effects of the War, the Revolution, the Counter-Revolution, and of Foreign Intervention, by means which would provide employment and be of great benefit to this country, and we voice at this Conference the unanimous view of the Movement throughout the country in favour of the present Treaties receiving Parliamentary ratification.*

"*Realising the difficulty of the Government carrying the Party's programme through a hostile House of Commons, we appreciate the many successes achieved in various Departments of administration, and on behalf of the rank and file members of the organisations we represent we offer our fullest support and encouragement to the Prime Minister and the Parliamentary Party in their conflict against the intrigues and tactics of the older political Parties, and assure them that should circumstances necessitate the removal of that conflict from the Commons to the country we shall endeavour to the utmost limits of our power to return the Labour Ministry and strengthen the ranks of the Party in Parliament, so that they may pursue their policy at home and abroad with the full authority of the electors.*

"*We urge the constituency organisations to perfect their preparations for the coming appeal to the people, and call upon the friends and supporters of the Party everywhere to prevent its poverty from being overcome by the unlimited resources of our political opponents.*"

In moving the resolution, Mr. Cramp said it was a comprehensive one and dealt with several questions. It congratulated their Chairman, the Premier, upon the work which he had done, it approved the decision to form a Government, it approved the policy of the Government, and it urged the constituencies to perfect their preparations for an Election. He wanted to say in the first place that when the result of the last Election became known, when it became obvious that no Party could have a majority over the other two Parties combined, there was some discussion and there were considerable doubts as to the wisdom of the Labour Party taking office at all—doubts which were sincerely and honestly held by men and women who wished the Party well. They held those doubts for this reason. They knew that the Labour Party would be faced by two historic Parties who would be hostile to it, not in the old sense, not in the conventional sense of hostility of one political Party towards another, as was the case with the Liberal and Tory Parties, but by two Parties who combining would form a great majority who were hostile to the very existence of the Labour Party. Having regard to the fact that they would be in overwhelming strength, having regard to the fact that they were rich in traditions of Parliamentary manœuvres and tactics, it could well be understood that there were those among them who said: "Inasmuch as we cannot help to carry any of our cardinal principles, we shall be misunderstood by the men and women of the country if we take office." The better course, however, he was certain, had been taken. The Party, by taking office, by pursuing its policy so far as it was able during the last eight months, had done something more than could ever be recorded on the Statute Book, or could ever be recorded in any of the piles of Hansard. He was certain that among their fellow countrymen and women there were hundreds of thousands who, although not in disagreement with their policy nor in disagreement with their ideals, really believed, owing to the fact that they had been fed by a lying Press, that their people could not administer the affairs of the State, who thought that man for man and woman for

woman they were inferior to those who had hitherto held this power.

The Labour Party had proved by its record of eight months that the men and women, representative of and largely drawn from the ranks of the working class itself, were able to carry on the traditions of government and would lose no prestige when they came out of office. That fact could not be recorded in any of the usual records, but it was recorded to-day in the understanding of many hundreds of thousands of their fellow countrymen and women, who no longer doubted the capacity of their men and women to administer affairs. The Trade Unions, during that period, had begun to realise that not simply by perfect organisation and not simply by aggressive action internally considered could they ever permanently better the conditions of those whom they represented. They realised that the men and women of foreign countries must be taken into account in International economy. They realised that this country, which lived upon its manufactures and its exports, could not win better conditions for the people unless an intelligent foreign policy were pursued, and the more Trade Unionists realised that, the more effective would their efforts become. Their Premier, their Foreign Secretary, their Chairman, had effected a revolution so far as foreign politics were concerned. If one wanted to understand the difference which existed to-day, they could cast back their minds to the date of the last Conference. Great Britain then had no foreign policy, it merely followed meekly behind France; it accepted its orders from somewhere else. But to-day it could truthfully be said and substantiated by those who came into contact with their foreign comrades—as some of them did in their International—that Great Britain led the way so far as pointing to a better world internationally was concerned. They were being criticised at the moment upon the attitude of the Government towards Russia, and their critics were largely basing their opposition, if one could discover it in the cloud of words that issued from them, upon the fact that they disliked the present Russian Government. Some of those present did not like the Italian Government, some did not like the Spanish Government, but they never heard, even in the days of Czardom, any strong protest issued by those who have now become antagonistic because the Government propose to recognise and deal with Russia. At the head of all these International matters was the figure of their Premier whom this resolution congratulated. Many of his friends had been fearful as to his ability to stand up under two burdens. They had realised something of what he had had to undergo, but he might be assured that the sympathy of the men and women of this Party, and he believed of the men and women of goodwill of other Parties, had been, and was still with him in the great task he was carrying on.

The resolution contemplated that appeal the country of which the Prime Minister h spoken. Some of them had occasion to into the constituencies and could test t feeling of the men and women there, and could say that he never knew any time wh there was so great a feeling of optimism a confidence as existed at the present tim All their people were saying, "Let the come, we are ready for them," and he si cerely believed that when this Election to place, when the results became known, th even if the Labour Party had not a majori over the other Parties combined, it would the largest party inside the House. It w a great day that they were witnessing. was good to be alive to see a Labour Gover ment in office. At this moment, thoug there were many of their old pioneers haj pily amongst them, their hearts must go ou to those who had fallen by the way—me like Keir Hardie, and other good men an women who had met in little back room regarded as conspirators in the old days, wh had had to trudge through mud and mire t carry on the propaganda of the Party, wh had stood at the street corners competin with the trams and all the other disturb ances. How they would have liked to hav seen this day. He regretted they were n longer with them, but rejoiced that thei successors had gone on carrying on their tra ditions, faced as they were by hostile partie anxious to bring about their downfall by an trick or manœuvre. How they had steadil upheld, in spite of all disappointment, i spite of all misunderstanding, the flag whic was first raised by the pioneers of whom h had spoken; and he believed that they were going to march on from success to suc cess and from glory to glory. He moved th resolution.

Mr. Herbert Smith, J.P. (Miners' Federa tion), in seconding the resolution, said h had two objects in view. The first wa because of his admiration for the work whic had been done by the Premier, the Cabine and the Party generally, and secondly t remove a misapprehension which had go about as to what the miners' position would be when the election came on. When the mover of the resolution mentioned that old pioneer Keir Hardie, another name came very prominently to his memory, the name of Bruce Glasier. Then he realised that their present Premier had been fighting for 25 years and he was willing to prove that La bour could govern, and they had achieved that prediction. That was admitted by many different kinds of people. He, per sonally, would not mind if it were the Continent that was going to be asked whether the Labour Party had been successful, be cause everyone who knew the Continent was aware that an entirely different atmosphere had been created since the Government took office. Previously when they went to the International Miners' Conference and talked about giving up Reparations they found Frenchmen and Belgians looking at them

with suspicion and the Germans saying 'Hear, hear.'' But everybody lacked confidence. If, however, they had been at the last International Conference—and he had never presided over a better one—they would have found a strong belief in the honesty and purpose of the Labour Party. He would therefore be prepared to commit the destiny of the Labour Party to the Continental parties. Then he would not mind leaving it to the old-age pensioners who had benefited by what their friends had done in that direction. Also he would not mind leaving it to the soldiers who had been disabled, nor would he mind leaving it to the people who felt the necessity for housing. He would say to MacDonald, in the words of John Hartley :

"At last when tha' lays down tha' tackle,
And are bidding farewell to life's stage;
May tha' hear a whisper at parting,
'Come on, Mac, tha's addled thi' wage.'"

They trusted him. (A Voice : "We do.") They had not been betrayed. They had trusted his colleagues in the Cabinet; they had not been betrayed. They had trusted the Labour Party Members as a whole, and they were still prepared to trust them, because they had tried to carry out their duties honestly. He saw in the papers the other day that the miners were going to take up a certain position. Well, although Smith had not much ability, he had confidence in the miners, and he could tell this audience that the miners would form a four-square, and would be as determined as ever before to return a Labour Government. Not because they believed in Reparations as brought about in the Dawes Report, but because they realised that Mac and his friends had to do what miners generally had to do when they started a new place, to "huvver it out." Whether they liked the Dawes Report or not, MacDonald and his friends were in the right direction to bring about the ultimate aim of Reparations, and, further than that, to bring about the end of wars for ever. Some of them knew that lonely man who stood in 1914 and was despised because he had courage. He had carried that same courage ever since he (Mr. Smith) had known him, and he was carrying it still. He had exhibited that same courage the other day when he (Mr. Smith) met him at 10, Downing Street, and he admired him for it, because he used to meet trickery at 10, Downing Street. He remembered going there once and the Prime Minister said at the close, 'I notice, Smith, you put your cap in your pocket when you come here." (Laughter.) He replied, "Yes, I've missed things before." (Renewed laughter.) He wanted to tell MacDonald and his colleagues that they were not prepared to take that Welsh medicine so far as fuel and coal were concerned. They stood exactly where they had stood all the time—namely, for nationalisation of the mines. There could be no halfway house in this business. He was hoping they would be as enthusiastic in the districts when they had to face opposition as they were to-day, and he wished to say to Mac and his colleagues, on behalf of the miners and the workers generally, "Don't flinch a single inch." Everyone admitted, even their opponents admitted, that if a Government ever played straight it was this Government, and that under serious disabilities. He called upon the delegates not only to congratulate Mac and his colleagues, but to get into the trenches and preach in every constituency, to get amongst the workpeople, and tell them what this plot was and what was behind it. It was simply to try to stop this progressive work. The last Budget made these people tremble, and they were frightened that they would die of heart disease from the next.

Concluding, he said :—"Friends, let us make no mistake; let us be determined, and say to MacDonald and his Cabinet and the Labour Party generally, 'You have done good work, you have left your mark on history by what you have done, and we are going to do our part in the districts to see that you are returned not only to office but to power.' The Miners' Federation, apart from everything else, will stand loyally by the Labour Party, because we pin our faith in it."

The resolution was put to the meeting, and carried unanimously amidst cheers.

The Right Hon. J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., in replying, said :—May I say one thing, not by way of thanking you so much for my colleagues and myself, as by way of contributing two thoughts. First of all, with regard to those who are dead, to the men and women whose presence is with us to-day although they are not present in body. Our Movement is very blessed by its memories. There is one living man, however, whose name must be mentioned. I was sitting two nights ago, very late at night, in my room at 10, Downing-street, when a quiet, retiring, shy man came up to me—I am not one of those who wear my heart on my sleeve, and I daresay that made it all the more difficult for him to come—and bending over my shoulder as I was working at Foreign Office work, he said to me, "I am glad I have seen you to-night. It is 21 years ago to-day since I came up to be your assistant at the Labour Party." I refer to Jim Middleton. (Loud cheers.) I remember it well, when the Labour Party's head office was a back room, which was so dark and unsuitable for anything that we could not use it, at our little flat at 3, Lincoln's Inn Fields, and we there did the work of the Labour Party, or of the Labour Representation Committee as it was then called. And Middleton, young and fresh, straight from his printer's case, ventured to suggest that if I wanted assistance, as I did, he would take his life in his hands and come up and do his best to help in building up the Party. There he is. (Loud cheers.) One of the most faithful, one of the quietest, one of the least self-seeking, and, above all, one of the most loyal of colleagues with whom it has ever been my

good fortune to be associated. I hope, my friends, you will not object to that little addition to the thanks which I am sure we all owe to the men and women who have made the Party. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. J. MARCHBANK, for the Conference Arrangements Committee, announced that, owing to the unfortunate illness of Mr. A. Conley, of the Tailors and Garment Workers' Union, it was necessary to appoint another scrutineer, and Mr. Stearne, on behalf of the same organisation, had been put in his place. Mr. Powell, of the Transport and General Workers, would also take the place of Mr. Kershaw.

THE CHAIRMAN here announced that they had got on to the business a good deal faster than was anticipated. According to the Agenda they should adjourn after the special resolution was carried. It was now only half-past eleven, and he wished to ask the Delegates whether they would agree to adjourn until 2 o'clock or go on with the business.

It was decided to continue the business.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

THE CONFERENCE then proceeded to consider the report of the Executive Committee.

Mr. J. R. CAMPBELL raised a question on the statement on page 16 that "the candidature of Mr. Ferguson was recommended by the Scottish Executive and endorsed by the National Executive, but owing to developments during the contest, it was found impossible to render further official support." He asked the reason why that support was withdrawn in the middle of the Kelvingrove election. Mr. Ferguson, he said, was adopted by the Divisional Labour Party of Kelvingrove in a perfectly constitutional manner, he was endorsed by the Glasgow Trades and Labour Council, the Scottish Executive, and the National Executive. Of course Mr. Ferguson was a Communist, but that was perfectly well known to the National Executive when they endorsed him. In the last week of the contest the National Executive sent a letter withdrawing its endorsement, and in that letter they gave, amongst others, two particular reasons, namely his policy on Russia and his policy on the Dawes Report. He wished to point out that the Election address which was issued was not an individual Election address but an Election address which emanated from the Election Committee of the Kelvingrove Divisional Labour Party. They did it because they believed that the Dawes Report was contrary to the 1923 resolution on Foreign Policy adopted by the Conference. There were two respects in which the Dawes Report did not agree with the 1923 resolution. The first was Reparations, but only Reparations to devastated districts, and it continued to take war pensions into account. On those two grounds, however, Mr. Ferguson's endorsement was withdrawn, and he wanted to ask the National Executive, in view of the fact that there was likely to be an early Election, a in view of the fact that prominent membe of the Parliamentary Party had opposed t Dawes Report in the House of Common whether they were likely to get their endors ment withdrawn should they oppose it whe they went to the country. The whole situ tion had arisen out of the Kelvingrove inc dent. An inquiry was held, and he wishe to know why there was no indication in th Report as to the inquiry being held, and n indication as to the conclusions arrived at.

Mr. EGERTON WAKE (Party Agent), i reply, said that the statement in the Repo that the candidature of Mr. Ferguson fo Kelvingrove was recommended by the Scot tish Executive and endorsed by the Nationa Executive was a statement of actual fact When the by-election was in progress, the at tention of the National Executive was calle to the fact that in this important by-electio the policy of the Labour Government wa not being discussed, nor was it being advo cated by the candidate who was supposed t be carrying the Labour Party flag in tha contest. The National Executive itself, an he thought this Conference, would agree tha by-elections with a Labour Government in office assumed significance altogether different to the case of ordinary by-elections in times previous to the advent of a Labour Government. A by-election was the one opportunity that a Government in office had to test the confidence of the country, and on this occasion it was unfortunate to find that the Labour Government's policy was not being advocated by the candidate who was the chosen nominee of the Kelvingrove Labour Party. The matter was taken up with the candidate, and with the officials at Kelvingrove, and the replies received by the National Executive were not satisfactory. There were statements in the Election address, and many more statements on the platform, which were certainly not in accord with the programme of the Labour Party, and eventually, as satisfaction could not be secured, the Executive decided that while the endorsement had been given, and while they did not desire to do anything in the midst of the contest to create further confusion, it was impossible, under the circumstances, to render further official support to the candidature in question. With regard to the inquiry, that was an inquiry held in accordance with the decision of the National Executive arising out of the circumstances which had now been called into question, and if Mr. Campbell required to know the result of that inquiry, he would find it in the recommendations which the National Executive were placing before the Conference that afternoon in dealing with the Communist Party. The facts were that the candidate was an active worker in the Communist Party, the Communist policy was advocated, and he was claiming the Communist vote, and the Labour Party was being exploited for the purpose. That was the position so far as the Kelvingrove candidature was concerned.

ith regard to the "organisation of en" (page 19) a Delegate from the dlesbrough Labour Party remarked that had the most wonderful women's politi- rganisation in the world, and the women ıy were a definite financial asset to the y. He did not think this was fully gnised, because at this Conference the ber of women delegates was not commen- te with the work they had done for the y. He appealed to the Delegates to give recognition in their local branches in future to the women's work.

iss Stella Browne (Chelsea Labour y), referring to the Annual Conference of ur Women (pages 20 and 21), said there a reference to a resolution passed by that ference on Birth Control, and they were ous to know at what time during this ference the many resolutions on Birth rol which had been sent in were to be ıssed. She wished to move that they them now.

ıe Chairman replied that they would to be taken in the ordinary course of ness. It was impossible to take them at stage.

ORGANISATION OF YOUTH.

r. W. MacGregor-Reid (Clapham Labour y) said that he had a mesasge from the ng Labour League, and asked if he would ı order in giving it at this point on the rence to the Organisation of Youth on s 23 and 24 of the Report.

ıe Chairman said that there were some lutions which had been sent in on this ect, but there had been no time, up to present, to get a joint resolution. He d not allow two discussions on the sub- but that did not mean that he would llow comment, so that if their friend a message from the League of Youth he in order in bringing it forward.

r. W. MacGregor-Reid said he was ted by the Young Labour League report regarding this matter. They been working since 1920 and they had ived no consideration whatever from dquarters. From time to time they had ed upon the officials at headquarters for but it had always been denied. Corre- ıdence had taken place, which he now in his possession, which did not gether give a favourable view as to how e sections of the movement were dealt ı by headquarters. Speaking for the ng Labour League he wished to say that believed they had the right to organise heir own way, because the older members he Party were not able or not inclined to in the ways of youth, and the youth had reat desire to possess some form of onomy which would give them national er. The Secretary of the Young Labour gue was one of the best and hardest kers the Party possessed, and was ani- ed by a spirit which he only wished ıe of the leaders could vie with. The members of the League contained students of the Universities, some of them very expert thinkers, speakers and propagandists. The Young Labour League took exception to some of the statements in this Report, particularly where it said that these sections "should be mainly recreational and educational, and care should be taken not to overemphasise the political side." They felt that what youth required to-day was political training. They felt also that it was incumbent upon the Party to give autonomy to the youth so that they could work out their own salvation. They had some thirty organisations affiliated to the National body, and the Young Labour League asked that the Party should consider them, as they now were, as a national body, organised and doing the work of the Movement. Having worked since 1920 they now asked that the Conference should give them power to carry on as a national organisation. The encouragement so far received had been very meagre, and he could tell the Conference that the youth expressed themselves very clearly. He could not tell them what they had written to him, but it was evident that this young body had been at work, and doing good work, and he thought it was very hard, and they thought it was very hard, that now it should be sought to change the method and organisation which they had adopted. They wished to have control of it in their own hands, and they particularly pointed out that the age limit of 21 was not the best age limit. They therefore asked that the age limit should be 25 years, and they requested autonomy as a national organisation.

A Delegate said he was surprised to read in the Report that the youth of the Movement should not be taught politics. He found that in the school curriculum of many of the schools politics were certainly taught. He had been reading some exercise books of his own children the previous week, and there he found that they were being taught principles which were contrary to those laid down by the Labour Party, such as the value of the Union Jack, the glories of the Empire as it had been laid out under the old capitalist régime, and they still believed that Britain ruled the waves. All that sort of trash was being taught and it was quite time that the Labour Party undertook the teaching of the children, even those under 14 years of age, so that they might understand Labour Party politics. He also read in the Report that Young People's Sections should be mainly recreational and educational, but without emphasis on their political side. What sort of education, he asked, were they going to give these young people, if it was not of a definite working-class character?

The Chairman here said that, in view of the way in which the debate had opened up, he would be obliged to ask the Wimbledon, Merton, and Morden Labour Party representative to move resolution (b) on page 16 of the agenda which stood in their name.

Resolutions (a) and (c) on the same page had been withdrawn, but (b) remained, and if they passed the Report as it stood, it would be contrary to the (b) resolution, and the Wimbledon, Merton, and Morden Labour Party might feel they had not had fair play.

Mr. MARK STARR (Wimbledon, Merton, and Morden L.P.) then moved the following resolution:—

"That this Conference urges the Executive Committee to invite Local Labour Parties to set into being Young People's Sections, on the same basis as the Men's and Women's Sections, with full electoral rights and representations, with a view to Sections co-operating to establish a National Organisation of Young Labour People; so that the National Organisation may collaborate with similar Socialist Youth Organisations abroad to constitute a Young Socialist International."

He complained that the Executive, instead of getting evidence direct from the Young People's Section—although evidence was volunteered—confined their evidence to the replies they received from the written questionnaire. There were three points which he desired to bring forward. In the first place, the young people wanted the age limit extended to 26; in the second place, they wanted to be given equal rights with the adult members of the Labour Party, and to be given full autonomy so far as the administration of their own section was concerned; and, in the third place, they wanted these Young People's Sections to be within the framework of the Labour Party, and, through that, to be linked up with the Youth Sections abroad.

ANOTHER DELEGATE, in seconding the motion, said that whilst he fully agreed with the mover that the age limit should be raised and that full autonomy should be given to the youth sections, he wished to stress the point that many young workers on leaving school went into blind-alley occupations, and after a year or two went to swell the number of unskilled workers in this country at lower wages. He suggested that a definite economic policy should be laid down for the Youth Sections of the Labour Party, which would aim at, amongst other things, a definite minimum wage for young workers and definite vocational training during working hours. It was not reasonable to expect these Young people to continue their training after their day's work was finished. The Communist Party had applied for affiliation to the Labour Party, and he maintained that the young Communist Party of Great Britain should also be accepted by the Conference. It was the oldest youth organisation in the country, and should be joined to the great National Labour Party.

Mr. EGERTON WAKE, in reply, said there was evidently one point upon which all were agreed in this question, and that was the desirability for the organisation of youth in connection with the Labour Party. The differences arose out of methods and as to what would be the best for organisation for the young people in nection with the Labour Party. Firs all, with regard to the report which before them, he wished to say that this the result of most careful consideration Special Sub-committee of the Executive the Organisation Committee of the Execu and also by the National Executive i It had been inferred that they had not t the necessary steps to investigate all could be done with regard to this prob but he wished to point out that they considered replies to nearly 300 ques naires which had been sent in from organisations; they had investigated Youth Movement on the Continent. Marion Phillips, who had been in touch with the Organisation of Youth M ment on the Continent, had analysed t methods and reported to the Executive, if the scheme of the National Executive carried out there was no reason why Youth Movement of this country could co-operate with the Youth Movement Europe. There would be more ready operation between an organisation un Labour Party auspices than in any ot way. The difference between the resolut and the scheme of the National Execut was really this, and he thought the Con ence ought to give serious attention to particular point—he might say that National Executive thought they should so, because it laid down the lines u which their organisation ought to proce Were they to have special sectional orga sations built up outside the Labour Pa itself for all these different functions, were they to have all these developments an integral part of their organisation? I Labour Party believed it was desirable have within the scope of their organisati all that was necessary for the work of t Party, and the scheme of the Natio Executive sought to create new sections th would be largely autonomous, that would linked up by representation on the Natio Executive, but it did not see its way to cede to those Youth Sections—people betwe the ages of 14 and 18—the same powers wi regard to policy, voting and the selection candidates as they would give to adult s tions. They had tried to treat with t Young Labour League and they had tried treat with other organisations, and they h approached the matter with the fullest sy pathy, sent representatives to their conf ences, discussed details with them, and h done all they could to meet them. wished to emphasise the points of differen between the Executive Report and the resol tion which the Wimbledon, Merton a Morden Labour Party had placed before t Conference. First of all there was the que tion whether these sections were to be an i tegral part of the Labour Party or form outside the Party. They believed that t youth of the country should be organise

Labour inside the Labour Party. The ext point was that the Sections of Young 'eople should have full electoral rights and epresentation. Now, honestly, with the est will in the world to encourage the orga-isation of youth, the National Executive lid not see its way to grant the same repre-entative rights, the same power to take art in determining policy and in select-ng candidates to their Trade Unions and ocal Parties or Women's Sections. They ere prepared to encourage them and to ssist them. They were prepared to help to ducate them and to help them generally, but eyond that the Executive did not feel it ould be wise, in the interests of the young eople themselves, to go. The next point, nd the last to which he would refer, was he fact that it was not necessary to have a eparate National Organisation for Youth in rder that the Youth Movement might co-perate with the Youth Organisations of Con-inental countries. They could co-operate hrough the Labour Party with all the orld-wide organisation.

Mr. H. STANLEY REDGROVE (Croydon L.P.) aid the issue was not quite clear cut. They ere faced on the one hand with the pro-osals of the Executive and on the other and with this resolution. He could not, peaking for himself, support the resolution or some of the reasons which Mr. Wake ad mentioned.

The CHAIRMAN here reminded Mr. Red-rove that he was out of order in speaking fter Mr. Wake had replied.

The resolution was then put to the Con-erence and defeated.

LABOUR MAGISTRATES.

Mr. T. ROWLAND HILL (Harborough Divi-onal Labour Party), commenting on the aragraph headed "Labour Magistrates" age 48), congratulated the Committee on ie fact that they had taken this matter up. n the rural constituencies the lack of abour Magistrates was a serious problem r Labour organisations. He represented a nstituency which covered 400 square miles, here, a few years ago, there was not a ngle Labour Magistrate. This involved eat inconvenience to many of their sup-rters, especially ex-Service men, who at mes were called upon to make as long a urney as 10 miles to get a pension paper gned. He wished to know whether the mmittee were going to take further action this matter. They felt in the county of eicestershire that they would not get stice until they had a direct representa-ve on the Local Advisory Committee. At esent the Advisory Committee was made of millionaires and aristocrats who oked down with contempt upon the commendations made by Labour leaders, d they felt that now the Labour Party as in a position of some considerable in-uence, they should use that influence so at in every county area in the country ere would be a direct representative on the Advisory Committee that had the recommendations for these appointments in hand.

The CHAIRMAN said they could dispense with this matter in one sentence. If a question about Advisory Committees was brought directly before the Government they would always do their best to get Labour represented upon them. It was absolutely essential that on Advisory Committees Labour should have its full share of representation as well as other parties.

Mr. HUNT said that a case had been brought to the notice of the Lord Chancellor in which one of the members of an Advisory Committee actually resided outside the district, and no action had been taken by the Lord Chancellor.

Mr. HOWARD said that his branch had addressed a letter to the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. They have been informed that the Labour Member was a man who had recently been expelled from the Labour Party. They had received a letter from the Chancellor to the effect that it was not in the public interest that the names of the Committee should be exposed, but he had the fullest confidence in the men on the Committee. Could the Executive, he asked, take this up?

The CHAIRMAN said that to the best of his belief when questions were put in the House regarding these Committees answers were always given. He did not understand about this idea of secrecy, but the whole matter had been gone into stage by stage and any communication sent always received attention.

A DELEGATE said that the Duchy of Lancaster was doing everything possible to strengthen the Advisory Committees by putting Labour men on them.

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE ADMINISTRATION GRANTS.

Mr. J. FISHER (Bow and Bromley) said he noticed that a Committee had been set up by the Standing Advisory Committee (page 50), and he hoped that this Committee would also take notice of the Administration of the Act in relation to people who had been unemployed for two years being turned down by the Labour Exchange Committees. On the previous day a man came to him and said that he had been unemployed for two years and one month. During that period he had worked 16 weeks, five weeks of which had been this year, and the Labour Exchange Committee had turned him down upon the ground that he had not got 30 stamps upon his card. This was not an isolated case, but was occurring, to his knowledge, all over London, in spite of the fact that it was against the recommendation of the Minister of Labour. He was hoping, therefore, that through this Advisory Committee, pressure would be brought to bear upon the Local Committees of the Labour Exchanges to

see that no deserving case of an unemployed man should be turned down. Men were being turned down, not in ones or twos, but in thousands all over London, and he thought it was up to the Executive to see that the law was administered as expected by the Labour Movement.

The CHAIRMAN said he hoped the delegates would not take up the time of the Conference with small matters. They wanted to get on to the big things.

Mr. G. PORTER (Fairfield, Liverpool) asked whether the Government had definitely decided whether they were going to take advantage of the Waiver clause.

The CHAIRMAN replied that this was a matter which could be raised on the Report of the Parliamentary Party.

PARLIAMENTARY CONTROL OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Councillor S. ELSBURY (Tailors and Garment Workers) complained of the paragraph in the Report (page 56) on the Parliamentary Control of Foreign Affairs. He said that this was such an important matter that he believed it would not be in the interests of the Party if they did not severely criticise this particular paragraph, which seemed to indicate that the Control of Foreign Affairs was being left in the hands of one or more individuals. In the first place, he protested that the Government had failed to allow a day for the discussion of foreign affairs. He thought they would all agree—even those who were most loyal—that this was a question where the more light that was brought to bear upon it the better it would be for all concerned. He, therefore, thought it was a scandal that proper time had not been given to discuss this question.

The CHAIRMAN said it was very difficult to draw a line between discussions which were in order and discussions which were not in order. This particular thing, however, was merely a record of what took place, and if the Delegate wanted to raise a question on the substance of it he must do so on the Parliamentary Report. It was again repeated in the Parliamentary Report, and the failure to give time was purely a Parliamentary affair and not a National Executive affair.

INDIA.

Mr. SAKLATVALA complained that no mention was made in the Report of the replies which were given to the deputations to the India Office. The Indian labour problem, he submitted, had a great bearing on the progress as well as the safety of the Trade Union Movement in this country. In this report the splendid case that was made out by the deputation was quoted, but there was not one single word as to what the India Office had to say in return. Very important suggestions were made to the India Office, and it was pointed out that the miners in India were working at very low wages, and that a very large number of women were employed underground. And yet they were told from time to time that Welsh coal was no longer in demand because foreign coal could be sold in certain markets 10s. a ton cheaper. Throughout the whole industrial movement in India cruel inhuman treatment was meted out to the Indian workers. The deputation demanded from the Labour Government that they should appoint a Commission to go out to India to examine the whole affair, but they were not told in this Report what had happened or what the answer would be. There was no mention made in the report of the two boys that were shot down during the mill strike, nor of the trial and imprisonment of many people. The whole thing was a conspiracy against the workers both of India and Great Britain.

No reply was made to this speech.

A LADY DELEGATE asked whether, when a Delegate asked questions, it was not usual that a reply should be made.

The CHAIRMAN: Not necessarily, because the Report is in front of you, and if nobody is present to reply, no reply can be given.

RUSSIA—POLITICAL PRISONERS.

Mr. HORDER (Bromley East Divisional Labour Party) took exception to the paragraph dealing with Political Prisoners in Russia (page 63). He thought the clause ought not only to be criticised, but to be deleted entirely from the Report, as it was a gross and unwarrantable interference with the affairs of the Russian Government, and was at variance with the whole policy and attitude of the Labour Party on foreign questions. It was simply an attack on the Russian Soviet Government. If a state of affairs existed in Russia which was different to that existing in other countries in the world, perhaps the inclusion of this clause would have been justified, but, having regard to the fact that there were at the present moment in Social Democratic Germany 7,000 Communists in prison for terms varying from 10 to 15 years, having regard to the fact that there were in India at the present time workers who were in prison whilst a Labour Government was in office in England, and having regard to the fact that there were still Irishmen in prison for political offences, he did not see how they could justify any interference on their part in regard to Russia. These were not people who were seeking legitimate free political expression, but they had been active agents on the part of the Capitalist Governments, and had been doing all they possibly could to smash up, and destroy, and make futile the efforts of the Russian workers in their struggle.

Mr. ROBERT WILLIAMS, replying on behalf of the Executive, said that for their friend to describe this as an attack on the Russian regime was a figment of his imagination, as he would see if he read the paragraph itself. The Joint International Committee tried to keep in touch with the Socialist and Trade Union Movement wherever that Movement was well organised, and if their friend would look back to the Executive Report, he would

ind on page 58 a condemnation of the Fascist egime, and of the brutal murder of their omrade Matteotti. The Joint International Committee received numerous and frequent eports, and complaints were made, some f which he thought could be substantiated, howing a measure of tyranny, which, whilst t might possibly be justified during a period when the country was in the throes of a evolution and counter-revolution, could not possibly be justified when they were reaching a position of normality. They knew of people who had suffered for their convictions n Russia because they had been followers of Tolstoy, and they suggested that, while bearing with Russia during the troublous times through which she had passed, that she should give the right of free expression of opinion to minorities, which was the right of all parties. Therefore they ventured to make the suggestion to the Russian Government, through the proper channels, that now that she was approaching a position of normality, she should allow free expression of the views of minorities.

ANOTHER DELEGATE suggested that this paragraph implied that our relations with Russia were influenced by reports which were received from the opponents of Russia. He thought that the Joint Committee should have either proved or disproved the accusations that had been made. This Committee, if it was to be entrusted with the matter of International relationships, should tackle a business like this.

Mr. ROBERT WILLIAMS said they had not been influenced by representations made by opponents as seemed to be suggested. Representations had come from the Labour and Socialist International, of which they formed a part. Moreover, they had gone to the trouble of interviewing representatives of the Soviet Government in this country. Some Delegates evidently thought that this contained something in the nature of damaging information, but if they were to issue the reply of the Soviet Authorities to the charges which had been made, it would be far more damaging than the paragraph itself.

Mr. HORDER then moved that the paragraph be referred back. He did so, he said, for this reason. At the present moment they were on the verge of a General Election, and the election would be fought largely on the Anglo-Soviet Treaty. He was rather at a loss to understand, in view of the discussion which had been going on, something which appeared in the *Daily Herald* of last Monday, and the report of the Prime Minister's Speech. There they found a reference to Article 16 of the General Treaty, and it was said, "We want neither interference with them nor do they want interference with us." He maintained that this paragraph was a very bad thing, and would provide munition for their opponents, the Liberals and Tories.

The reference back was seconded in several parts of the hall, but on being put to the Conference, it was lost by a large majority.

The Conference then adjourned.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 7th.

Afternoon Session.

PARTY ADMINISTRATION.

The Conference reassembled at 2 p.m., Mr. MacDonald being again in the chair.

Continuing the discussion on the Report of the Executive Committee,

Mr. R. J. WILSON, M.P. (Distributive Workers), referring to page 67, said there was a note to the effect that "during the period under review the staff of the department (Joint Research and Information Department) has been slightly decreased. The work, however, has steadily increased both in volume and variety, and the resources of the Department are taxed to the utmost in the endeavour to keep pace with the demand for its services"; and later on in the same Report reference was made to the fact that owing to the shortage of staff and the great pressure of work, it had not been possible to complete certain inquiries. He thought this Conference would look on this part of the Report very seriously, because if there was one thing more than another that was necessary in the country it was well-informed opinion on the part of the rank and file regarding the great questions which the Labour Party had to prosecute. He wished to ask whether, seeing the sections of work and inquiry referred to in the second paragraph, dealing with the Wool Textile Industry, Printing, Railways, and Mining had been completed, there was any immediate chance of the whole work being completed and whether Interim Reports would be issued by the Party on these matters. He also wished to know the reason for the decrease of staff in the Research Department, whether it was connected with finance or due to other reasons, and whether, owing to the decrease of staff and the inability to cope with all the inquiries and make the Reports desired, any use at all was being made of the Labour Research Department. He wanted this information because some of them attached very great value to the work of research, and they thought the Movement would be seriously retarded if the shortage was maintained.

Mr. W. H. HUTCHINSON, in reply, said he wished to remind their friend that when he was considering the work of the Research Department he ought to have regard to the fact that that work had been dislocated in consequence of the Labour Party taking office. He also wished to remind him that at the Trades Union Congress in September it was decided that an approach should be made with a view to finding some mutual arrangement with the Labour Research Department. He thought they would be well advised to leave the matter where it was for the present.

With regard to the appointment of a Pensions Officer (page 78) a Delegate suggested that one officer for the whole of the various divisions that were now placed under the Ministry of Pensions was not sufficient. He thought they ought to get into touch with all the members who had been nominated to

these Committees by regular Labour organisations, and so have a network of men and women all over the country who were ready to take up cases on behalf of ex-Service men. He had suggested this to the Ministry of Pensions, but now that the Party had appointed a Pensions Officer, he thought it was time to co-ordinate the work of the various Pensions Committees and place on those Committees people who were in sympathy with Labour.

The CHAIRMAN said he thought the Delegate was referring to a different matter to that mentioned in the Report. This was a report of the appointment of a Pensions Officer to assist with their own pensions work as a Party. They could not possibly get an officer to do the official work indicated. That was an affair for the Pensions Department. This was their own man, and he could assure them he had been of the greatest assistance in the work they had been able to do.

CONFERENCE ARRANGEMENTS

Before proceeding to the discussion of the resolutions, dealing with the Communist Party, the CHAIRMAN called upon Mr. Will Thorne to make a further report from the Conference Arrangements Committee.

Mr. THORNE said every year the agenda of the Conference got more complicated and more difficult to deal with in consequence of the many resolutions and amendments that were sent in, and he wished to say, on behalf of the Conference Arrangements Committee, that they thought the time had arrived when they should get about six or seven big general resolutions to debate at a Conference like that, instead of having so many pettifogging resolutions which wasted the time of the delegates and the Conference.

On page 10 of the Agenda there was an amendment to the Standing Order No. 4. That was starred because it was out of order. With regard to the resolution and amendments on page 12 dealing with proposed New Standing Orders, it had been decided that all the delegates representing the organisations which had sent in those resolutions and amendments should be asked to meet together for the purpose of bringing up one composite resolution, which would then be printed. With regard to the resolution from Paisley on page 13, asking that the National Executive should not officially recognise or endorse any candidate who had not the approval of the Divisional or Local Labour Parties, he wished to say that that was the practice and custom at the present time, and therefore there was no need for discussion upon it. On Party Administration (page 14) there would be a composite resolution printed and circulated. The resolution on the International Movement would stand for discussion, but the amendment to it would depend upon the bigger question which was to be discussed in a few minutes. If it was decided that the Communist Party could not affiliate, then the amendment would, of course, be out of order. The Doncaster resolution on Esperanto and the amendme relating to it had been withdrawn. The solution with regard to the Advisory Coun for Wales would stand, but resolution on the same subject was out. With rega to the resolutions on Federation and t Organisation of Women, there would be c sultations, and he would report later. T resolution from Watford on the Organisati of Youth had been withdrawn, and therefo the amendment would go with it. The solution on Regional Conferences wou stand, but the one relating to Party Speake was starred, being out of order, and cons quently the amendments to it were also o of order. Resolutions (b) and (c) the same subject would stand. The del gates responsible for the resolutions a amendments on Party Finance were asked meet together for the purpose of bringing a composite resolution which could be di cussed at the private session. The resol tion (a) and amendments on Rural Prop ganda and Organisation would stand. Th resolution on Local Affiliations was starre and out of order. The Individual Part Membership resolution would stand and als the resolution on Party Staff. In regard t the resolution and amendments dealing wit Party Colours there would be a composit resolution, and also the resolution and amend ments on Local Candidatures. The Na tional Campaign resolution and amendmen would stand, but it seemed to his colleague that, in view of the National Campaign tha was going on at the present time, there wa no need for discussion. With regard t Trade Disputes there would be a composit resolution, and composite resolutions woul also be brought forward dealing with Polic Administration and the Control of the Labou Government and the Parliamentary Labou Party. That referred to all the resolution down to and including resolution (d) o page 23. With regard to resolution (e), he understood there was no delegate present to move it; (f) would stand, (g) was ruled out, (h) would stand, and (i) would stand. That would be a composite resolution.

With regard to the resolutions at the top of page 24 relating to Comrades J. H. Thomas and Arthur Henderson, that was an attack upon individuals who were members of the Cabinet. He thought they ought to stand together, and that when they came on someone ought to move "the next business." That was his opinion.

The resolutions relating to the *Daily Herald* they hoped would not be adopted, because Mr. Lansbury was going to make a full statement with regard to the *Daily Herald* on Thursday.

With regard to the resolution on page 26, "That no member of the Communist Party be eligible for membership of the Labour Party," they recommended that that should be debated, but it would be for the Chairman to say in what way he would take it.

e resolution from St. Pancras on the page would stand.
e resolutions of the Executive Committ- could be taken according to time-table Wednesday morning. That on the onalisation of Mines would be moved Ir. Mardy Jones and seconded by Mr. , the Secretary of the Miners' Federa- Also on that morning they would take resolution on Electrical Power, which d be moved by Mr. Morrison. On nesday afternoon they suggested that Education resolution should be taken, at 4.30 the deputation from the Unem- ed would be received.
ie report was adopted.
DELEGATE asked whether the question he Communist Party was to be taken ne, two or three resolutions, and the rman replied that he would decide as as the seconder had finished.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

ie Conference then proceeded to con- the recommendations of the Execu- on page 38 of the Report, which were ie following terms :—

"That the application for affiliation m the Communist Party be refused."
"That no member of the Communist rty shall be eligible for endorsement as Labour Candidate for Parliament or y Local Authority."

iere was also the following resolution h had been sent in by Sutton D.L.P. :—
"That no member of the Communist rty be eligible for membership of the bour Party."

r. FRANK HODGES, M.P., in introducing ubject, said that the question which the utive Committee reported upon to the erence that afternoon was old in one ct and new in another. It was old in so s it dealt with the application for affilia- from the Communist Party; it was new far as it dealt with the question that ember of the Communist Party should ligible for endorsement as a Labour idate to either Parliament or any Local ority. The Conference, for two suc- ng years, had dealt with the first part is Report. It had definitely rejected the cation of the Communist Party, as a y, for affiliation, but, in order that the ion of the Labour Party might be rstood in relation to the new ques- it might be just as well to summarise attitude of the Party generally, and the utive in particular, to the Communist y. The arguments and the reasons that Executive had adopted for their decision set forth clearly in the Report, and could ead by every delegate for himself. But, ly, the situation remained the same; that Labour Party, with its Parliamentary s and political ideas of development, l not find any ground of harmony with heses or the fundamental principles which characterised the Communist Movement and the Communist Party. Theirs was a Parliamentary democracy. They believed in their Parliamentary institutions as a means of effecting their democratic ideals. They did not look upon Parliament as an end in itself, but as a means to an end, and that means had been adopted by the Labour Movement in this country as one of the means to achieve its ideals. The Party was broad-based upon the assumption of the democratic will. It held the view, and stated so within its Constitution, that the Labour Movement in this country, with its political history and political principles, could achieve politically practically anything that it desired to achieve. At a given moment, when the electors of this country willed any change, the instrument was at hand through which they could express that change. And their progress, their electoral progress, depended upon the quality of the general education amongst the people. In short, the theory of their Parliamentary system, the theory underlying the Labour Movement with its political ideals, was that it began to move definitely and progressively with the growth of education from the bottom, and not, as was the case in Russia, from the top percolating down through to the bottom. The attempt, of course, was now being made by the Party to give logical effect in practice to its ideals, and it said: "We cannot have, as a Party, the obligation put upon us to give credentials to candidates for Parliament or candidates for Local Authorities who do not accept that fundamental view of our task and our progress." The argument was now being put forward that the Trade Unions should exercise the right to nominate their own representatives to run as their Trade Union candidates, and must not have their decision outraged by any arbitrary methods adopted by the National Executive of the Party. It sounded very feasible. It would suggest on the surface that the Party proposed to take away some right, some freedom which the Trade Unions at present exercised. Indeed, that would pass for good argument, but, in reality, what was the situation? The Trade Union Movement in this country, by accepting the Constitution of the Labour Party, had delegated the functions of sanctioning candidates, in the last analysis, to the Labour Party when they, in the past, had accepted the Constitution as a whole or accepted any amendment to the Constitution. They, in fact, handed over to the Party the last word in deciding whether a particular candidate should be endorsed or not. "Let us go back into history," said Mr. Hodges. There was a time when the Trade Unions did not accept that particular authority. The Miners' Federation, for example, in the old days used to have two distinct types of Parliamentary candidates, one type coming forward to the Labour Party, and accepting the Labour Party Constitution, and being endorsed, and consequently being sup-

ported by the Miners' Federation; the other type being run by the District Miners' Federations, who were attached, say, to the Liberal Party. That was in the days when the Labour Party was just struggling into being; but they came to a halt, they abandoned that dual idea. They arrived at this, that every one of their candidates must accept the Labour Party Constitution, and those who did not had to be cut off, and they were, in fact, cut off, implying, of course, that they had delegated to this Executive Committee the authority to decide whether a particular man had, in fact, accepted the Constitution or not. Now, their friends the Communists—and they did not want to enter into any abuse that afternoon, because that would detract them from the main principle they were discussing—the Communists said that once a Trade Union had selected a candidate, he must perforce be accepted by the National Executive. The Executive took their stand on that, and said that that was wrong. He believed there were some Liberals in the Trade Union Movement. In fact, within his own knowledge they had officials within a certain organisation who proclaimed their Toryism. Suppose for a moment they got sufficiently strong, either within their District Association or their National Association, to get proposed as a candidate for Parliament and came forward under Liberal colours, merely on their Trade Union strength and the loyalty of their members towards them, what would be the attitude of the Party to this candidate? They would obviously say, "Away with you, we will have none of you," and that would be the correct attitude. He knew that their friends the Communists had got the idea that there was room for them to act within the existing structure of the Labour Party and still retain their separate identity. That was impossible. There was room for a "left wing" movement within the Labour Party, but it must be a "left wing" movement which accepted the fundamental principles of the Party. The Communists said that the Party was making exceptions and was, in fact, giving special consideration to extreme members of the I.L.P. who were as much opposed to the Party methods and plans as were the Communist members themselves.

Mr. HODGES said they must expect to have, as the Movement grew, young men coming into the Movement who did not share the same methods or the same plans as their elders. That was inevitable in every movement. But they took their stand upon this principle; no matter how extreme a man's view might be, they could admit him if he would tread this particular way of political democracy. They could come in and not lose their identity, and yet at the same time accept the Labour Party Constitution. He wished to read to them one paragraph which indicated what he thought to be the real position of the Communists in this matter, for here they declared what they meant by accepting the Labour Party stitution: "There is undoubtedly scop a 'left wing' inside the political La Movement. But it is to be inside the La Party. Just as we cannot counter new Unions on the industrial field—for remembered the Minority Movement is an alternative to the Trade Unions or industrial field—neither can we counter any so-called 'left-wing' political g as an alternative to the Communist Pa The Communists were opposed to a left- group properly constituted within the L ranks. He did not quarrel, neither did Executive quarrel, with the efforts, activities, the enthusiasm of Communist Communism. There were men whose C munism was broad-based upon intelle grounds, he had not the slightest doubt, they were perfectly entitled to come to conclusions they had. But once having c to them, why not perform their own sionary functions themselves, without s ing to come within the shelter of a P who, in the long run, intellectually mus opposed to them? Why did they not out and be honourable and courageous, ing their stand as this Movement took stand in the early days, fighting its way dependent of any other movement ro about? He invited his Communist fri to take that view if they believed in t case. Let them put it to the test. T were only a small number now, it was t the estimate ranging between three thous and four thousand in numbers, but if t wanted to become forty thousand or f thousand, which would be necessary for t to carry on their work properly in country, they should go on independen face the music at the street corner, go to the open platform and argue their against the case of political democracy, he ventured to say if this case was arg out in the open, then the party that belie in political democracy had nothing to but everything to gain. The Constitutio the Party was a big Constitution. Its id and objectives were as comprehensive anything that could be found in the p ciples of Communism. There was enough be accomplished within that Constitution warrant the ushering in of the millenni Clause (d) of the Party objects, for ample, ought to be enough for most peo It read: "To secure for the producers hand or by brain the full fruits of their dustry and the most equitable distribu thereof that may be possible upon the b of the common ownership of the means production, and the best obtainable systen popular administration and control of e industry or service." That was the goa the Labour Party. Its method was the I liamentary method, and the Trade Un method was the combination of the two w arriving at perfection. That was big enou in his judgment, for any man who wanted work within the Labour Movement. I was different from the ideology of the C

munist movement, let them work out their own salvation in the way that appeared to them to be best, but not ask to come into the Labour Party Movement, because that could only limit their activities. They should go out into the wilderness and carry on their campaign in the highways and byways in seeking to accomplish Communism. But they should do it openly and honourably and be prepared to run the risks and make the sacrifices that had to be endured in starting a Movement which they believed had such extraordinary fine destinies. They could not come into Parliament without hindering the Labour Movement. He wished to say quite frankly that, on their own showing, they did not come into Parliament to work. They came in, not in order to delude the workers that they could achieve their emancipation by its means, but to use Parliament as a Tribune whence to issue rallying cries and watchwords to the masses. The members of the Labour Party were in Parliament to work and not to shout out watchwords or rallying cries, and it was going to be hard, detailed, disciplined, organised work. They had long since gone beyond the stage of Party cries and platform shibboleths. They were in the world of reality to work. Their salvation lay at their doorsteps, but it did not come by mere declaration. It came by hard, slogging, detailed work, and it was no use to think that the Communists could be of any use to the political Labour Party in the House of Commons if they were merely there to cry aloud. They would have to take their share in building up that particular form of organisation politically for which the Labour Party stood. They said they did not believe in that form. Then honestly they ought to say so at once, and to try to come in under its auspices was merely pretence and humbug.

He hoped that the Conference would this time definitely agree to come to a conclusion He had tried to point out to the Trade Unionists that it was quite consistent with their history. If this was the Constitution of the Labour Party they were going to carry it out, and as the years went by they wanted to feel that they had the backing of the Labour Movement as a whole in their attempts to work out their own special plan. He knew that next year or the year after there would be a further application for the affiliation of the Communist Party. That was inevitable. They would get it as long as Communism was afraid to fight its own way independently. He asked the Conference to settle this principle for the sake of what was to happen in the intervening months; that no Communist member, whether he be adopted by a Trade Union or not, should be endorsed by this Party which stood for something entirely different from what the Communist himself professed to stand for. If he were talking to the individual he would say, "Man, be honest to yourself, be honest to your intellectual convictions, and by being honest you will endeavour to fight your way into Parliament, if you think necessary, as a Communist on Communist principles without outside help. If you cannot come into Parliament in that honourable and open way you should not seek to come in in any other way." For these reasons he thought the Conference ought to endorse the Labour Party position and let this question pass away once and for all.

Mr. J. D. FRENCH (Typographical Association) formally seconded the motion.

The CHAIRMAN said he was now going to give his ruling on the point that had been raised by a delegate. He had listened to the speech, and could see the line of the debate, and he thought it would be for the convenience of the Conference that there should be no limitations on the field of the discussion, and therefore he did not propose to call anyone to order provided he was within the limits of the most general debate. When the division came he was going to take three votes. There was the resolution on page 38 in two parts. They would be taken separately, and afterwards he would take the resolution from the Sutton D.L.P. That would settle the whole thing.

Mr. WILLIAM PAUL (Rusholme L.P.), in opposing the resolutions, said he had listened to the very fair speech made by Mr. Hodges, and he shared his desire to prevent the discussion from descending into abuse. Inasmuch as Mr. Hodges had done that that afternoon, he had been more successful than he had been three years ago at Edinburgh. But Mr. Hodges had based the whole of his arguments on the point of Parliamentary democracy. The Communist Party believed that they must use every weapon to their hands to help the working classes in their common struggle, and consequently they did not reject the Parliamentary weapon. Further, they believed that there were precedents in the history of the Labour Party which proved beyond all doubt, to anyone outside the editorial office of the *Morning Post* or a military lunatic asylum, that there came a time when they were compelled to use extra-Parliamentary action to defend the position of the working classes. There were on the platform gentlemen, and Right Honourable gentlemen, who had helped to organise the Council of Action, which was an attempt to enforce the will of the working classes upon Mr. Lloyd George when all Parliamentary protests had failed in the House of Commons. Now, inasmuch as these gentlemen had organised the Council of Action, he did not see how they could rule out the Communists as being unfit to sit amongst them. The Communists contended that Parliament was not a constructive organisation for the working classes, and in saying that they showed that they had the honesty which Mr. Hodges had taunted them with not possessing. When they tried to do anything that was going to help the common people in this country, they found they were met by opposition in the Press, in Fleet

Street and elsewhere. Delegates would find from the Report of the 1923 Conference that when a proposal was brought forward for the reduction of interest on War Debt, it was opposed, and the reason given was that if that went forward as the policy of the Labour Party if they came into office, the financiers would be able to sabotage the Labour Government. The Labour Party, the Communist Party and every section of the working-class movement realised that Parliamentary democracy had very serious limitations, and so far as the Communist Party was concerned they refused to adopt the attitude of the ostrich with regard to these limitations. Had not Mr. MacDonald, he asked, told them that morning that down in Fleet Street there were those who appealed to mob passion as against the Labour Party? Against the little *Daily Herald* these people could summon their gigantic press battalions. Every weapon in capitalism was loaded against the working classes and those who represented them, and therefore the Communist Party said frankly: "We will fight loyally with you in the House on every particular point on which you are giving a lead to the working classes." The Party would get serious, loyal, honest support, and it was not for Mr. Hodges to taunt them with being cowards, seeing that when he was leading the Miners in the lock-out—in no courageous fashion—many of the members of the Communist Party went to prison through the help they were giving.

What did the speech of Mr. Hodges mean? Did it mean that they would turn out Trade Union candidates who had been nominated by their Unions? It did, and they would have to turn down a Parliamentary candidate who had rendered service for the working classes which would bear comparison with that of anyone in that hall—their Comrade Tom Mann. What was the service that Tom Mann had rendered to the working classes compared with the services of Lord Haldane or Viscount Chelmsford? Surely if they could include in the extreme pink tip of the Right Wing such men as Viscount Chelmsford and Lord Haldane, they could include Tom Mann, who had fought for the working classes all his life? The point raised by Mr. Hodges with regard to Liberals coming into the ranks of the Party and receiving endorsement was beside the mark. There was no analogy between a Trade Union candidate who was a Liberal and a Communist. The Communist Party might hold doctrines with which the gentlemen on the platform would not agree, but there was one thing that would be agreed, and that was that they were a fighting section of the working class movement, and it was only a piece of sophism to say that because they refused Liberals as candidates, therefore they must not have Communist candidates. He appealed to the delegates, even if they did not see their way to pass the resolution for affiliation, then for the sake of these veterans like Tom Mann, to let the other part, for the endorsement of Parliamentary candidates go forward, and in this way they would solidify the Movement. They (the Communists) were out to solidify the Movement. To-day they had passed a resolution—the composite resolution moved by Mr. Cramp. They (the Communists) disagreed with many points in that resolution. They disagreed with the points with reference to Ireland, and they did not think there was anything in that resolution they could boast about. But inasmuch as they were on the verge of a General Election, and there was an appeal to this Conference to show a solid front against their common enemies, the Communists had voted for it unanimously, so that the slogan might go forth that no matter what differences there were between them, on the eve of a General Election on such a vital point as Russia this Conference was showing a united front. They were not the wicked devils they were represented to be, taking their orders from some parts of Russia, but members of the working class striving to carry on their propaganda at the street corner, where some of the gentlemen on the platform did not now appear. They were carrying on their work, and all he could hope was that the other sections of the Party were carrying on their work as well as the Communists were doing. If so they would destroy capitalism; smash it to smithereens. Whatever their differences, they were not differences on matters of principle, but simply on tactics, and if they were united they could go forward to victory over the heads of those who were trying to stand in their way.

The CHAIRMAN said they had listened to two admirable speeches, excellent in tone, however much they might be divided in purpose.

Mr. A. GOSSIP (Furnishing Trades) said he opposed the Report of the Executive of the Labour Party on this matter for two reasons. First of all, he opposed it as a Trade Unionist with 43 years' consecutive membership of his Union. He asked himself this question, Was the Communist Party a party representative of the working class and working and fighting in their interests or was it not? He came to the conclusion—the only possible conclusion that anyone could come to—that they were doing their duty according to their lights in helping to get rid of the capitalist system of society which was responsible for the degradation, the stupefaction, the misery, and the poverty of the class which they represented. If the Communists were doing that, and he thought they were, then he wanted to ask why in the name of common sense should they not take their hand—why should they not have their support? If it could be truthfully said that they were against the working class—the only class he was personally concerned with—if it could be truthfully said that they were not in favour of the emancipation of the working class, he would not be objecting to the

eport of the Labour Party Executive as he as doing that afternoon. The second point as this. He was not a member of the Communist Party at all, but was one of the oldest embers of the I.L.P., who stood for everything he held to be true in the year 1914. He ished to ask the delegates if they had forotten certain things which took place in 914, and were prepared, and were working -day with men and women who, according his perception of things, betrayed the orking class in 1914, and had flung their ms round the necks of the capitalists. Had ey forgotten that? What he could not rget was that, so far as the great mass the members of the Communist Party was oncerned, so far as the leaders, generally peaking, of the Communist Party were conrned in the old B.S.P. days, they stood enerally where the members of the I.L.P. ood, and refused to bow the knee to the aal of capitalism. They stood along with ie I.L.P. Those who went to fight, those ho believed that the present system of ociety should remain as it is, those who beeved that in some mysterious way the inerests of the German working class were not he same as those of the British working lass—they stood with them on that platorm, and why, he asked, in the name of ommon sense, should they refuse to work ith the Communists to-day, knowing, as very one of them must know, that they were orking to-day in a common interest? Holdng those views, he could not understand the ttitude of those who were opposed to the ffiliation of the Communist Party with the abour Party, and therefore he hoped that his part of the Report of the Executive ould be turned down.

Mr. HARRY POLLITT (Boiler Makers) said hey had listened to a speech from Mr. Hodges to-day which, despite its polished hrases, was the first open step which cerain leaders of the Labour Party were taking owards splitting the Labour Movement in his country. What, he asked, were the acts? The facts were that Communists as Trade Unionists were paying the levy and doing the donkey-work in the workshop and the Trade Union branches, they were eligible o come to this Conference and eligible to be nominated to the Executive, but were to e ruled out and cast out of the Labour Movement, not because there was anything wrong with them, but because they represented a growing alternative to the policy initiated by the gentlemen on the platform. In the Report of the Executive much was said about honesty and principle, and yet Mr. Hodges, in his speech, gave the show away, for he admitted that he only looked on Parliament as a means to an end. That was the statement which Mr. Hodges made, and the Communists endorsed it, and in endorsing that statement, whatever fundamental principles might separate them from Mr. Hodges, if in the House of Commons it was a fight for the Capital Levy or for the Nationalisation of Mines, then the whole resources of the Communist Party would be on the side of the Labour Party. If they were going to exclude the Communists, then where were they going to drive them to? Mr. Hodges had said, "Go out into the highways and the by-ways." What did he think they would do? If he thought that at the next General Election they would go out and oppose the Labour candidates, he never made a bigger mistake in his life. They could not have democracy in the Queen's Hall and something different in the International, to which they were affiliated; and he wished to remind them that the International Organisation, to which they were affiliated, expressly laid down that they stood for the emancipation of the working class on the basis of the class struggle, using all Parliamentary and Industrial means. The people who were trying to frighten them with the bogy of the dictatorship of the working classes were themselves exercising dictatorship. As an instance of that, he desired to point out that Mr. MacDonald came to an agreement with M. Herriot on the question of a certain formula in regard to Reparations, but the banks stepped in and that formula had to be scrapped. He noticed that Mr. MacDonald shook his head, but he wished to refer him to the French newspapers which declared at that particular time that it was certain French financiers who had the final word. He appealed to the Conference to reject the whole of these resolutions, because if the three resolutions were passed they would be splitting the Labour Movement at a time when it was faced with the greatest battle it had ever had.

Mr. V. L. MCENTEE, M.P. (Walthamstow), asked the Conference to support the resolution of the Executive, and he did so as a very old Trade Unionist and one of the original members of the Labour Party. His association with the Communist Party, at any rate in Walthamstow—and he had been told it was the same all over the country—had led him to the conclusion that the policy and tactics of the Communist Party were to get inside the Labour Party for the purpose of splitting it. The question they had to decide to-day was an extremely simple one. It was whether the Labour Party and the Labour Movement in this country stood for reason or for force. The Communist Party based their existence on force, while they in the Labour Party—he believed 99 per cent. of them—believed that the emancipation of the working classes would be brought about by reason and not by force. Therefore he maintained that the Communist Party could do nothing but hamper them in their work. Mr. Pollitt had said that their only desire was to help the Labour Party, but his own experience was that the Communists had deliberately run candidates against them in

Municipal affairs, and he believed that that was an experience which could be multiplied all over the country. They told them quite frankly that they could never accomplish anything by Parliamentary methods, and their only hope was that by getting in and using their power in the Labour Party they could undermine it and substitute the Communist Party basis on the International. If there was anything more calculated to raise the passions of the working classes, it was speeches such as they had heard from the Communists that day. The Labour Movement had been built up by reason, because they had a good case to submit to the people, and the people were accepting it in greater numbers; but the one thing that would wreck the Movement, if it was to be wrecked, in the future, was the policy and principles put forward by the Communist Party. He hoped, therefore, that this Conference would stand for reason and not for force, and if so the delegates would support the Executive in their resolution and reject the Communist Party once and for all from the organised Labour Movement in this country.

Mr. G. A. Spencer, M.P., said he had been asked by the Miners' Federation to support the resolutions of the Executive. He considered that the speech of the first delegate who had opposed the recommendations of the Executive was one of the strongest possible justifications for the passing of the resolutions. There was not a single man who had spoken on behalf of the Communist Party who had repudiated the idea that they were out for revolution, for that was what was meant by the term "extra Parliamentary action." It was a well-known fact that the line of demarcation between the Communist Party and the Labour Party to-day was simply that the Labour Party believed in Parliamentary action coupled with the activities of the Trade Union Movement, whereas the Communist Party believed the moment would come when they would be able to use the organised forces of Labour to force a revolution. They had been told that afternoon that if the Labour Party rejected the Communist Party it would mean a split in organised Labour; but what was the alternative? If the Labour Party did accept the Communist Party there would be no need for a split. There was not the least doubt that if the Labour Party to-day, in the face of an Election, passed a resolution accepting the Communist Party to affiliation, without any repudiation on their part of the idea of revolution as against evolution in politics, it would mean, so far as the Labour Party was concerned, that they would forfeit the sympathy and confidence of the electors. So far as the Miners' Federation of Great Britain was concerned, they were out to support the recommendations of the Executive. There was no one present who had any grievance with the Communists so far as political and eco mic principles were concerned, except up the lines and the idea of a revolution. there was one outstanding fact in the worl history, it was that nothing substantial h ever been accomplished by revolution. the Communists held that idea, as many them did at the present time, they w pinning their faith to one of the great fallacies in human history, and they w asking the Labour Party to accept that part of their policy. If they accepted to-day, or at any other time, with the p sent mentality of the British electorate, simply meant the death of the Labour Par

Mr. Jack Jones, M.P. (Silvertown), s he was not there as an opponent of Commu ism *per se*. He was there as a representati of the principle that all things should held in common, but what they protest against was the methods which some of th friends claimed to be the only way. Th said, "It does not matter about your p constitutional history. It does not matt about your national development. You ha got to adopt our policy; ours is the or one that counts. We are the only pebbl on the beach!" They said they believed force. If so, what right had they to a for peace? If a majority, or a minority, the exercise of authority could compel th opinions upon the rest of the people, th they might be right, but he believed th were wrong, and he believed they were wro because history had proved that no dictat ship had ever been justified. They kn very well where this idea came from. Kere sky was too weak; if he had been a Trotsk he might have been more successful. I (Mr. Jones) was not arguing about it; understood the psychology of these peopl There were men and women who had spe their lives fighting for Labour in Russ against Czarism, who were to-day in priso as well as hundreds of others in India a elsewhere. That was no excuse for the r pression of freedom in Russia. They want class freedom all round, and if the Commu ist Party in Great Britain—the whole hal dozen of them—would accept the decisio of the Labour Party in Conference assemble if they would accept the Labour Party co ditions without dictatorship from outsid he was willing to vote that they should con in. But if they were going to claim th right that a certain number of gentlemen Moscow with unpronounceable names, and very doubtful nationality—that these gentl men should have the right to dictate Britis policy, and to say that MacDonald was traitor, he wanted to have nothing to d with them. If they were willing to be tru British workers, and were prepared to lin their arms up with all the workers of th world, he would support a proposal to brin them into the Movement. He (Mr. Jone read two papers with great interest, th *Daily Mail* and the *Workers' Weekly*, an the arguments in both were the same thoug from different angles, and he gathered fro

them that every Labour man was a fraud, and every Trade Unionist a freak. There was only one man who was right, and that was Harry Pollitt. He, therefore, asked the Conference to say to the Communists, "Come in, but come in on our conditions, join with us and work with us, but you are not to dictate to us from outside. We want you to work from the inside, and if you are honest to the working class movement, you will back us for all you are worth."

Councillor ALBAN GORDON (Brighton L.P.) said it was one thing to hear the Communists talking at a Conference like this, but it was quite a different thing when they came into contact with them in the constituencies and realised what they were doing with the electorate. For 25 years Labour people in this country had been building up the most marvellous political weapon this country had ever seen. The question was, were they going to abandon it just as they were achieving success on account of some specious words about a solid front and things of that sort when there was such a vital difference of aim and method between them, quite apart from the difference of principle? They, in the Labour Movement, knew what they wanted. They believed in their own methods, and if the Communists believed that their methods were better they should carry on with those methods from outside. The Labour Party should go on to victory by their own methods and in their own way.

A DELEGATE then moved that the question be now put, and the Chairman, in putting the motion, said that if it was carried it would be on the distinct understanding that there should be two more speeches—one from each side.

The motion "*That the question be now put*" was carried.

Mr. S. SAKLATVALA (St. Pancras Borough L.P. and T.C.) contended that the Object in the Constitution of the Labour Party which Comrade Hodges had read out, was also, in the main, the object of the Communist Party. There was no difference. They might maintain, as many people did on many questions maintain, that the line which the Labour Party was treading would bring them to their object. Perhaps it might or perhaps it never would. Other people, rightly or wrongly, might maintain that they would reach that object in a reasonable period of time by treading another road. But there was no fundamental opposition between the two parties as there was between capitalism and anti-capitalism. With regard to Parliamentary Democracy, it was a mistaken idea to say that the Communists did not believe in the right of the people as expressed in Parliament, but they refused to accept a sham democracy in the form of Parliament as at present constituted. It was undemocratic, so much so that it compelled the Prime Minister to keep a man like George Lansbury out of the Labour Government. There were many measures on which, as Comrade Hodges had pointed out, the left wing was in agreement with the rest of the Party, but the undemocratic nature of Parliament compelled them to act as they were acting. To describe it as democratic machinery was absurd. It was on these grounds that the Communists had what appeared to be such a vast difference of opinion from the Labour Party as regards the respect with which they held Parliamentary institutions. Referring to the second resolution, he submitted that from the Labour Party point of view the non-endorsement of candidates by the Labour Party or the Labour Movement when they were selected by Labour organisations for the simple reason that they were Communists was a very wrong step to take. There were members of the Labour Party who were members of the National Liberal Club and of the Reform Club, and if the Communists were to be barred these men should be barred also. He claimed for the Communists the same credit for common sense and loyalty that was claimed for the men on the platform. If the Communist Party was not affiliated to the Labour Party, then technically and constitutionally it did not exist so far as they were concerned. The Executive already had the fullest authority to decline any member as a member of the Labour Party if that particular member, by his own conscious acts, was doing something harmful and injurious to the working class movement or the Labour Party's particular programme. He had sat in the House of Commons for eight months, and he could say that he had never received a single letter or telegraphic instruction from Moscow. The whole position was this. If the delegates to-day passed the resolution they were not putting a bar against the Communist Party, they were putting a bar against Labour Party organisation. He declined to accept the fact that wherever Communists had been elected, it was done as a matter of huge conspiracy. To say that because the Communists held a different opinion from others as to the method or the limit of time within which they would reach their goal they should be kept out of the Labour Party was unjustifiable. They did not apply such a limitation to any other organisation. They were recognised all over Europe as a definitely working-class organisation. Wise or unwise, stupid or prudent, it was admitted to be a great working-class movement, and yet it was proposed now to put up a cast-iron bar against it. He hoped the resolutions would be defeated.

Mr. HERBERT MORRISON, M.P., replying on behalf of the Executive, said he was very glad that the debate had been carried on substantially free from personalities. It was not a personal question. There were many members of the Communist Party who were personal friends of his. It was a question of principle—a divergence of method and a divergence of object between the two Parties. The case could be put very shortly. In one of the theses of the Third Interna-

tional itself, to which every member of the British Communist Party owed ultimate responsibility and allegiance, it said (Clause 12): "Communists shall (a) carry on a revolutionary opposition against the bourgeois central authority; (b) do all for the aid of the poorer population (economic measures), establish or attempt to establish an armed workers' militia; (c) point out on every occasion the barriers which the bourgeois State erects against really vital changes; (d) develop on this basis the most active revolutionary propaganda without fearing conflict with State authorities; (e) under certain conditions substitute Workers' Councils for existing municipal authorities." Mr. Gallacher, the leader of the Communist Party, at a Conference held only this year, had stated: "We are concerned with the workers' army—a political and industrial army. If ever the time should come when an army of workers in a military sense is necessary, the Communist Party will not only advocate its maintenance, but it will be obligatory on every fit member of the Party to be in it." If there was any fundamental difference, said Mr. Morrison, between that and the Fascist army of Signor Mussolini he would like to know what it was. They really could not grumble about one kind of military force being used by a political party to crush other political parties if they themselves had an intention to do it. Labour believed that all military forces ought ultimately to be responsible to the Government and to the elected representatives of the people in control. But he would take Mr. Paul himself. Mr. Paul who was seeking to represent Rusholme as a Labour Member was not the same Mr. Paul of the Communist Party of two or three years ago. He stated very clearly the difference between the Labour Party view of Parliamentary Democracy and the Communist view. He (Mr. Morrison) invited the Conference to listen to the clear academic distinction which Mr. Paul made of their method and the method of the Communist Party: "We believe in Parliamentary action for the express and decisive purpose of destructive and agitational work. The Labour Party does not believe in that conception of Parliamentary action; the Labour Party believes in Parliamentary action as a constructive weapon in the working-class movement," and Mr. Paul concluded, "In so far as the two functions are diametrically opposed, they cannot be mixed." Was not that exactly what Mr. Hodges had said in his opening speech? Mr. Hodges had had the honour and distinction of having his words literally confirmed by a delegate to this Conference who was now seeking the distinction of becoming Member of Parliament for Rusholme. Reference had been made to the power of the Press as against the power of Parliament, but all these references to this superior power of money, the power of Fleet-street, the power of wealth through the capitalist Press, were, he maintained, not demonstrations of strength, but confessions of weakness. This great Labour Party, starting from its small beginning, with practically no Press, and now with only the *Daily Herald* looking after its interests in the daily Press, with the great masses of the workers buying and reading capitalist newspapers every morning, every evening, and Sunday as well—despite that, with their own *Daily Herald* with its circulation of about 400,000, they had not been afraid, they had fought on, they had put their backs into it, and despite the capitalist Press, despite its millions of circulation, with their own newspaper of only 400,000, they had made up the shortage of Press power by hard work and political efforts, and had polled at the last Election 4,000,000 votes. He would say to the Communist Party, "Don't be afraid. Have courage. Work on and convert the people. We have beaten the capitalist Press because we have stood up to it in our own way. You do the same, and if right and truth and justice are on your side, you will win as we are winning, but if it is not, you will go down as you will deserve to do." Mr. Paul had said that if they were elected to the House of Commons they would solidly back the Labour Party provided the Labour Party gave them the proper lead. Who was to determine for the Communist Party what the proper lead was? He would tell them who was going to control the Communist Member of Parliament in the Labour Party, out of the words of Mr. T. Bell, speaking for the Communist Executive Committee at the recent Conference. He said: "In the promotion of Labour candidates we are not concerned so much with the candidates getting there because of personal influence and personal deportment. The basis must be the Party programme. Otherwise the victory is not for the Party at all. The points of the programme must be agreed upon by the Central Committee and operated under the jurisdiction and control of the Party Executive. Moreover, when a candidate is returned to the House of Commons, he should hold his position there as a member of the Communist Party, responsible to the Executive Committee of the Party." It was said that they would not oppose Labour Party candidates. Well, he had in his mind a famous by-election in London, when they were seeking to restore to the House of Commons a man of great Parliamentary ability whom the Party honoured—one who had fought against all the forces of capitalism. The Communist Party at that time issued a manifesto, not only of opposition but containing a scurrilous attack upon the man who was President of that Conference and now Prime Minister of that country. The Communist Party had a perfect right to carry on its propaganda, it had a right to try to convert the people, it had a right to go to his (Mr. Morrison's) constituency and put a candidate against him, but there was one thing it was not entitled to do, and that was to come into the Labour Party, not to help it, not to build

it up, but for the purpose of putting sand into the machine and trying to destroy a great popular instrument which it had taken years of effort and years of sacrifice to build up.

A card vote was then taken on the three resolutions.

On the first resolution :

"That the application for affiliation from the Communist Party be refused,"

the voting was as follows :—

For the resolution, 3,185,000.

Against the resolution, 193,000.

The resolution was therefore declared carried.

On the second resolution :

"That no member of the Communist Party shall be eligible for endorsement as a Labour candidate for Parliament or any local authority,"

the voting was as follows :—

For the resolution, 2,456,000.

Against the resolution, 654,000.

The resolution was declared carried.

On the third resolution :

"That no member of the Communist Party be eligible for membership of the Labour Party,"

the Chairman announced, after the first vote had been taken, that the figures were at least suspicious. It looked as if too many votes had been cast. It was therefore decided to take the vote again, and the result was declared as follows :—

For the resolution, 1,804,000.

Against the resolution, 1,540,000.

The resolution was thereupon declared carried.

Mr. BROMLEY wished to know, in view of the passing of the third resolution, what was the position of Delegates to the Conference who had been elected by a democratic ballot vote of their Trade Unions, but who were also members of the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN replied that his ruling on the point was that these resolutions applied from now onwards.

Mr. BROMLEY further wished to know whether that meant from the present moment or from the close of the present Conference.

The CHAIRMAN replied from the end of the Conference.

Mr. BROMLEY asked whether the passing of this resolution meant that, in future, Labour Party Conference Delegates elected, say, by the Miners, who happened to be Communists, would not be entitled to attend, and whether the obligation rested on the Unions to see that Delegates so elected were not Communists.

The CHAIRMAN said he could not deal with that matter. After this Conference his authority to give a ruling would cease.

A DELEGATE asked whether the resolution meant individual members, or affiliated members, or both.

The CHAIRMAN said it was not the duty of a Chairman to say what the meaning of a resolution was. The Delegates had carried it, and it was for the Executive to interpret it.

Mr. PAUL wished to know whether the Executive would indicate to the Trade Unions as to whether they were going to prevent Communist members who had paid the levy from attending, or were they going to suggest to the Trade Unions that they should not take the political levy? He thought the whole position ought to be made quite clear.

The CHAIRMAN said the Executive was the only body to decide that.

A DELEGATE asked what was the position of a man who was at present nominated for a City Council position now that they had turned him down by the resolution just passed. Would the Trades Council have to nominate again?

The CHAIRMAN : The Trades Council must carry out the decisions of the Conference if it is affiliated to the Conference.

A DELEGATE said that in his opinion this was one of the most serious things that had ever happened to the Party. So far as his experience went, the members of the Communist Party had been their most loyal members and had paid their levy regularly.

The CHAIRMAN said Delegates must not make reflections upon the decision of the Conference. He had not cast these votes. The Delegates had done so, and they must undoubtedly have had in their minds what they were doing. Any interpretation of the resolution carried must be made by the Executive of the Party, and not by the Chairman of the Conference.

The CHAIRMAN was then proceeding to put the acceptance of the Report as a whole (leaving out the financial part of it, which was to be discussed at the private session), when Mr. Bromley asked to be allowed to speak against the acceptance of the Report on behalf of his organisation, because of the peculiar position which his organisation, in common with many others, had been placed by the passing of the third resolution.

The CHAIRMAN said he could not allow that point to be raised. It was not germane.

Mr. BROMLEY : I accept your ruling, but it has been passed practically in conjunction with that part of the Report.

The CHAIRMAN : It has been passed "practically" in conjunction, perhaps, but not in conjunction. (Laughter.)

Mr. BROMLEY asked that a card vote might be taken on the acceptance of the Report, but this was not agreed to.

A vote was then taken by a show of hands, and the Executive Report was declared carried.

The Conference then adjourned until 9.30 on Wednesday morning.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 8th.

Morning Session.

The Conference re-assembled at 9.30 a.m., Mr. C. T. Cramp being in the Chair.

Mr. WILL THORNE, M.P., reporting on behalf of the Conference Arrangements Committee, said that he had received a letter from Mr. Jack Hayes, M.P., intimating that he would not be able to be present to move the composite resolution on "Police Admini-

stration," and asking the Chairman's permission for some other delegate to move it when the time arrived. It was very questionable, said Mr. Thorne, whether the resolution would be reached that day.

With regard to the amendment to the resolution on "The International Movement" on page 14, to insert the words "including the Communist Party," in view of the resolutions carried on the previous day, that amendment was now out of order. Resolution (a) on "Advisory Council for Wales" (page 15) would stand, but resolution (b) on the same subject was out. With regard to the "Federation" resolution (a), there was no delegate present to move it, and therefore it was out, and the amendments to it would also fall. Resolution (b) would stand. The resolutions on "Rural Propaganda and Organisation" were all out with the exception of resolution (c), and to that resolution, after the words "county divisions" it was proposed to add, "particularly in the south-west and East-Anglian areas." The resolution on "Party Staff" (page 19) would stand. With regard to the resolution on the "National Campaign" in the name of North Norfolk, the Conference Arrangements Committee had tried to persuade the delegates to withdraw it in view of the National Campaign now going on, but they had insisted on having their "pound of flesh." He was pleased to say that all the resolutions dealing with "Court Functions" had been withdrawn, but he thought he should add that the delegates felt very strongly on the matter. In place of the resolutions and amendments on "Trade Disputes" (page 21) a composite resolution had been printed, and would be circulated amongst the delegates. The same remark applied, as he had already intimated, to the resolution and amendments on "Police Administration." With regard to the resolution (a) on the "Control of the Labour Government and the Parliamentary Labour Party," and the amendments on the next page in the name of St. Pancras, he understood they would be embodied in a resolution and amendment which would be circulated. Resolution (f) would stand, (g) was out, (h) would stand, and (i) was out. With regard to the resolution on "Participation of Members of the Communist Party in Labour Party Administration," resolution (c) had, of course, been already settled. Resolutions (a) and (b) were out, but (d) would stand. A composite resolution on "Imperial Affairs" had been printed, and would take the place of the resolutions and amendments on page 32, and the same remark applied to the resolutions on "Education" on page 44. A composite resolution would also be printed dealing with "Birth Control." The ladies had been pressing very urgently to have this resolution brought on early.

The report was agreed to.

The Conference then proceeded to discuss the Parliamentary Report.

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE.

Mr. George Porter (Fairfield D.L.P.) asked why they had no instructions which they could take back with them with reference to the permissive powers that the Minister of Labour would exercise under the Act of the present year. He was instructed to ask this question in view of the serious effect they would have on the unemployed in the constituency which he came from, and also to ask whether they would be put in force at once.

Mr. Robert Smillie, M.P., asked the delegate to make his point clear.

Mr. Porter explained that one of the clauses was permissive, and if it was not put into force on the 15th of that month, so far as Liverpool was concerned, 30 per cent. of the people who were now receiving benefit would automatically cease to receive benefit.

Mr. Smillie said he did not really know the point that was raised here.

Mr. Porter: Is there anyone on the platform who knows the Act?

Miss Susan Lawrence, M.P., said she understood the point was this; unless the Minister exercised his powers under the Act many people would be out of unemployment benefits. The Minister had full power to fill up the gap. She thought Mr. Porter could rely, from what Mr. Shaw had said in the House of Commons, that he would most certainly exercise his powers under the Act. She was, of course, only expressing her personal views, but would they have gone to all the trouble of passing the Bill unless the Minister was going to put it into force?

Mrs. E. Palmer, J.P. (Southampton T.C.), asked whether it was within the knowledge of the Parliamentary Labour Party that service in the Army and Navy canteens was being used as voluntary work, and the clerks were not expected to accept such employment, and yet were having their benefits stopped. Southampton Trades Council felt very strongly on this matter, and locally they had prevented the Labour Exchange from persisting in it. But they were anxious to know if the Party was aware of this abuse, and if so whether steps would be taken to remedy it immediately. Southampton did not wish to cast any reflection on women who voluntarily took up such work.

The Chairman said they were now considering the report of work performed by the Parliamentary Labour Party. There would naturally be many questions affecting the Departments, and information such as the delegate had referred to should be forwarded to the Department, when suitable action would no doubt be taken. The Parliamentary Party was presenting a report of work already done, and it was not possible to answer all these questions about evils that existed.

Mr. J. Fisher (Bow and Bromley L.P.) said his organisation wished to impress upon the Party the hardship—which was a growing hardship—to the unemployed by the present administration of the Act, under which

a man working upon Unemployment Grants Work was not allowed to have his stamps taken into account for the new period of unemployment pay. For instance, it was possible, say, for a man to get 30 weeks in the period, which would bring him within the Act this time next year, but owing to his having worked in connection with Road-work Unemployment Schemes he was informed by the Labour Exchange officials that these stamps did not count. The point was this : if the unemployed man who was working upon these relief schemes was having 10d. per week stopped for his stamp, and was not receiving any benefit from it, there was clearly an injustice. Either the 10d. should not be stopped or the man should receive the benefit from having his stamps in his book.

The CHAIRMAN said that this again was an administrative point, and should be sent to the Department concerned. It was not a question which the Parliamentary representatives could answer.

Mr. J. COLHART (Miners' Federation) asked if any steps had been taken to have the personnel of the present Trades Facilities Committee changed because of their action in refusing to give the necessary grant to a Belgian firm that was willing to place orders with a Port Glasgow firm for four ships to be built, which would have meant the employment of a large number of men.

Mr. SMILLIE said this question had been before the Executive of the Party. Complaints had been received that certain persons applying for loans under the Trade Facilities Act did not get justice, and in some cases where orders would have been placed for shipbuilding and other things, the parties applying had been refused. The Executive had discussed the question, and they felt that the composition of the Committee was not altogether what it ought to be, and that its findings in some cases were clearly unfair, and they had asked the members of the Governing Council whether or not they would make a change in the personnel of the Committee. They were still dealing with it.

Mr. MICHAEL PROOTH (Stepney L.P.) inquired why it was that the Government, when they increased the Labour Exchange money by 3s. a week, at the same time gave the Guardians authority to deduct 3s. from the relief. It had been said that the unemployed man was going to benefit by the increase of 3s., and yet they found that married men with children, in many cases, had not only lost the increased 3s., but also the cwt. of coal which they previously had.

Miss SUSAN LAWRENCE said that these remarks should be addressed to the local Board of Guardians. It was rather hard that delegates should come here and ask the Conference to do things for them which they ought to be able to do for themselves. If the Board of Guardians in Bethnal Green was wrong, it was the duty of the people there to see they were put right.

Mr J. W. WEARMOUTH (Amald. Engineering Union) asked whether the Parliamentary Labour Party had considered the great injustice which had been done to unemployed contributors whose daughters were keeping home for them. A daughter keeping home for an unemployed contributor received no benefit, whereas if the unemployed contributor took a woman from the streets and said he was living with her as his wife he got the increased unemployed benefit. He maintained it was encouraging immorality, and there were numerous cases of that character.

Mr. SMILLIE replied that he was not sure whether the Minister of Labour had had his attention called to this matter, but the Party Executive having now had their attention drawn to it, would probably take it up.

MILITARY EXPENDITURE AND DISARMAMENT.

Mr. J. R. CAMPBELL (Kelvingrove D.L.P.) said he wanted to ask whether the action or the policy of the Government in the latter part of the year under review had been consistent with the policy which it had followed during the previous half-year, when it was in opposition, on the question of disarmament. It was most essential, when the Government took office, that in approaching this question it should do nothing to accelerate a new armament race, and yet they found that one of the first things the Government actually did was to bring forward a programme for building five cruisers and two destroyers. They brought it forward with the excuse that it was not an extension of the naval programme, but merely replacement. Now everyone who knew anything about armaments knew that there was no such thing in armaments as replacement. When they built five new cruisers they did not build a replica of the old cruisers which had been scrapped, but they built cruisers with all the latest inventions. Therefore they were not replacements but the starting point for a new armament race. The argument used in some cases was that it provided employment for the workers, but he maintained that the children in the Socialist Sunday Schools would dismiss that argument with absolute contempt. He wished to ask, first, whether the Executive of the Party were informed that this step of building five cruisers was to be taken, or whether the statement that was circulated in some of the newspapers was accurate, that they had never heard about it until the matter was raised in the House of Commons. In addition to that, he maintained that in other respects the Government, in all essential particulars, had continued the armament policy of Mr. Baldwin, even to the extent of repudiating while it was in office an amendment which had been moved in previous years by the Labour Party officially for the prevention of the use of troops in industrial disputes. He knew that the Labour Party was in a difficult position, that it was in a minority position, and might pass out of office at any time, but, that being the case, he maintained it was the duty of the Government to lead the fight in the House of Com-

mons against such action, and to disarm the capitalist class, at any rate to this extent, that the use of troops in industrial disputes would not be allowed. Then there had been the continuation and the acceleration of the Baldwin programme in connection with aircraft construction, and it was reported that more men were being employed now than were employed under the late Government. But not only had there been this programme of aircraft construction; there had also been a few preliminary manœuvres by the Royal Air Force in places like Iraq, and so on, where the use of armed force in the air was defended by the usual hypocritically-Imperialistic arguments. A reference had been made in this Conference on the previous day to war mentality, but there were people he knew—ex-pacifists—who seemed to have abandoned their pacifism now that they were in positions of Government power. He wished to say quite frankly that if it was a good thing to be a pacifist when it was a matter of fighting an enemy as strong as themselves, who could hit back shattering blows, it was also a good thing to be pacifists when they were dealing with a people weaker than themselves and a people who were struggling for freedom. He maintained that there had been a complete departure from the previous principles advocated by the Labour Party while in opposition, and that, he said, did not strengthen the Labour Movement in the country.

The Right Hon. J. R. CLYNES, M.P., said he thought they were at the stage when delegates were to put questions to Mr. Smillie or others who could answer them, on this Parliamentary Report. Mr. Campbell had roamed over many subjects, and he was not going to follow him. They had to answer that kind of speech in the House of Commons. It was to him indeed a curious mentality that presented itself in this way. The Parliamentary Labour Party was denounced for its hypocrisy by men who somehow could manage to put the case of the pacifists on the floor of this Conference and outside the hall to appeal to the workers for the building up of a great Red Army to achieve the domination of one class in the country over all others. He could not follow that line of reasoning, and would not, therefore, waste the time of the Conference. The answer on the general points that had been presented was this. Those ships, the construction of which was authorised, *were* replacements. Question it or deny it as they might, they *were* replacements, and the Navy was no stronger or greater because of any action taken by the Cabinet. The element of employment entered into the question merely for the reason that had this replacement not been ordered at the time, more than 2,000 men employed in Admiralty Departments would have been straightway dismissed. The estimates under the Labour Government in regard to the total expenditure on armaments was £7,000,000 less than in the case of its predecessors. Lastly, the proof of Labour's well-doing on this subject of disarmament was the magnificent stand made by Labour's Prime Minister at Geneva, where he made disarmament the leading business of that great assembly, and had, for the purpose of carrying the matter a big, practical step farther, arranged to convene the great World Conference in this city in June of next year. There, he wished to say, would be the next big step that Labour could take in proof of its genuine faith in this great gospel of reducing the armaments of the world.

Mr. F. W. RUDLAND (Birmingham L.P.) said that although this matter had not been discussed by his branch, because there was not time, he knew the sentiments of his members, and wished to express their protest against the terms of the resolution put down by the Labour Party in the House of Commons. He had been unable to discover any fundamental difference between the terms of this resolution and the Tory amendment. Both of them had the same underlying principle of national defence, whereas they were out for the defence of the working classes.

The CHAIRMAN, interrupting, said that the only business before the Conference at that moment was to hear questions on the subjects which were presented in the Report, and not to hear declarations unless a definite motion was tabled. He had given the previous speaker considerable latitude, because he did not wish to create any impression of unfairness, but in order to carry on the business efficiently delegates must confine themselves to the business before them.

Mr. RUDLAND contended that the business in hand was the discussion of this Report. He wished to know whether the Cabinet, or its representatives on the platform, accepted the principle of national defence, and, if so, what was national defence.

The CHAIRMAN said he did not think the Delegate's question was a serious one for this Conference. Everyone knew what was meant by national defence.

A DELEGATE asked whether the Executive intended to take any steps, or to set up any machinery, to deal with those who called themselves Labour Members, but who did not vote in favour of national ownership of the means of production, distribution, and exchange.

Mr. SMILLIE said the Party had not considered the question of eliminating any of those Members who did not vote in favour of the resolution on Socialism.

The DELEGATE wished to know whether any assurance could be given that the Party would consider the question, because the local Labour parties could not very well carry out the resolution of the previous day against the Communists while at the same time there were responsible Members in the House who were against the idea of Socialism.

Mr. SMILLIE said that this was largely a matter for the constituency that sent such a Member to the House of Commons. If a Member voted in favour of Capitalism as against Socialism, it would be the constitu-

ency that would deal with him, and not the Party in the House.

Mr. W. J. Brown (Civil Service Clerical Association) asked whether the Party or the Executive would consider the withdrawal of endorsements in the case of Members of the Party who voted against the Party resolution on Socialism in the House of Commons—whether they would consider the withdrawal of those endorsements at the coming election. If they were going to withdraw the endorsement of candidates who came from the Communist ranks, he thought they were quite entitled to ask for the withdrawal of endorsements of people who were neither Communists nor Socialists.

The Chairman said Mr. Brown was confusing the two Executives. They were now considering the Report of the Parliamentary Executive and not of the Party Executive. It was the Party Executive that gave or withdrew endorsements, and the Conference had considered their Report on the previous day. The Parliamentary Executive had nothing to do with the endorsement of candidates.

Mr. Alexander Gossip asked if the Party was really in earnest in its anti-militarism, and if not, did they see their way to engineer another war in the interests of the unemployed.

The Chairman again pointed out that these matters did not arise on the Report of the Parliamentary Party as to work done, and asked the Delegates to confine themselves to questions on the actual Report.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION.

Coun. L. Martin (Chester-le-Street D.L.P.) asked why the Parliamentary Party had not tried to bring forward a new Compensation Bill on behalf of workers in certain dangerous industries. They were all aware that just before the Tory Party went out of office a new Bill was pushed through with the deliberate intention of robbing the working classes, the scale of compensation being decreased. At the beginning of this year he received the usual blow in the eye. He was idle for a month on the magnificent sum of 22s. 6d. a week. He wondered if any Cabinet Minister or any of the people like the Duke of Northumberland would care to keep a family on 22s. 6d. a week. If it was good enough for the workers it was good enough for them. He believed the Parliamentary Party would have been well advised to try to bring in a new Compensation Bill dealing with this matter.

Mr. Smillie said the Party had given serious consideration to that very important question of Workmen's Compensation. They were not satisfied with the Bill which was passed through the House by the Tories, and they had done everything in their power to have it amended in many essential respects, but had failed. They had made up their mind that at the earliest possible moment they would bring in an improved Workmen's Compensation Bill, and they had appointed a Joint Committee who were chiefly representative of the dangerous trades. That Committee was going into the whole matter in order to endeavour to prepare a Bill which would be as near perfect as possible, and they hoped that Bill would be passed in the next Session of Parliament if Labour still continued in office.

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE—THANKS TO THE GOVERNMENT.

Mr. J. W. Wearmouth (A.E.U.) said he wished to take this opportunity of thanking the Parliamentary Labour Party and the Government for the superhuman efforts they had made to remove that obnoxious clause from the Unemployment Insurance Act whereby a person who was thrown out of employment in consequence of a dispute in the factory in which he was employed was deprived of benefits. That clause had created considerable hardship upon many innocent workmen. Although the Government had not been entirely successful, he wished, on behalf of the North of England engineers, at any rate, to thank them for their effort.

Mr. Michael Prooth (Stepney Trades Council) referred to the paragraph headed "Unemployment Insurance," in which it said that in April a Bill was introduced and passed to extend the payment of benefit from 26 weeks in the year to 41. It was also said that a more comprehensive Bill had been introduced to provide payment of benefit for 52 weeks in the year, and "to increase the allowance in respect of a child from 1s. to 2s. a week." He appealed to this Conference as an unemployed man that they ought to put it down as a definite rule that the children of the working classes should have an adequate allowance. How was it possible, he asked, for a man like himself, unemployed and with three children, to be able to exist on 23s. a week or 24s. a week? But what actually had they done? They had increased the allowance to him by 3s. a week. Of what earthly use was that to a man with three children? On the other hand, the price of bread had gone up, the price of milk had gone up and the price of eggs had gone up. Some people said that the unemployed had no right to ask for eggs at all, but he claimed that the children of the working classes had as much right to the decencies of life as any other children. At any rate, they should be put in such a position that they were able to give their children sufficient nourishment.

The Chairman: Will you tell us what your question to the Parliamentary Party is?

Mr. Prooth: It is this; that in my opinion——

The Chairman: No, what is your question without your opinion?

Mr. Prooth said his question was: Whether an increase from 1s. to 2s. a week was sufficient?

Mr. Smillie: And the answer is No. The Parliamentary Party, the Parliamentary Executive and the Cabinet feel that that increase is not sufficient, and they are hoping to go on with an endeavour to continue

increasing the allowance until it is adequate to enable the unemployed man and his family to live decently.

Mr. Bram Longstaffe (Barrow L.P.) asked whether the Parliamentary Party were aware that the new Unemployment Insurance Act was going to work considerably to the disadvantage of the unemployed man. The statement made by the Minister of Labour was that the increased benefit would be a saving to the rates of the locality. He wished to know whether the Parliamentary Party would take steps to see that the increase granted to the unemployed man was not filched from him by the Boards of Guardians.

The Chairman pointed out that that question had already been answered by Miss Lawrence.

Mr. Shaw (Glasgow L.P.) wished to know whether it could not be arranged that the unemployed should not be compelled to go to the Boards of Guardians for their additional doles. He thought it might be paid through the Labour Exchange.

Miss Carlin asked whether the Party was aware that a considerable number of women were induced to pay for domestic training on the understanding that that training should not compel them to accept domestic service, and yet circulars were now being issued to the Labour Exchanges with the direct intention of forcing these women into domestic service, and doing them out of their unemployment benefits.

Mr. Smillie said that was one of the very points they put before the Labour Minister, who had said that that circular was not the intention of the Department. If any case of the kind that Miss Carlin had referred to was brought before Mr. Lindsay, the Secretary, Mr. Shaw would deal with it. It was not the intention that women should be refused unemployment benefit merely because of that

Mr. W. F. Andrews (Battersea L.P.) wished to know if the Executive took into consideration, when they raised the amount for women from 12s. to 15s. a week, that women had to be fed, clothed and sheltered the same as men, and in view of that would they, in the near future, consider the advisability of raising the amount to 18s. a week, the same as the men. Many a woman had a mother to keep, and had to bear as heavy burdens as the men. He contended that the Labour Party believing as it did in the equalisation of the sexes, should make the benefit the same for women as for men.

Mr. Smillie said that would carry with it something else. It would mean an increase in the contributions. He expected the contribution was fixed on a lower scale because, unfortunately, women were not receiving as high wages as men. It was a matter for the Minister of Labour to consider whether it was advisable to raise the unemployment benefit to women, with the full knowledge that it would involve an increase in the contributions.

Councillor Luke Bates (Weavers) asked if the Labour Party had considered the question of insurance against under-employment as well as total unemployment. The loss amongst the cotton weavers of Lancashire was far greater from under-employment than from non-employment. The average weaver looked after four looms, but in slack times he was often reduced to looking after three or two looms. In the case of the Lancashire cotton weaver, the average wage was £2 2s. a week for four looms, but the weavers were often reduced to looking after two looms which meant an average of 21s. a week. He had to pay as large a contribution as the best paid worker in the country, but had no opportunity of drawing benefit if he was only partly employed. The clause said that if he left his employment with just cause, he was entitled to benefit, and the corollary was that if he was deprived of part of his employment he was entitled to part benefit, but as a matter of fact, if a weaver left two looms he was not entitled to any benefit. He contended that the Act should be made in such a way that it would allow the weaver, who had to leave two looms when his normal contract with his employer was to work four looms, to claim unemployment benefit.

Mr Smillie remarked that he thought Mr. Shaw, the Minister of Labour had some knowledge of the cotton industry.

Councillor Bates replied that the Minister of Labour had made no suggestion in that respect.

Mr. Smillie said that the same point arose, and with even greater force, in regard to the miners. The miners might get two or three days employment in the week. The miners had many and many a time before them the question of under-employment, and he was sure that the cotton people must have discussed it also, and what was necessary was to have a resolution put down on the agenda instructing the Parliamentary Party to deal with it. He was sure that every person would agree that the cotton people, or the miners, or any other persons suffering from under-employment should receive just as much consideration as the entirely unemployed.

The Chairman here remarked that if they were going to adhere to the time-table they would have to get on with the business a good deal faster. He thought this was all the more necessary in view of the uncertainty which confronted the House of Commons.

The next paragraph considered was that headed " Rent Control," on which a Glasgow delegate asked whether the Government would be content to leave the Rent Control where it was, or whether steps would be taken to reintroduce the clause reducing the increase from 40 per cent. to 25 per cent.

COMMUNISTS AND THE EXECUTIVE.

At this point a delegate asked for the ruling of the Chair in regard to the ballot papers. He pointed out that owing to the

decision of the Conference on the previous day, the Communists would be cut out at the end of this Conference, and therefore the delegates wished to be informed if there was any name on the ballot paper of a candidate who was a Communist.

The CHAIRMAN said he had not the slightest idea as to who was or who was not a Communist. He did not know whether any decision or suggestion was made by the Conference Arrangements Committee, but in the absence of that, delegates would vote for any name on the papers they wished.

Mr. DAWSON, referring to the London Traffic Bill, asked whether the Parliamentary Party had under consideration such legislation as would give to the workers in the transport industry greater control over the London traffic in the future.

Mr. SMILLIE replied that delegates might take it this was a matter the Party would give the fullest consideration to.

THE BUDGET.

A DELEGATE of the Ship Constructors' and Shipwrights' Association asked whether they could expect at a very early date such legislation as was required to prevent the workers of the country being exploited by profiteers after the Chancellor of the Exchequer had introduced a Budget for the purpose of giving them some relief. Every delegate would realise that it was impossible for them to bring any relief to the people whom they represented whilst they left the field open for the exploiters to put their hands into the other pocket. He sincerely hoped that before the next Budget was introduced, the Labour Party would see their way clear to introduce some legislation which would make it quite sure that the people would get the benefit intended for them.

Mr. T. WILSON (Shop Assistants' Union) said he had been listening that morning to a great deal of criticism of the Parliamentary Party, but it seemed to him that the delegates were wasting their time. The people they ought to complain about were the people who stood in the queue to vote against the Socialist candidates at the elections. It was impossible to make bricks without straw, and they could not expect the Parliamentary Party to do very much unless they had a majority. It was the people who voted against them outside who were the cause of the trouble.

Mr. J. STRAIN (Woodworkers) inquired why, in view of the past policy of the Labour Party, no attempt was made to increase the taxation on the capitalists and the financiers. They were told that the reduction in the food taxation amounted to twenty-three millions to the consumers, but as a matter of fact the principal consumer was the man who received the reduction in his taxes — the financier and the capitalist. They knew that any so-called reduction in the taxation of food did not really benefit them at all, because prices immediately went up. He was sure the women folk of the working classes would agree with his wife who said that when the Chancellor of the Exchequer stated, in introducing the Budget, that it was the first step towards a free breakfast table, he was pulling the worker's leg.

The CHAIRMAN asked the speaker to confine himself to the question he wished to ask.

Mr. STRAIN said they were told that this particular Budget was a good thing for the working class, and he wanted to know why, in view of that statement, David Lloyd George voted in favour of it and the Conservative Party said it was a Conservative measure. He wished to know why it was described as a Workers' Budget.

The CHAIRMAN said he was afraid no one could tell the delegate why it was described as a Workers' Budget. That was a question which he did not think could elucidate a reply from the Parliamentary Party.

The Right Hon. J. R. CLYNES, M.P., in answering the questions which had been put on profiteering, remarked that he could only say that, taking what he regarded as the biggest piece of social legislation passed by a modern Parliament, namely Labour's Housing Bill—taking that Bill they were mindful of the certainty that those who had building materials under their control would take advantage of the national necessity, and therefore they introduced last August a Bill to deal, in the course of this autumn, with that type of profiteer, and in regard to that they were doing their best. He thought many delegates were addressing themselves to the subjects in this report as though Labour had been a long time in power, with a majority behind it, and that it was able to do what it liked. He wished them to remember that the Labour Members in the House of Commons only formed one out of every three Members there, and within the limits of that minority power they had done in this short time all they were able. He only wished to add this: The only defence that need be offered from a Labour platform for Labour's first Budget was the frenzied endeavours of their opponents to see to it that Labour did not have a chance to introduce a second Budget.

A DELEGATE from the Transport Workers inquired whether the Party would consider bringing in a Bill to make it illegal for rings to be formed when the Chancellor of the Exchequer was doing his best to provide the workers with a free breakfast table.

Mr. SMILLIE replied that he thought the Party would give such an idea their favourable consideration. He believed the time had come when, if the Chancellor of the Exchequer through his Budget gave relief to the housewives in one direction and someone else took away that relief by profiteering—it was time the Party and the Cabinet tried to do something to prevent it.

A woman DELEGATE maintained that the workers of the country had not derived any

benefit from the recent Budget. She had a small family of three, and she could say definitely that she had not benefited one iota. Soon after the Budget they had an increase in the price of beef, and in her particular case, the prices of three commodities the previous week had gone up to such an extent that it made a difference of 1s. on the week's wage. She also wanted to know how much the abolition of the Inhabited House duty had benefited the rent payer.

The CHAIRMAN thought it would be impossible for anyone here to say how much the housewife had benefited. Obviously that was not a question which could be answered with any degree of accuracy by anyone present.

Miss GRAHAM (Moss Side Labour Party) asked what was the use at all of touching the breakfast table while the Trade Union rate of wages was based on the cost of living.

The CHAIRMAN : The reply to that, of course, is that they are not all based on the cost of living.

A DELEGATE wished to know whether, in view of the fact that the Minister of Health had intimated that a second Housing Bill would be introduced, he would give special facilities to the Municipalities and Local Authorities to do building by direct labour.

Mr. SMILLIE replied that it was the intention of the present Minister of Health to give every encouragement to Municipalities and Local Authorities to do their own building by direct labour rather than the present system.

Mr. W. J. BROWN wished to know whether the Government had considered the possibility, in dealing with its own employees, of refraining from taking away from those employees the benefits of reduced prices following the Budget by making an automatic reduction in the War Bonus of Government employees and the sliding scale of wages. He said that the Parliamentary Party would not be held responsible because certain people had not received any benefit owing to the automatic reduction in the sliding scales. That was a matter for the Unions to deal with. But the Government was responsible for Government employees, and he wished to know whether it was not possible to arrange matters so that these employees got the benefits conferred by the Budget.

The CHAIRMAN said that it was impossible for the Committee to say what might happen in that respect.

Mr. BROWN : The Chancellor of the Exchequer was asked in the House of Commons to do that, and he refused.

The CHAIRMAN : He is not here this morning.

HOUSING.

A DELEGATE asked why no attempt had been made by the Parliamentary Party to place the whole of the subsidy for building houses on the National Exchequer, instead of putting it on Local Authorities as well. He did not know whether the Parliamentary Labour Party were aware that where the subsidy was being given under the 1923 Act the contractors and financiers were taking the subsidy, and it was not being given to the people who ought to benefit by it. Further, he wished to know, did the Ministry of Health get a pledge from the Municipal Corporations and the Urban District Councils' Association that they would recommend their affiliated bodies to go on building houses under the 1924 Act?

The CHAIRMAN said they were being placed under a great disadvantage at the Conference in being asked to deal with questions which referred to certain Government Departments when they had not the Minister present who could give an authoritative answer. The Minister, no doubt for very good reasons, was not present, and it was therefore very difficult to give an answer which would carry the necessary authority.

The DELEGATE suggested that the Leader of the House had some knowledge of the matters in question.

Another DELEGATE said he thought that the Government should take up the question of rationing the houses. He knew of 19 and 20 people living in one house round Westminster, while there were houses which were by no means fully occupied or not occupied at all. It was a crying shame, with the present scarcity of houses, that this should be possible.

The CHAIRMAN said he had already pointed out several times that if delegates wanted Ministers to consider certain matters they should put them down in resolutions, and get them passed by the Conference.

Mr. S. FINNEY (Miners' Federation) said it was impossible for many of the delegates to hear either the questions that were being asked or the answers that were given. He thought the time of the Conference was being wasted, and suggested it would be better for delegates to send up their questions in writing and get their answers in writing.

A DELEGATE said he was instructed by his organisation to point out that several months ago sanction was asked for two loans, one for a Palace of Pleasure, and the other for a clearance of slum areas. The one for the Palace of Pleasure had been granted, but they had heard nothing as to the clearance of slum areas or the building of houses for the working classes. He asked whether, in the opinion of the Parliamentary Party, that was the right sort of thing for them to go to an election on.

Mr. SMILLIE replied that as a matter of fact neither the Executive of the Party nor the Parliamentary Party in the House knew anything about this particular matter; but if the delegate wanted his own opinion as to the views of the Executive or the Party in the House on a matter of that kind, it was that they would prefer slum clearances and new houses for the people rather than clearances for palaces for people to see shows.

AGRICULTURAL WAGES BILL.

Mr. W. B. TAYLOR (South-West Norfolk D.L.P.) said he was desired by the Agricultural Workers in his division to thank the

Parliamentary Party for passing, so far as they had been able, the measure for agricultural wages. He wished to ask, however, when the County Committees would commence to function, in order that the goods might be delivered. He was persuaded as to the urgency of this question by reason of the fact that the cost of living had risen nearly every week, whilst the wages in Norfolk remained at 24s. 7d. They wanted to get a move on, as their homes were in danger.

Mr. W. R. Smith, M.P. (Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Agriculture), in replying, said he could assure Mr. Taylor and the Conference that, so far as the Ministry was concerned, they were losing no time, and all the appointments would be made as early as it was possible to do so. He could only hope that the operative sides would be equally expeditious in appointing their members.

Mr. William Holmes (National Union of Agricultural Workers) said he desired on behalf of his Union to move the reference back of the clause in the report reading: "The Government had decided not to insert a figure on account of the changes in prices and of a difference of opinion among the Unions concerned." He claimed, on behalf of the agricultural workers, that that was not the reason at all, and he would give them facts and figures to prove it. If ever there was a Party pledged to give the Agricultural Workers a minimum wage in an Act of Parliament it was the Labour Party. They decided, as far back as 1908, in favour of a minimum wage of 30s. a week. In 1912 the Labour Party, to its credit, was the first political party to draft a Wages Bill for the agricultural workers of the country, and that Bill contained a provision for a minimum wage. In 1919 the Labour Party issued one of the finest pamphlets that had ever been issued by any Party, entitled "Labour Problems after the War." That pamphlet did more to build up the Labour Party and enable it to get a quarter of a million votes in 1918 than anything else. Included in that document was a provision for a minimum wage. Mr. Henderson, Mr. Snowden and Mr. MacDonald had all taken up the case for the farm labourer in the House of Commons against the Coalition Government, and had insisted on a minimum wage, and had in fact moved for a 30s. a week minimum. It was not true to say that it was a difference of opinion in the Unions that had led the members of the Government to change their attitude, because the same differences existed in 1917.

A Delegate here rose to a point of order, asking whether this was a question.

The Chairman said this was a resolution to refer a certain portion of the report back—not to delete the lines referred to, because that could not be done.

Mr. Holmes, continuing, said they all agreed that farmers' prices had fallen, but they did not agree that they could not afford to pay the 30s. Were the Government prepared to accept the farmers' declaration on that? He maintained that they could well afford to pay a minimum wage of 30s. a week. There were some people who said they would not vote for 30s. because it was too small, but these very same people outside the House of Commons agreed with the masters for 25s. or 28s. a week. That was not fair play. It might be that it was not possible in the present House of Commons to get the minimum wage through. They agreed with the latter part of this report that this was a very good Bill—a far better Bill than the previous one, but they maintained that these three lines were not true and were not fair to the organisations concerned, and they certainly did not reflect credit on the Parliamentary Party.

Mr. E. J. Pay (S.D.F.) said he most cordially associated himself with the mover of this resolution, and he was glad that the attention of the Conference had been called to the fact that it was not due to differences existing between the various Unions concerned. They were very much in a position of insurance agents in competing for the membership of the agricultural workers, and the sooner these differences were removed the better. In view of the fact that the powers of the Central Wages Board had been very much limited, he thought it was high time that a minimum wage—even of £2 or 50s. a week—for agricultural workers should be moved by the Labour Party in the House of Commons. They were not concerned about the farmer or his prices. The farmers belonged to the present capitalist system and if, under the capitalist system, they could not pay a living wage, they should still be held to their bargain, and the Party should say to them: "We are not responsible, and if you cannot pay a living wage to the men whom you employ, then get out of it and we will substitute Socialism." He therefore most cordially welcomed this resolution moved by the representative of an important Union, and he hoped that the Conference would not only refer this clause back, but give the Parliamentary Labour Party a clear indication that in the not very distant future—if they should hang on—they were not going to be satisfied until the work and useful services the agricultural workers were performing in the interests of the nation was recognised alongside the services of their brother workers in all the other industries of the land.

Mr. W. R. Smith, M.P., said he had been asked to reply to the point raised by Mr. Holmes, and supported by Mr. Pay, and in doing so he wished to draw the attention of the Conference to the fact that this paragraph must be taken as being either a correct or an incorrect record of the facts. So far as the history of this question was concerned and the standpoint from which Mr. Holmes had dealt with it, he had nothing whatever to quarrel with, but when it became a question as to whether these particular words were correct or not, all he could assure the Conference was that they were a

record of the facts. This question was considered, and the Unions that catered for the organisation of the agricultural workers were consulted, and it was true to say that there was no agreement amongst them on this question, and that was taken into consideration in conjunction with other factors, and ultimately it was decided that it would not be the best course to take to put a minimum figure in the Bill. So far as the later stages were concerned, when other people moved amendments, a situation developed when the Government and the Ministry had to consider this question from the standpoint of the possibility of getting any Bill through the House, and they did what they thought was best in the interests of the agricultural worker. But on the main point of criticism he wanted to assure the Conference that the words were a record of the facts, and for the reason stated here the 30s. or any other figure was not placed in the Bill.

The motion to refer the paragraph back was then put, and lost on a show of hands.

OLD AGE PENSIONS.

Miss EDITH HOWSE (Union of Post Office Workers), referring to the paragraph on Old Age Pensions, asked whether the Parliamentary Party had taken into consideration the cases of persons who were even worse off than those who had had the opportunity of saving. She knew a case, which was typical of others, of a man and woman, one over 70, and the other just below 70, whose total earnings were 25s. a week. The woman was only entitled to a pension of 6s. a week because the 25s. earned was divided between the two, and 12s. 6d. per week was reckoned to be earned by her. They therefore debarred her from getting the full Old Age Pension. It was all very well, she said, to deal with the people who had been thrifty, but there were many people who could not possibly put away even a little, and it was those people who were suffering extremely at the present time. She hoped that the Members of the Parliamentary Party, who had been placed in the House of Commons by the workers, would look after this particular section of the community who very much deserved their sympathy.

HOURS OF INDUSTRIAL EMPLOYMENT.

Mr. J. R. LESLIE (Shop Assistants) said he noticed that the proposal of the Government in the Bill they had introduced was to exclude a very large section of the commercial employees—of workers in the distributive trade—and he wished to know if there was any possibility of including these employees. If not, would the Government introduce a short measure in order to make the 48-hour week applicable to workers in general.

Mr. THOMAS LEWIS, J.P. (Marine Workers), asked whether seamen were included in the Bill before the House, and if not why not.

Mr. J. W. BOWEN also wished to know what employees were included in the Bill. It was not clear, he said, whether they meant Government employees in industrial departments.

The Right Hon. TOM SHAW, M.P. (Minister of Labour), said the Hours of Employment Bill was the Washington Convention pure and simple; nothing less and nothing more. It was an international agreement signed by our own Government representatives in Washington, and as such it was put before the House. It did not include seamen, and it did not include distributive workers unless they came under the categories distinctly stated in the Bill. It covered the Civil Service so far as the servants were held to be industrial workers in the definition given in the Bill itself. That was the condition of affairs. It was not a general eight hours measure; it was simply the Convention, and as such it excluded all who were not in it at Washington.

Mr. J. MCKINLAY (Marine Workers) asked whether Mr. Shaw would give the delegates some idea of what was being done in regard to seamen so far as the eight hours day was concerned Were they to be outcasts?

Mr. TOM SHAW said that that was a question that hung on the future. If anyone would give him an assurance that he could include any other grades of workers without destroying the Convention itself he was willing to do it, but he was not personally prepared to risk this Convention, which they had the right to claim on the ground that it was a signed agreement with other countries, unless he had a guarantee that he was not going to do more harm than good. As to the seamen, they were not in the Convention. (A Delegate : "Shame!") He knew it was a shame, but it was a fact, and, as he had already said, the Bill itself was the Convention, nothing more and nothing less.

Mr. J. COTTER (Marine Workers) challenged the statement of the Minister of Labour in regard to seamen being outside the Washington Convention. As a matter of fact, he contended, the seamen were inside the Washington Convention, and this question was considered of such a serious character that they got a Convention to themselves—the Convention made in Genoa in 1920. That Convention, however, was defeated, and the seamen were kept out of the 48-hour week by the vote of the Tory Minister of Labour, and they expected that a Labour Minister of Labour would have brought the seamen inside. If Mr. Shaw persisted in his present attitude his name would be discredited amongst the seamen of this country. They had asked him to receive a deputation, but he had refused, and it was an extraordinary state of affairs that a Labour Minister of Labour should refuse to receive such a deputation. He wished to tell the Labour Government that they demanded justice for the seamen of this country. During the war they were told they were the finest people who ever lived. They carried

the food supplies, and surely it was not beyond the possibility of a Minister of Labour to take the whole of his future in his hands and to say that these men were worthy of consideration by the people of this country and therefore he would bring them into the Convention. It was better that the Bill should be sacrificed than that the seamen of the country should be sacrificed.

Mr. Tom Shaw, M.P., thought there was a misunderstanding somewhere. He was Chairman of the Committee that made the Convention in Washington, and therefore obviously he knew something about it, and he could say that they never did come to an agreement as to putting seamen into the Convention. They were not in it, and nobody could find a word in the Convention that put them in. (A Voice : " Why? ") If they asked him why, all he could say was that there could be no agreement reached in the matter, and consequently they were not in. (A Voice : " Ask Havelock Wilson.") Yes, that was a very serious reason. He thought he knew what he was talking about because he had had as much to do with the Convention as any living man. The seamen were not in it. This Bill was a Bill to ratify a Convention to which the British Government was pledged up to the hilt. He thought it was essential to let the country know whether the word of its representatives given in Washington on behalf of the Government should be kept or not. He had no objection himself—in fact, he would welcome an eight-hour day for seamen—and when Mr. Cotter asked him to receive a deputation, he pointed out to him in the most courteous way possible that the Department of State that dealt with questions regarding seamen was the Board of Trade, and he advised Mr. Cotter to approach the Board of Trade, without which he (Mr. Shaw) could do nothing. That was perfectly clear. It was impossible for him to produce, on his own account, an eight-hour day Bill for seamen, and therefore he asked Mr. Cotter to see the President of the Board of Trade. What more could he have done? Mr. Cotter insisted that he (Mr. Shaw) was the person, but he knew he had not the power. Apparently Mr. Cotter knew better what power the Minister of Labour possessed. He had nothing further to say on that, but he was hoping that they would shortly be in a position to move for a general eight-hours day. He thought it would be a fatal blunder, however, not to bring home to the country the fact that here was a Convention with regard to which agreement had been arrived at, and as to which the honour of Britain was pledged, and that ought to go through first and not be endangered by the introduction of any other question.

Mr. J. Hallsworth (Distributive Workers) said that Mr. Shaw, in defending his attitude, contended that the Hours of Employment Bill according to the Washington Convention should be put in first, but he wished to ask why there was a departure from the policy of the Labour Party now it was in office from the policy of the Party in 1923. In 1923 the Labour Party introduced a Bill backed by Mr. Clynes and other Front Bench men, and tried to get it through the House of Commons, to carry out not merely the Washington Convention as stated in the Memorandum to the Bill, but also to give effect to the recommendations of the General Industrial Conference of 1919. If it was possible for the Labour Party in the House of Commons, when another Government was in office in 1923, to ask for a double-barrelled Bill which was the demand of the whole Labour Movement, why was it not possible with a Labour Government in office to do it now? It was all very well for Mr. Shaw to throw the responsibility upon a Government Department, but so far as the Distributive Workers were concerned, they were making a tremendous effort to organise them, and they felt they had been badly let down by the Party and the Government. He urged them not to estrange a very large army of possible recruits to the Labour Movement by leaving them out of this measure. The demand of the Labour Movement was that they should not pick out certain classes of workers and leave others, and therefore they desired to draw the attention of the Minister of Labour to the fact that, although he might cite the Board of Trade as the office responsible, there was all the more reason why a main Hours of Employment Bill should be drafted which would include all classes of workers. They urged that it should be possible, pending legislation, for the Government not to countenance the fixing of less than a maximum week of forty-eight hours.

Mr. Shaw said he could only repeat again that there was an International promise, an International debt of honour to pay, and that was to ratify the Washington Convention. Over and over again in this Conference, in the Trades Union Congress and in the House of Commons they had demanded the ratification of the Washington Convention as a debt of honour due from this country, and he was trying to discharge it. That did not mean to say he was against a general forty-eight hour week. It only meant that here was a definite bond that must be kept first, and then it would be the greatest pleasure of his life to introduce a Bill that would make for a forty-eight hours maximum for all those that were left out. He urged, however, that this thing should be done first in accordance with their own decisions.

The matter was then dropped.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Mr. J. J. Vaughan (Bethnal Green L.P. and T.C.) moved the reference back of the paragraph on Foreign Affairs. The Bethnal Green Trades Council, he said, took the view that the action of the Parliamentary Party in accepting and propagating the policy of the Dawes Report had been against

the best interests of the workers. One would have imagined that the Parliamentary Labour Party of all Parties would have had some consideration for the people they were supposed to represent. If he knew the history of the Dawes Report aright, he thought it would be true to say that this Report was born as a result of the Baldwin influence, and when he looked at the Chairman of the Dawes Committee, and allowed his mind to travel along the road that led to America, and when he watched the activities of General Dawes in America, he was suspicious of anything coming from a Committee under the chairmanship of that individual. In America General Dawes had been in the forefront of those capitalists who had suppressed every action of the workers for an improvement in their conditions. He had given unstinted service to the capitalists in shooting down the workers of America. This was the man who was responsible, as Chairman, for the Dawes Report. They had been hearing that morning from Mr. Shaw that the Parliamentary Labour Party were very much interested in the eight-hour day, but what did they find? They found that the whole of the capitalist Press, not only in Great Britain, but also in Germany and France, was pointing to the fact that the Dawes Report was the way to longer hours and worse conditions for the workers. In the Sunday *Observer* there was a report of an interview with Sir Philip Dawson, in which it was pointed out that the Dawes Report had led, in Germany, to the abolition of the eight-hour day, and for that reason the Dawes Report was to be praised. Wherever they turned they found the people who were advocating the acceptance of the Dawes Report were the people who were against the workers of this country. Why was the Dawes Report brought into being? Did the Parliamentary Committee suggest to him and to the workers that the Dawes Report was brought into being in order to do him and his fellow workers any good? No, there was an economic reason for it. They would remember what happened when the previous arrangement was being discussed. There was an arrangement made whereby Germany was called upon to deliver coal into France free, gratis and for nothing, and immediately it was found that it would worsen the condition of the miners in this country. An arrangement was then made between the Government of this country and the Miners' Federation, but the mineowners refused that agreement and proceeded to lock the miners out If he understood the situation aright, this was because the industry could not pay fair wages to the miners or give them decent hours because of the German competition. They would get the same result from the Dawes Report, which meant slavery not only for the workers of Germany, but also for the workers at home, and, however desirous Mr. Shaw might be to get an eight-hour day, they would never get it. The workers of this country should not be under any illusion as to that.

The CHAIRMAN said it was not advisable to have two discussions on one subject. They would notice on page 29 of the Agenda there was a resolution and an amendment on this subject, and Delegates would then have a chance to support the amendment which was on the lines indicated by the mover of the reference back. They would therefore take the discussion on that question.

Mr. SAM ELSBURY (Tailors and Garment Workers) said if the Chairman was ruling this out on those grounds he desired to move the reference back on other grounds.

Mr. C. RODEN BUXTON (I.L.P.) said he wished to oppose the reference back of this particular sentence in the Report. He thought the view presented by the comrade who had just spoken gave an entirely false impression as to the position of the Dawes Report and still more as to the position of the Labour Government with regard to the Dawes Report.

Mr. W. A. ROBINSON (Distributive Workers) here rose to a point of order. He wished to know whether the speech they were about to listen to endorsing the retention of this paragraph of the Report would not rule out of order the discussion of the resolution on the Agenda.

The CHAIRMAN said they would not take a vote on the suggested resolution at this stage. He understood that Mr. Elsbury desired to move the reference back on quite another matter, and therefore he proposed to hear what his point was.

In answer to a further question, the CHAIRMAN said that Mr. Buxton could speak on this particular paragraph, but there was no motion for him to oppose.

Mr. C. RODEN BUXTON (continuing) said he could not be accused of any want of sympathy in this matter, seeing that in this very Conference, three years ago at Brighton, he himself put forward the point of view which had been placed before them in connection with the Miners' dispute of that year, and pointed out the injury which reparations, as a principle, was doing at that time not only to the German workers but to the British workers as well.

Another DELEGATE here rose to a point of order and asked in what circumstances was this discussion being allowed to take place. As far as he could see no question was being put.

The CHAIRMAN said that he had had difficulty, during the whole of the morning, in ascertaining from the speeches of many of the delegates whether they were leading up to questions or not. He did not know if Mr. Buxton was coming to a question.

Mr. BUXTON said that if the Chairman intimated he was out of order he would immediately sit down, but he wished to have the opportunity, either now or later, of speaking on the Dawes Report.

The CHAIRMAN said that unless Mr. Buxton was leading up to a question he had better

reserve any comments he had to make until they reached page 29 of the Conference Agenda.

Mr. BUXTON then said he would let the matter drop on the understanding that he would have the opportunity of speaking when they reached the resolution on page 29 of the Agenda.

Mr. SAM ELSBURY said he wished to move the reference back upon totally different grounds, and he ventured to say that his remarks would not be covered by the resolution in the Agenda. His main purpose was to get a declaration from the delegates that the Parliamentary Party in their Foreign Policy had been adopting what was nothing more or less than an Imperialist policy, and was actually a continuation of the policy of the past Liberal and Tory regimes. In the first place they were told that the first thing they would do when getting into power would be to publish all past secret treaties. Then why did they omit to publish what would undoubtedly have been the greatest indictment of past Governments they could possibly see? There were thousands to-day who were misled by the belief that in the late war they were fighting for liberty, and there were many who laid down their lives whose dependents would see that they had been misled in this belief if those secret treaties were disclosed. His main point was that they had to-day the same policy of secrecy as formerly, and he contended that it ought to be absolutely denounced by every man and woman in this Conference. They were told that Ramsay MacDonald was the peacemaker. He went to Geneva, and it was said they were proud of his action.

The CHAIRMAN here interposed and said that as he had previously announced he desired to know the grounds on which Mr. Elsbury differed from the resolution set out on the Agenda or the amendment. The amendment proposed to delete certain words and to say "to secure a revision of the Treaty of Versailles and the Reparation clauses of the Dawes Report." As Mr. Elsbury had raised no point which was different to that raised in the amendment, he was obliged to rule him out of order.

Mr. SAKLATVALA said he represented the St. Pancras Party, which was responsible for the amendment, and he had been informed, to his disappointment, that morning that the Standing Orders Committee were not going to permit that amendment to be moved.

The CHAIRMAN thought that Mr. Saklatvala was wrong.

Mr. SAKLATVALA said he had been informed that, by some arrangement, the resolution was to be dropped, and therefore the amendment dropped with it.

Mr. WILL THORNE said that, speaking from memory, if the resolution had been ruled out it was either because the delegates had not turned up or it had been withdrawn.

The CHAIRMAN said that unless some new point was raised, or the people responsible for the amendment wished to withdraw it, it would be taken in the ordinary course.

Mr. SAKLATVALA said that if the amendment which the Chairman now intimated might be discussed was, in fact, not to be discussed, then his ruling at the present moment not to allow a discussion on this particular paragraph created a very grave situation for the Conference.

The CHAIRMAN : It would do, but in view of the fact that the Conference is now leaving the discussion on that point over, I would strongly urge that this question remain on the Agenda in order that you may have the opportunity of speaking on it.

Mr. ELSBURY inquired when he was to have the opportunity of denouncing the present Foreign Policy of the Government if he was ruled out now.

The CHAIRMAN : On page 29 of the Agenda.

Mr. BRAM LONGSTAFFE (Barrow L.P. and T.C.) wished to know where the Parliamentary Party got their power from to repudiate Conference decisions as Mr. Henderson had done on Reparations in the by-election and the Prime Minister in the House of Commons.

The CHAIRMAN : The Prime Minister is not present, and I am sure you will agree it is very difficult for anyone here to venture to answer on his behalf. We would be speaking entirely without his authority.

Mr. J. HAWORTH (Bootle T.C. and L.P.) said that the people concerned with moving resolution (b) on page 29 had agreed that the points covered in their resolution were included in the main in resolution (c). They had therefore agreed that the Bootle resolution should be a composite resolution, so that the amendments on the matter could be dropped.

The CHAIRMAN : If (c) is combined with (b), the amendment will still be in order, but if (b) is completely dropped it will not be in order.

Mr. HAWORTH : It is dropped in favour of (c).

The CHAIRMAN : Then if it is dropped in favour of (c) we will now continue the debate on the reference back.

Mr. SAKLATVALA rose to second the reference back when Mr. Elsbury asked why he had been stopped from making his statement and now another delegate was being allowed to speak.

The CHAIRMAN : For this reason. The reference back was moved from the back of the hall. It was not seconded because it was pointed out that we had an amendment dealing with the question. Therefore the seconder is now entitled to speak, in view of the explanation given that the resolution is withdrawn. The original debate goes on.

A DELEGATE wished to know whether the Chairman of the Conference was giving his decision based on what the Chairman of the Conference Arrangements Committee had told him. Did he take his instructions from

the Chairman of the Committee or from a delegate in the hall?

The CHAIRMAN: I certainly take my instructions from the Chairman of the Arrangements Committee, but when a Delegate who has been at a Group Meeting assures me that a certain resolution has been withdrawn, I accept what he says in good faith.

Mr. SAKLATVALA urged the Conference to view the motion to refer this portion of the Report back in its true light. He was the last person to consider this as any censure upon the Government. He did not at all suggest that they should not appreciate the extremely difficult position in which the Government was placed on the Dawes Report. He appreciated it at its full value. He went further and appealed to the Delegates to remember that the Government of this country was not a majority Government. He realised that the House of Commons was hostile to the Labour Cabinet. He would go even farther. He fully appreciated that the matter of the Dawes Report did not rest on the authority of the British public alone, but also of France, Italy and elsewhere. He highly appreciated all these difficulties, but he asked the Executive to allow this reference back by an understanding. The Delegates in this Conference were not the Cabinet or the Government; they were here as the representatives of the Labour Movement of the country and were responsible, not to the Government, not to the Cabinet, but wholly and solely and entirely to the workers of Great Britain. He appealed to them, because the Dawes Report was not the outcome of a Trades Union Congress, or a Labour Party Conference, but was purely a banking experts' arrangement, and it was their sacred duty at a Conference of this sort to dissociate themselves from the Dawes Report, the effect of which would be to squeeze out the life blood of the German workers. He asked the Conference and he asked the Government to understand that this reference back was not intended to put any obstacle in the way of the Government. The Government had to find out for themselves, with the whole of their powers, what was the best way, and perhaps they were doing the best possible to be done under the circumstances, but if they as a Labour Party Conference, were to give up their task and to surrender their rights of criticism they practically wiped out the Labour Movement.

Mr. RODEN BUXTON said that the attitude presented both by the mover of the reference back and the comrade who had just spoken appeared to him to constitute a misunderstanding of the whole situation. It was very easy to bring forward all kinds of arguments against this Report, but it had to be remembered that the Government had to look at it in the light of the International situation as a whole. He knew what was to be said against the Dawes Report. Those who had stood up, as he had, in the Conference against the principle of considerable Reparations as being quite inevitably injurious, damaging to a considerable extent the workers of this country, could easily see that the Dawes Report had bad features in it. He was well aware of the principle which was behind the condemnation and criticism they often heard about. Reparations, in the opinion of many of them, were injurious to the German worker. They had been injurious to the German worker in the past, and to-day they constituted the excuse for the German capitalist to make inroads upon the rights and privileges of the German worker. If they were to attempt to secure Reparations on the part of this country in respect of the claims for pensions and allowances, quite apart from devastated districts, that would constitute a breach of faith on the part of this country and a breach of faith, in definite terms, of the Armistice under which the end of the war was arranged. He agreed that they should, in principle, be right in denouncing any Reparations based on such claims, and he thought the Party had a perfect right to raise such questions at the proper time and in the proper relation, but this was not the proper time in relation to the International situation at the moment. He claimed that the Dawes Report, so far from making the situation worse for the German worker, made it much better. It saved the position from becoming greatly worse than before and in fact becoming very disastrous for them. (A Voice: "How?") It was very easy to explain how. Things were getting steadily worse owing to the depreciation of the currency, and the Dawes Report arrested that depreciation of the currency. Before this Report was agreed, a man who received his wages on the first day of the week did not know what those wages would be worth the next day, or whether they would be worth anything at all at the end of the week, whereas the Dawes Report effected the stabilisation of the currency. Further, the Dawes Report, bad as it might be, contained within itself the means for remedying its own defects. It contained within itself provisions that if the Reparations payments could not be made according to the scale, there was the means of causing the Reparations payments to cease; that was if they produced bad effects in the way of upsetting the currency again. As the Prime Minister had said, they could adjust expectations to facts.

The motion to refer back the paragraph was then put to the Conference and lost.

THE POSITION OF CIVIL SERVANTS.

Mr. J. W. BOWEN (Post Office Workers) raised the question, on the last paragraph of the Report, of the position of Civil Servants, and Mr. W. J. BROWN (Civil Service Clerical Association) said there were several matters that ought to be discussed on this last paragraph. It was therefore decided to adjourn the Conference for lunch, Mr. Bowen to be the first speaker in the afternoon.

The Conference then adjourned.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 8th

Afternoon Session

The Conference reassembled at 2 p.m., Mr. C. T. Cramp being again in the chair, and the consideration of the Report of the Parliamentary Party was continued.

Mr. J. W. Bowen called attention to the absence from the Report of any reference with regard to the removal of red-tape regulations on the part of the Labour Government. He did so, he said, because during the period of office of the Labour Government there had been questions of importance as affecting the Civil Service, which had been dealt with by the various Departments and particularly by the Treasury. It was hardly necessary to point out how serious it was, when they had large numbers of people like Post Office Workers affiliated to the Conference who felt a sense of disappointment owing to inactivity on the part of the Party's representatives. He could assure the Conference that there was a sense of very great disappointment throughout the whole of the Post Office Workers in the Movement, who said they had a right to expect from the Labour Government when in office that a good deal of the red-tape which fettered them would be broken down. The Post Office was still dominated by what was known as Treasury control, and they were still waiting settlement of questions because reference to the Treasury was necessary. There were two important questions which he wished to refer to and to ask the Party whether they could give an assurance that they would be dealt with. The first was in regard to the Arbitration Court which was to be set up for the Civil Service, including the Post Office workers. That Conference had more than once adopted the principle of the Arbitration Clause for the Civil Service, but when they went to the Treasury officials, as representatives of the various organisations, they found that, although the Arbitration Board was a compulsory Arbitration Board, they were unable to get representation on it. He claimed that if there were important questions relating to pay and to grading to be settled, the workers should not be ruled out from the Arbitration Board. These arbitrators should not be the persons to have the last word on questions of that sort. It was contended, and he thought the Chancellor of the Exchequer agreed, that any questions affecting the rearrangement of hours of work were managerial questions in which the staff had no right to interfere, but he thought these were subjects which ought to be referred to persons other than employers. Those two points of principle had been referred to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, as representing the Treasury. He wanted to give the Labour Party every credit for what the Chancellor of the Exchequer had done, but at the same time he asked that something more should be done in regard to these particular questions. Then there was the question of the civil rights of these people. He claimed that a Civil Servant should have the right of speaking for the Labour Party if he wanted to. It was not generally recognised that they had in their Labour organisation and Labour districts Post Office workers who were working for the Party deliberately in the face of strong regulations restricting those activities. There was the case of a civil servant who was down to speak at an I.L.P. Summer School on the question of Adult Education. His attention was called to the fact by the chief of the Department that this was outside his right. They asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer that Civil Servants should be given civil rights. When the Chancellor of the Exchequer had the opportunity, instead of dealing with it in a courageous manner, he referred the whole matter to a Committee of Inquiry. He (Mr. Bowen) did not know whether that Committee of Inquiry would report in favour of them or against them. Possibly it would be against them, and he supposed the Chancellor of the Exchequer would then say it was his duty to accept that report. He was suggesting that the Labour Party ought to know, and ought to be able to tell them why this question, after having been settled by this Conference over and over again, was referred to a Committee at all, when the Chancellor might very well have dealt with it himself. Those two questions alone had caused a deep sense of resentment right through the Post Office workers and the Civil Service. He very much regretted having to bring these complaints forward, but he did not think he would be doing his duty unless he informed them of the unrest among that section of the Party, who thought they should be supported by the Party in the reasonable consideration of their claims.

Mr. W. J. Brown (Civil Servants) hoped they were going to have a united backing from the Conference on the two points which Mr. Bowen had referred to. He was bound to say that the case against the Chancellor of the Exchequer was much stronger than Mr. Bowen had made out, because not only had he refused to agree that the Arbitration Board set up in the Service should deal with questions of grading, which affected remuneration, but he had used arguments in support of that attitude which would have been a disgrace to a Conservative Chancellor of the Exchequer. In fact the argument he had used was the same as the Engineering employers used recently, that questions of grading involved managerial functions, on which the staff ought not to be able to say a word. It was no good agreeing to cases going before the Board if they were not able to say anything about grading, because time and time again a case had seriously affected the total volume of money spent in wages by altering the title of the grades or by introducing new grades. He asked the Conference to say that a Labour Chancellor of the Exchequer ought at least to give a Service

Arbitration Board as much right to deal with questions of grading and classification as an Industrial Court gave when it was dealing with Trade Unions. On the other point of civil rights, when they saw Mr. Snowden on the previous Monday, his attitude was to allow a large measure of liberty to subordinate workers, but not to allow that same measure of liberty to people who occupied advisory positions and so on in the Civil Service. But when they asked him if he would communicate with the heads of Departments, in order that their people in the coming election might know where they stood and might feel at liberty to help in the Labour Movement without fear of dismissal if they got a Tory Government after the election, he replied that he could take no steps of any kind until he got the report of the Committee on Civil Rights. The contention of his Union was that, inasmuch as this question of civil rights had not only been settled by the Labour Movement but had formed the subject of a carefully-worked-out programme, there ought not to have been any question of appointing this Committee. Civil rights should have been conferred, and could have been conferred by the issue of instructions by the Chancellor to that effect. They had 150,000 workers in the Civil Service affiliated to the Conference who had done valuable work for the Party, and from the point of view of his own organisation, the record of the Labour Chancellor of the Exchequer during eight months of office had been not only not to give them civil rights, but also to put them under serious disability in regard to these Arbitration Courts. There was also a proposal to extend the hours in the Service, which meant more unemployment. He would be failing in his duty if he did not make it clear that there was widespread dissatisfaction, and in his opinion most justifiable dissatisfaction, with the conduct of the Chancellor. They asked the Conference to request the Government to see, before they went out of office—and this thing could be done in a day—that they had the right to take grading cases to the Board, and to make it clear to individual members of the Labour Party who went into action in connection with the election that if they did so they would not lose their situations and thereby endanger the position of their wives and families.

The CHAIRMAN said that the Chancellor of the Exchequer was not present, but he thought he ought to explain to the Conference that at the last joint meeting of the Labour Party Executive and the General Council of the Trades Union Congress this question was discussed, and it was decided that a small Committee from each body be set up to co-operate with all the Unions concerned with this question, with a view to getting an interview with the Chancellor of the Exchequer and making the position clear. Last week when they were meeting the Chancellor of the Exchequer they found a misunderstanding had arisen. He apparently did not understand that they desired to take the Unions with them, and the result was that, at that meeting, the Joint Committee of the Trades Union Congress and the Labour Party pressed upon the Chancellor the desirability of meeting the Unions. They endeavoured to keep away from the merits of the question at issue, but it was necessary to allude to it in order that he might know the kind of questions with which they would ask him to deal when he met the Unions. The meeting was fixed for Monday of this week, but, owing to the preparations for that Conference, the Labour Party representatives were unable to be present, so that they did not exactly know what had occurred. He took it that the representative of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress was present, but that was how the matter stood in so far as the Labour Party was concerned. With regard to the Parliamentary representatives, delegates were, of course, aware how difficult it was for anyone, in their enforced absence, to answer questions as to future intentions, and therefore he was not able to give a reply on those points. But they hoped to meet the Chancellor, and he thought it was right to say—and he thought Mr. Brown and Mr. Bowen would agree—that both the Labour Party Executive and the Trades Union Congress representatives agreed that questions of grading must form part of the function of the Arbitration Board. If that were not conceded, delegates would have his assurance that they would continue to press that point along with the Unions.

INDUSTRIAL DISPUTES.

Mr. W. A. ROBINSON (Distributive Workers) expressed his pleasure at the reply given to the complaints that had been made against the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He felt convinced, although it was with great diffidence that one had to refer to the Chancellor of the Exchequer or the Prime Minister in that Conference, that there was in the minds of some in the Industrial Movement a growing suspicion that unless opinions were expressed on matters of that kind, things might drift until there came a climax in the Labour Party itself. Recently there were statements made to the effect that important members of the Government were suggesting a system of conciliation or arbitration as a means of ending industrial disputes, and he wished to make the position quite clear, that whilst the fullest and most complete support would be given, as in the past, to the Labour Party, they were not content to leave in the hands of four or five persons the destinies of the Industrial Labour Movement in regard to such important questions as arbitration. The Labour Party ought to know that the Industrial Movement still intended to demand the fullest and most complete liberty in regard to strike policy. The Labour Party should advise the Chancellor of the Exchequer or the Prime Minister, or Mr. Tom Shaw, the Labour Minister,

they hoped they would not commit the Movement to any such policy as compulsory arbitration or conciliation. Because these things had to be said it was no good the Chairman telling them that the persons were not present who could answer these questions. He had seen some days ago in the *Daily Herald* an interview with Mr. Tom Shaw, in which he outlined a possible policy to avoid trade disputes. Now Mr. Shaw might have pet schemes in his mind, but he wished to assure him that with the possible lengthening of hours of labour in Germany through the operation of the Dawes Report, with the employers of Great Britain also moving in the same direction, they in the Industrial Movement were determined to have and to maintain full liberty to strike. Mr. Bowen could by no stretch of imagination be referred to as one of the extreme left. He represented a section of respectable and dignified civil servants, and was a very astute and calm member of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress. If such a man saw danger, they might quite imagine that he (Mr. Robinson) saw it. Indeed, he saw it very vividly if the Labour Government continued to proceed on the lines mentioned by Mr. Bowen.

The CHAIRMAN said he thought they might take it that, so far as he could summarise the mind of the Movement, Mr. Robinson was expressing it generally. At the same time they must realise that it was quite impossible, indeed it would be foolish, for him to give any assurance which could be binding upon a Minister who was not present. It would not be worth the words that were uttered.

The Report of the Parliamentary Party was then put to the Conference and declared carried practically unanimously.

NATIONALISATION OF MINES.

Mr. T. MARDY JONES, M.P., moved the following resolution on behalf of the Executive :—

"*This Conference, in view of the proved inability of those who direct the nation's Coal Supply, as at present organised, either to protect the public against unnecessarily high prices for coal, or to afford to all the miners, wherever working, both reasonable continuity of employment and the nationally-agreed-on Minimum Wage—let alone secure that improvement in the conditions of life of one-tenth of the whole population and that universal adoption of the best methods of working and of preventing accidents that the national interest imperatively demands—once more declares that nothing will suffice but the national reorganisation of the whole industry under Public Ownership and Control, with adequate safeguards for the consumers, and effective participation in the administration, both local and central, of all the persons engaged. The Conference accordingly presses on the Government the importance of bringing before Parliament at the earliest possible date a carefully-considered and complete measure for the Nationalisation of the Mining, Coke and By-Product Industries, including the production of bulk Electric Power, ensuring an adequate Minimum Wage to all workers engaged therein, with all the proper safeguards of the National Finances.*"

Mr. MARDY JONES said it was quite evident that in the time at his disposal he could only state in very general terms a few of the grounds why they considered it was in the National interests to carry out this proposal by legislative effort. The Nationalisation of the Mines had been discussed for many years, and had been carried unanimously in Labour Conferences for years past, but he thought it was true to say now that it had entered definitely into the region of practical politics, especially as the result of the debate on the Mines Bill last May, and with the advent of a Labour Government they were able, he thought, to see the possibility of it being carried out in the very near future. It was generally recognised that coal was likely to remain the basic fuel and source of motive power in modern industry for a long time to come, as it had been for the past two centuries. Scientists were agreed on that, the experiments of fuel research confirmed it, and although it was true that, in recent years, there had been an enormous increase in the output of the oil fields of the world, which had displaced coal as fuel up to a certain point, nevertheless it was recognised that the oil fields of the world could never compete seriously with the coalfields. If the oil supplies of the world were doubled, or even trebled, they would not replace coal as fuel by 10 per cent. of the world demand for fuel, and many of the oil fields of the world were likely to be exhausted within the next generation or so. When they compared that with the coal resources of the world, they realised that there was enough coal, practically distributed in all the Continents, to last for many centuries to come, and in our own land there were coal resources which would last for hundreds of years even if the coal output were double what it was to-day. But the test of the value of our coal supplies was not their duration in point of time; the test of their value was how long could Britain maintain her production of coal for export and as motive power at the same competitive prices as other producing countries whose coal and manufactures competed with British coal and British manufacturers in the competitive markets of the world. If the British coal industry failed to stand that test it would decline, and the whole superstructure of the British commercial system would decline in the same ratio. But fortunately for us, the British coal industry had three great advantages over its rivals. First of all British coal was the best in quality in the world—bituminous, semi-bituminous and anthracite. Secondly, the British coalfields were better situated in relation to the home

and foreign markets than the coalfields of its rivals; and thirdly, and not least, British miners and British managerial and technical staffs, with all their faults, were the best in the world and the most efficient and experienced in the world. Yet these three great advantages, which ought to have kept Britain easily ahead had been seriously hampered for the last two hundred years as the result of three handicaps. The first was the dead hand of the landlord system and the royalty system. Secondly, out of 1,500 colliery companies, most of them were too poor, too incompetent or too stupid to amalgamate as effective economic units for large scale production, including by-products. The third great handicap was that British coal seams were highly explosive and most dangerous in character, and many colliery companies, for generations past, had been either too poor or too mean to meet the cost of adequate precautionary measures for safety and health. As the result, the cost of production in Great Britain had been steadily increasing as compared with the other producing countries, and wage conditions, generally speaking, were going from bad to worse. It was a remarkable fact, but it was generally admitted that during the 200 years that private enterprise had been free to exploit our coal resources, it had exploited recklessly the best seams of coal and allowed to waste underground at least 4,000 million tons of coal which, at £2 per ton, gave a value of £8,000 million, or more than enough to pay off the whole of our National War Debt, which Mr. Lloyd George informed them that morning had not yet been redeemed. The royalty owners in the same period of time had taken at least 400 million pounds in royalties alone, and yet many thousands of miners were being sent to their doom through explosions and floodings as the result of the present system. Housing conditions, too, in all the older coalfields were a national disgrace. Was it, therefore, any wonder that when Mr. Smillie and the other members of the Sankey Commission disclosed the terrible condition, the inefficiency and the waste of the existing system, Mr. Justice Sankey should have put on the black cap and passed the death sentence on it. These were the words which Mr. Justice Sankey used, and he was supported by three disinterested Commissioners: "Even upon the evidence already given the present system of ownership and working stands condemned, and some other system must be substituted for it, either Nationalisation or a method of unification by national purchase and/or by joint control." And Lord Gainford, speaking for the coal owners, had rejected unification with joint control, whilst the Miners' Federation of Great Britain had also rejected that proposal. He thought it was necessary to impress upon the public mind that the bitterness created in the hearts of the mining population, due to generations of tyranny and greed under the present system, made it impossible to bolster it up much longer with its waste and inefficiency. The only alternative to Nationalisation was unification by private enterprise; but if they got unification by private enterprise, then they got a huge Coal Trust in each coalfield as a menace to the national interests. The only Trust the nation dared trust was the Nationalisation scheme on the lines outlined in this proposal, and the only hope for the future of British commerce was to take it out of the hands of the private exploiters and reorganise the whole coal industry. This was necessary in the interests of the producer, the consumer and the nation. Therefore, he maintained, Nationalisation held the field and the decks were cleared for action. They had a right to expect the Labour Government to take up this question and introduce a Bill with the whole weight and influence of a Government behind it. If they carried Nationalisation in the near future, as he believed they would, then the effect of the saving in cost of production would be so tremendous, together with the increased efficiency in production and the more scientific use of coal, that they would be able safely to predict that, under a scheme of Nationalisation of this character, they could provide abundant supplies of cheap coal and motive power to consumers, while at the same time, by the better utilisation of coal that was consumed, they could conserve the coal resources by the elimination of waste in production and consumption, and last, but not least, there would be a sufficient margin of saving in such a scheme to secure for the miners a living wage and a higher standard of life than they had ever experienced under private enterprise, together with a status as free men and not as wage slaves in the industry in which they risked life and limb. In addition it was suggested in this proposal that they should utilise the coal supplies in great super-power stations to generate electrical power in each coalfield for all industrial and domestic purposes. They could also carbonise certain classes of coal of a high volatile character to produce oil fuel and motor spirit and other by-products which were now being imported into this country from abroad. Once they removed the coal owner and the royalty owner out of the coal industry they would bring about a revolution in the mental and moral outlook of the miners themselves. The miners would be prepared to give that willing service the Prime Minister had spoken about when they knew that the product was not going to enrich the coal owner or the royalty owner, but was going to benefit the nation. For these reasons he moved the resolution.

Mr. A. J. Cook (Miners' Federation), in seconding the resolution, said he wished to explain on behalf of the miners, as apparently it was necessary, that this question was not an academic one, but a real live bread and cheese question, not only to the miners but to all other workers as well. The miners, like the agricultural workers, were direct productive workers, and were therefore the first

to suffer from bad conditions, and investigation proved that the miner was suffering to-day in relation to his conditions more than any other section of the community. He did not want it to be thought that the miner was jealous of the railway man, the docker or the teacher. The miner felt that the teacher, the railway man and the docker were entitled to a living, but not at his expense. What, he asked, was the condition at the present moment? There were in this industry double the number of men that were at work in 1894. With their dependants there were four million people, or one-tenth of the total population of Great Britain, who were dependent directly on the mining industry. When the miners were not working, who suffered? The railway men, the dockers and others, and when they had, as was the case to-day, 100,000 men who could not work, they would see how important it was. Some people said that the miners were lazy. That was not true. His complaint against their men was that they always worked too hard, and when people talked about "ca' canny" by miners—well, they ought to go down and see them. He had worked among them for 20 years, and if there was one complaint he had to make against the miner, it was his love for work. If any man believed in the dignity of labour, it was the man who wheeled the truck in the bowels of the earth. Well, there were 100,000 men who were not allowed to work, 100,000 who had as much right to live as the man who did work, 100,000 men whose children had a right to sustenance. It was not fair to challenge them because they were on the dole, as some people did outside this Conference. But that was not the worst. Although there were 100,000 men in the mining industry who were idle to-day, there were more and more on notice week by week, and before this winter was over there would be thousands more. There were men coming to the pit two or three days a week, men who were getting up in the early hours of the morning and going to the pit, only to see the notice "No work to-day," and those people who talked about the miner's seven-hour day did not know what they were saying. He wanted delegates to realise that it was not seven hours from bank to bank. The miner had to get up and down the pit, which often took three-quarters of an hour. He had to be down by seven o'clock, and he did not get up until two, and to-day there were men who were working, not seven hours but eight and eight and a half hours. Then he had to go to work without having a bath in his home. They should go to the mining villages and see what the conditions were. See the houses tumbling down right and left, see the subsidences and see what wastage of gas took place—20 or 30 per cent. of the gas wasted owing to the present wicked method of mining. The result is huge cost and waste. Look at the mining industry; examine it from a business point of view, in Scotland, Durham, Yorkshire, Wales—live in it as he and others had lived in it, and then they would forgive them for being rebels. They could not be anything else.

Why did they ask for nationalisation? Because they wanted to live the lives of decent men and women. Their women were slaves. There was no greater slave than the miner's wife. Why? Because under private ownership there was no consideration for social life and no consideration for housing. He thanked God for the Sankey Commission, and he thanked God for the Welfare Committees. They had brightened the lives of some of their people. They wanted nationalisation, first for the sake of economic security, and secondly for safety. Under private ownership the men were murdered. Safety was not the first consideration but the last. The mover of this resolution said the country possessed mine inspectors and mine managers and technical advisers that were equal to any in the world. So they had, but they were tied by private owners; the men who ran the mines ran them from London simply for profit, and safety was their last consideration. Sixty per cent. of the accidents, he contended, were preventable. Explosions ought to be a thing of the past. The President of their Union recently pointed out how they could be prevented. There were many managers who told them they would like to work hand in glove with them. The miners did not blame these men. They blamed the system. Miners' agents had come to him and to others and begged them to send a deputation to the directors asking for more timber, or to send a deputation to the manager for more safety appliances. In spite of the Mines Act, there were mines to-day where there were no safety appliances. Acts of Parliament dealing with safety came to nothing where there was no industrial organisation to see them carried out. If people realised that they would see what the country was losing from a business point of view. He had seen as many as twenty, thirty or forty tons of coal absolutely wasted in one week. There were millions of tons of small coal, in which the heat and power were wasted. Coal was God's or Nature's gift—not to the coal-owners but to the community. Conference after Conference had passed resolutions on this subject, but to-day they said to the Government with no uncertain voice—they might have their differences on other questions—"this question of the nationalisation of mines and minerals must be a real live question in this election." They would say to the Labour Government, "you supported the Bill that was brought in, and you must support us now." They asked not only the Labour Government but every Trade Union in this country to support the miners in this demand, because if they did not save the miners they would be damned, but if they would save the miners they would save themselves. The miners would deal with the international aspect. Thank God they were linking up with their comrades on the Continent.

In ten years, said Mr. Cook, the colliery owners had made £219,000,000 clear profit. Last year — 1923 — they made £27,000,000 profit, and the miner's wage did not exceed 10s. a day when he worked. There were not many delegates who would go down a pit for £10 a week, and there were very few people who wrote against them in the Press who would go down for £10 a day. The pick would be different to the pen if they only had to use it. Referring to royalties, he said that Mr. Mardy Jones had pointed out that they averaged from £6,000,000 to £7,000,000 or even £8,000,000. The royalty owners had had more in royalties than would buy the pits twice over. Who, he asked, were the men who got these royalties? Lord Durham, £38,000 a year, and he "toils not, neither does he spin." Lord Dunraven, £64,000; the Duke of Hamilton —another man who worked hard—£115,000; the Duke of Northumberland £82,000, and the Marquis of Bute £115,000. This was the sort of thing that made them rebels. No industry in the country had been under the searchlight to the same extent as the coal industry. They had had the Sankey Commission and they had had the Buckmaster Commission. They had no complaint against Mr. Justice Sankey or Lord Buckmaster, who said then that they should have the industry on the industry's valuation. In 1907 a valuation was taken and that revealed £128,000,000 as the price to buy it out. But it had gone up since then. During the Sankey Commission Sir Josiah Stamp, who was not a Socialist, put it at £135,000,000. Since then, despite the fact that they said the mines did not pay, and that they were living on their losses, they now said that the present estimate of valuation was £200,000,000. The owners said that their pits did not pay. Well, if they did not pay they should be willing to give them up. He appealed to delegates as a miner, not as they appealed when there was an explosion—they did not want sympathy. That did not carry them anywhere. The Labour Government should welcome this resolution. He would leave the question of compensation for consideration. Personally he was of opinion that there should not be even a question of compensation, but he was willing to leave that to be discussed later. These people had already robbed the country of quite enough. He asked delegates to go back to their constituencies and make this a live issue, and he promised them that his organisation would help them by getting the information they required. They asked the Labour Party Executive to stir up the Publication Bureau to supply the constituencies with information on this subject. The men of this important industry demanded that a measure framed on the lines suggested should be got on to the floor of the House of Commons as quickly as possible.

The resolution was put to the Conference and carried unanimously.

CONTROL OF ELECTRICITY.

Mr. HERBERT MORRISON, M.P., moved the following resolution on behalf of the Executive:—

"*That in view of the importance of providing, in all parts of the country, cheap and easily accessible Electric Power, for transport and for industrial, mining, and agricultural purposes, together with electric light and heat for every household, farm and factory, this Conference insists that the Government should take the earliest opportunity to introduce and pass into law a general measure laying down the lines of a comprehensive National System, based on Public Ownership and Control, and that in the meantime no private Electricity Bill should receive Government sanction or support.*

"*The Conference presses also for—*

"*(a) Compulsory powers to require the institution in every district of suitable size and population of a Joint Electricity Authority containing a majority of representatives of public bodies, having a statutory obligation to reorganise the local system on approved lines, and equipped with powers of compulsory acquisition of private undertakings;*

"*(b) the retention in National Ownership of the proposed inter-connecting transmission lines;*

"*(c) the provision of the necessary capital for the Joint Electricity Authorities by State loans, or with the assistance of State guarantees so as to reduce to a minimum the charge for interest and sinking fund;*

"*(d) provision for the participation in the administration, by Works Committees, Advisory Councils, or representation on Administrative Boards, of the various grades and sections of those engaged in the service.*"

Mr. MORRISON said that perhaps the resolution which had just been passed, and the resolution which he now moved were the most important resolutions which the Conference would consider. The question of the use of our coal resources and the question of the future of electricity supply were questions of the greatest importance to British industry and British working people. In the House of Commons during the present year the Labour Members of Parliament had been active in resisting certain Private Company Bills. The tendency of electricity legislation had been to develop in our country a hotchpotch of electricity supply undertakings. Here they got a power company working under statutory powers with very little public control; here a distributing company under a Special Order, and here a Municipality under a Provisional Order, and so far as the Labour Members in the House of Commons were concerned, they had made up their minds that there should not go through Parliament, with their consent, any more Private Bills furthering the control of capitalism over this great

ublic service. They had blocked them, they ad opposed them, they had divided against iem, and they believed that it was vitally in he interests of the country and in the in- erests of the future of British industry that 'rivate Bills on a local basis had to be topped, and that the industry had to be put pon a co-ordinated national basis.

There were two aspects—generation and listribution. The problem with generation vas that electricity could not be stored. They could have a gas reservoir and save gas nd destroy the beauty of the landscape with t at the same time, but they could not very vell store electricity to any extent, and the consequence was that the load factor varied rom morning to night; low at night because he factories were closed, higher again when he factories began, dropping when the work- men went to breakfast, rising when they re- urned, dropping when they went to dinner, rising after dinner, until, in the winter the lighting and the industrial loads met each other and they got what the engineers called the "peak" load. The problem for the engineer was that he had to maintain suffi- cient generating plant to develop the heavy "peak" load, and the result was that the bulk of the plant had to stand idle during the rest of the day. Therefore what they had to aim at on the generating side, and what must be fundamental to the Labour Party policy on the generating side, was to bring all electrical generation under one con- trol in great districts, so that the load factor was materially improved. Then there was diversity. They wanted to spread the di- verse uses of electricity among the people, not only for lighting their homes, but in order that the women might be able to cook the dinner on the electrical cooker; that they might heat their rooms by the electrical radiator; that they might warm their feet in bed by the electric foot warmer; that they might, before rising in the morning, turn round, switch on the current, warm water, and make their morning cup of tea without getting out of bed at all. (Laughter.) That their women could clean their homes with the electric vacuum instead of making the poor old man bang the carpet on the line on Satur- day night. (Laughter.) All these things could be accomplished. Its use for traction, for agriculture, for industry, for all purposes was possible, and it all meant improving the conditions of life, lightening the terrible amount of toil from the backs of their women folk and improving at the same time the technical conditions under which electricity was generated. Therefore they said in the reso- lution that all electricity in a given electricity district must be generated under one control, whether it be for railway purposes, tramway purposes, industrial lighting or domestic pur- poses. Therefore they wanted all electricity generated under one undertaking. And when they used it for driving the railways they ought always to have regard not only to the railway—whether they had the middle line or the line over the top—but also provide the means for taking the electricity for motive purposes. It should be easy to arrange that the same method which was used for dis- tributing human beings was used to distri- bute electricity to the farms and to the agri- cultural workers on the countryside. They wanted to bring the whole thing together. Transmission must be co-ordinated. He thought that distribution ought to be in the hands of the minor Local Authorities. They knew the needs best and they ought to have full powers. They ought to be put in the position that they would be able to develop the uses of electricity in their own district, and they ought to be free to sell all the fittings that were required, to carry on all the contracting that was required, to do the whole job from beginning to end under muni- cipal auspices. The workpeople in the industry ought to have a voice in its man- agement, and ought to be induced to educate themselves through their Unions so that they might become not merely labourers but skilled mechanics—technicians in the highest sense of the term in their own industry.

Now who, he asked, was going to own this great public service? The Tory policy was to allow things to drift as they were. There were Tory Members of Parliament who ap- peared to have been sent there for the almost exclusive purpose of getting Private Elec- tricity Bills through Parliament, and there were not a few Liberals who were not free from suspicion. Their policy was hotch- potch, drift, not to move. The other policy was that of Mr. Lloyd George, which was essentially to leave private monopoly and control, and for the State only to do those things in the industry where private enter- prise could not make a paying proposition of it. It was a wonderful philosophy that pri- vate enterprise must have all the things where money was to be made, and the State could have as much Socialism as it liked so long as there was money to be lost. Municipal electricity throughout the country was, on the whole, cheaper than company electricity. It was cheaper in price, cheaper in wages— although the wages generally were higher individually—and lower in management. It beat private company enterprise into a cocked hat. Not only that, but it beat it in initiative, in enterprise. Was it not the municipalities who were leading in the struggle for the use of electricity in the home? Therefore, in the interests of the development of the industry it was vital that it should be publicly owned, as a great public service generated over large areas, under common control and distributed by minor Local Authorities. He wanted dele- gates to realise the vital importance of this question, which affected the industry of the country. It was one of the ways of reducing costs of production without injuring the status, the dignity or the economic position of the workman. It was a real business pro- position from the point of view of British industry, it was calculated to be a godsend to British agriculture, both to the farmer and the agricultural labourer, and, above all, it

could materially lighten the labour of the working-class housewife. For these reasons they ought to secure the maximum development of the industry under public control.

Mr. J. KINNIBURGH (Electrical Trades Union), in seconding the resolution, said he desired, on behalf of his Union and also the organisation associated with Electricity Supply, to thank Mr. Morrison for his efforts on behalf of the trade. They had always noticed at their meetings in the House of Commons that Mr. Morrison was very energetic in trying to do his best to block the private measures that came before the House. As Electric Supply people they were in a more favourable position than their friends, the miners, because they were dealing with a modern industry which had come into operation, as to its practical application, within the last 40 or 50 years, when there were already Municipalised Public Utility Services such as water and gas. Consequently they were able in the early stages, in a considerable number of cases, to municipalise the electrical undertaking. But in spite of that they found that at least one-third of the producing units of this country were owned by private supply companies. For example, in the highly industrial centres such as the Clyde Valley, which dominated the whole of the industrial West of Scotland; in Newcastle, which dominated the Northumberland coalfields; in Lancashire and Yorkshire, which also dominated large industrial centres, they had private supply companies. Then if they went down to South Wales they found there also a power company which dominated the South Wales coalfields. They were therefore in the position of having one part of the country where the supply was publicly owned and another part of the country which was manipulated by private supply companies. And they had built themselves well in, and showed no signs of loosening the hold which they had upon the public. It was not very nice for the young Socialist, who was looking forward to Socialism within the next five or ten years, to find that these Power Companies were in possession of leases going on until 1970. It was a great deadlock, and unless the Labour Party was prepared with some drastic remedy to deal with the situation, some of them would feel a little more sick than they did at the present time. They wanted something to be done in the near future to alter the present Provisional Orders which allowed the companies to operate for the next 50 years, and therefore the Conference ought to take a great interest in the matter. They had here the only weapon by which they would be able to introduce Socialism into this country. The electricity supply was a force which was unlimited, and it was there to be used. With the introduction of the electrical factor they would be able to solve problems that to-day looked insoluble. Take agriculture, for instance. The heat generated by electricity could be used to dry hay in case of rain. He had read only a few days previously that they were curing hay without sun by electricity, and the best possible hay. If they could do that, and if it was possible—which he believed it would be—to grow more than one crop in a year, naturally they wanted the people of this country to take that interest in it which was necessary to force the problem before the public. They must take care to see that the Electrical Power industry should not continue to block the way towards nationalisation. They were told that the Labour Government was in office but not in power, but he was tired of hearing that story. The position of electricity supply was one that warranted the earnest attention of every man and woman who looked forward to something better than they had at the present time.

Mr. A. J. LLEWELLYN (Typographical Association) said he happened to be a member of an Urban District Council which owned its own electrical undertaking, and therefore he claimed to know something about this question. While he was in full agreement with the resolution before the Conference, he wished to say quite definitely that that resolution did not go far enough. Those who were fortunate enough in their various localities to own their own electricity undertaking found they were up against serious difficulties which he maintained could be remedied almost immediately, and could be removed by the Labour Party whether in office or in opposition. Amongst the resolutions and amendments that had been ruled out he noticed two dealing with the particular difficulty they were up against, and that was that they were not permitted to supply electric fittings to their consumers; they were not permitted to sell anything but current. That was a severe handicap as against the Gas Company in his own district, where they found themselves faced with the competition of a private gas company, which was in a position to supply their consumers with gas-stoves, gas-fittings, free meters, free mains, in fact anything they liked in order to compete with the electricity supply. The electricity people, on the other hand, could only sell the current. Mr. Morrison had referred to the possibilities to the housewife through electricity, but he maintained that until they could give the housewife the necessary appliances, or allow her to obtain the appliances on very easy terms, they could not expect much progress. He wanted to ask Mr. Morrison to take this matter up as one of the particular points that required dealing with, and to see if they could not do something in the next few months to make it possible for Local Authorities to sell these fittings, or to supply them on the hire purchase system. The resolution was then put to the Conference and carried unanimously.

CONFERENCE ARRANGEMENTS.

Mr. WILL THORNE, M.P., in submitting an additional Report of the Conference Arrangements Committee, said that on page 14 there was a resolution on Party Adminis-

ration under the heading of "Unity." The Bolton people had sent in a letter withdrawing that resolution, and that being so all the amendments to it would go by the board. Further, he wished to say that they would have very shortly to report on curtailing the length of the speeches, or else they would not get through the whole of the business.

Mr. J. R. CAMPBELL asked when the resolution on Russia and the amendments (page 31) would be taken.

Mr. THORNE replied that the delegates had not come together, and therefore the Conference Arrangements Committee naturally came to the conclusion that they did not take any interest in the matter.

Mr. A. SMITH asked whether he understood aright that there would be a composite resolution in reference to the International Movement on page 14, because he maintained there was no need for a composite resolution.

Mr. THORNE replied that up till the previous day there was an amendment to that resolution to include "the Communist Party," but in view of the decision which had been taken that amendment would now go by the board.

Mr. SMITH said he also wanted to draw attention to the resolution on "Industrial Action" on page 60; the reason why they had not met was that they could not agree to the amendment.

Mr. THORNE: How is it there had been no report to the Committee?

Mr. SMITH: It is not necessary if we cannot agree.

Mr. THORNE: If you cannot agree you should report to the Committee.

Mr. J. R. CAMPBELL wished to know whether the Appendix to the Report of the Executive was going to be discussed.

The CHAIRMAN replied in the negative, saying that it merely contained a statement of fact.

Miss GRAHAM (Moss Side L.P.) referred to the resolution on page 56 concerning the unlimited use of motor-cars at Elections. She said she noticed it was starred, although it had never been discussed at any Labour Conference.

The CHAIRMAN replied that of course it should not have been starred if it had not been discussed, but he could not express any opinion as to the correctness of it. He would have the matter inquired into, but in the absence of anything to confirm the delegate's statement, he was obliged to assume that it had been discussed.

Mr. THORNE pointed out that when delegates sent in resolutions from their branches there were often two or three matters referred to, and therefore some part of the resolution might have been settled at a previous Conference while another part had not. That placed the Conference Arrangements Committee in a very difficult position. He thought delegates representing different organisations, when they were sending in resolutions, should be careful to find out whether those resolutions, or any part of them, had been discussed at a previous Conference.

The CHAIRMAN said he had now been able to ascertain the facts with regard to the resolution on motor-cars, and he found that the matter was dealt with only last year—1923.

The Report of the Conference Arrangements Committee was adopted.

MEMBERSHIP OF THE PARTY.

Mr. W. FAGAN (Edinburgh and District Trades and Labour Council) moved to add the following words to Clause 2 of the Party Constitution:

"And who, if eligible for Trade Union membership, are Trade Unionists."

In moving this amendment he wished to state quite frankly that there was no desire to penalise any individual, nor did they seek to cause any division in the ranks of the working classes. Nor did they in any way seek to injure the Labour Movement, which had been built up against tremendous odds at great sacrifice to the organised workers of the country. The Labour Party was only part of the Labour Movement, and unless the Movement developed the Trade Union side it could not function as it ought. Those of them who were out for control of industries failed to see how that could be brought about by the present method of delegations, which did not make it necessary for a delegate to be in his or her Union. The historic struggle of the working classes as expressed by the Trade Union Movement must never be lost sight of, and they must in all cases give preference to industrial questions if they were to function properly on behalf of the workers. To his mind there was just the possibility of the political side being so artificially enlarged that the industrial elements in the Labour Party would be crushed between the upper and nether millstones of the orthodox politicians. The Labour Party ought to be the political expression of the Trade Union Movement. They must never forget the fact that it was the Taff Vale Decision of twenty-four years ago that made an effective Labour Party possible. It was also a fact that the struggles and sacrifices of the early pioneers of the Trade Union Movement made the meeting of the Conference to-day such that they could give expression to their ideas and the methods they intended to adopt in securing the best economic and social conditions for the workers. At present a man could leave his Trade Union and could yet be a member of the Labour Party. He could then be sent as a delegate to the Trade and Labour Councils and have an equal vote with Trade Union members on both industrial and political matters. His Council resented that condition, and they said that if a man or woman was eligible for membership of a Trade Union and was not a member of that Union he should not be permitted to be a member of the Party.

Mr. T. SCALLAN (Paisley D.L.P.) seconded the resolution and said that their first object was to strengthen the Trade Union Movement. Since the advent of the Labour Government they had been discovering in their local Labour Parties that it had become quite fashionable to be a Labour supporter. He maintained that if they had a duty to perform to the Labour Party, they had an equal duty to the Trade Union Movement, and therefore they ought to make those people who wanted to come into the Labour Movement first join the Trade Union Movement if they were eligible for Trade Union membership.

It was moved and seconded at this point that the question be put, but on being submitted to the Conference it was lost.

Mr. J. BROMLEY, continuing the discussion, said he opposed the suggested amendment to the Standing Orders, not because he disagreed with its intention, because every Trade Unionist must have the greatest feeling of disgust and contempt for people working in an industry and benefiting by the sacrifice and energy of their fellows without taking on the responsibilities. He opposed the resolution because the Conference, in its wisdom, had already decided to exclude comrades who were Trade Unionists and energetic Trade Unionists, and therefore there was no point in it at all.

A card vote was demanded on the resolution after a show of hands had been taken, and the result was declared as follows:—

For the resolution, 1,670,000.

Against the resolution, 1,307,000.

The resolution was declared carried.

The resolution in the name of Edmonton Borough L.P. on Party Objects was not moved.

ELIGIBILITY FOR MEMBERSHIP AND OFFICE.

Mr. J. H. ROUND (Greenwich Labour Party) moved the following composite resolution:—

"No person shall be eligible for office, either in National or Local Labour Parties, unless he or she has been an individual member of the Labour Party at least twelve months prior to nomination for such office.

"This Conference declares that no person shall be nominated as the Labour Candidate for any public body, unless he or she has been a member of the Party for at least twelve months and has signed the Constitution of the Labour Party."

He said that as a result of the conference on the previous day with the various delegates whose Parties had proposals on these lines, they arrived at a decision to put in a resolution which was not quite as the Conference Arrangements Committee had printed it. They had decided to add the words contained in the Brixton amendment, "except where a new Party has been formed in the district." He hoped he would be allowed to make that addition to the resolution, because it was agreed upon when they met at Eccleston Square.

The CHAIRMAN said it would not be fair to other Parties if he allowed the resolution to be varied.

Mr. ROUND then spoke to the resolution as above, and said that the members of the Greenwich Labour Party were of the opinion that people who were coming into the Labour Movement should serve what he might describe as a period of apprenticeship to the Movement before taking office. Critics of this position might say that they could leave this matter to the local Parties themselves to decide, but he submitted that it was not a matter which they could leave to the local Parties. They had an extraordinary example of the inability of local Parties to successfully avoid the jumping in of their political opponents in a London Borough this year, when, at the annual meeting of the Labour Party, a man was elected Vice-Chairman who had openly declared that he had no sympathy with the Movement at all. He was inside the Movement to serve his own ends. The position, therefore, was this, at any time when the Chairman was absent the control of the meetings would be in the hands of a man who had no sympathy with the Movement. Then again, they had a case in the Greenwich Labour Party where the delegate from a certain Trade Union was sent as a representative to their Council, while he himself was a nominator of the last Conservative candidate for the Borough of Greenwich. He contended that there should be no possibility of a person coming into the Movement and filling official positions until he had been at least 12 months in the Movement. Another instance showing the danger that at present existed was brought to his notice only on the previous Monday. A Labour Party had advertised for an agent, and they were considering favourably a certain application when it came to their notice that the application for the position of agent synchronised with an application for membership of the Labour Party in another division. These were dangers which it was well to put an end to, and in the qualifying period of 12 months they would be able to judge as to the suitability of a person for office. They insisted on adhering to the individual membership, because at the present moment he believed they had something like four million members affiliated to the Labour Party, the great majority of whom probably were married men, so that altogether they had a total of something like seven or eight million votes. Where were these people at election times? The time was coming when perhaps the majority of people in this country would be affiliated to the Labour Party through their Unions. They might have the National Union of Teachers, the Union of Variety Artists, and even the Law Society, affiliated to the Labour Party, and there were plenty of astute people in those organisations who would not take a definite stand for or against

he Labour Party. It was therefore neces-ary to have some qualifying period, because hese people would wait until they saw the ground was ready for them to jump in and ake any positions that might be going. The Party should welcome converts into its ranks, but for their sake as well as for the sake of the Party they should insist that these people made a public declaration of faith before they were put either into office or adopted as Labour Candidates. They wanted to safeguard the Movement from the stump orator and the demagogue.

Mr. W. T. Bacon (North St. Pancras L.P.), in seconding the resolution, said there was considerable danger at the present moment in allowing anyone to come into the organisation, and thus get into positions because of the place which the Labour Party occupied in the country. There were people who were anxious to come in, but who were not convinced of the principles for which the Party stood. If they were to secure the return of Labour people to Municipal and County bodies, and especially to Parliament, they wanted to be sure that these people were not in the swaddling clothes of Socialism.

Mr. H. Donnelly (South Shields L.P.) moved the following amendment :—

(a) " No person shall be eligible for office in a Local Labour Party or for nominations as Candidate for Local Government, who has not been an individual or affiliated member for twelve months."

(b) " No person shall be eligible for office in the National Labour Party, or for nomination as Candidate for National Government, who has not been an individual or affiliated member for three years."

He said that the only difference between the amendment and the resolution was that the amendment was distinctly stronger, and they thought it should be stronger. Perhaps the leaders of the Movement were so much engaged in national and international affairs that they did not know the feeling in the country with regard to what they called interlopers coming in and taking positions. He asked the Conference to consider this matter, not in the spirit of animosity to any individual who wanted to serve the Party, but in the spirit expressed by workers who were in grave danger of being alienated from the Movement by having candidates foisted upon them. They were told that they must acknowledge ability, that men and women were admitted to their Movement because of their great knowledge and experience, but he thought they had sufficient experience and ability already in the Movement to serve their purpose for the present. The old stalwarts, they thought, had been somewhat neglected, and if they had not the ability in their own Movement at the moment, then they would have to admit the charge that had been made against them, that they were not fit to govern. These people were coming in, and in many cases were creating dissension, and they therefore asked the Conference to make it harder for them to get into positions by insisting that they should serve a period of apprenticeship. They suggested that for office in the Party or on local bodies they should serve for at least twelve months as individual members, and for election to Parliament they should serve for three years. They thought it absolutely necessary that this clause should be inserted. There was plenty of work to be done in the trenches, where some of them had been all their lives, for those who desired to come in.

Mr. L. G. Finch (Llandaff and Barry D.L.P.) seconded the amendment. He said he agreed with what the mover of the resolution had stated, that people becoming candidates for Municipal or Parliamentary positions should serve a period of apprenticeship in the Movement. Whilst he felt that twelve months was sufficient time for a man to serve before he became a candidate for a municipal body, he certainly did not think it was long enough to serve before becoming a Parliamentary candidate. There was one consideration, however, that had not been pointed out, and that was that in many divisions and many local Labour Parties the chief difficulty was that of finance, and many people who had just recently left the Liberal Party, because they had sufficient money became adopted candidates for Parliament, accepted by the local Labour Parties. The Conference had decided that the Communists should not be endorsed Parliamentary candidates, but he thought the danger from the other side was even greater, and therefore this Conference should lay down the rule suggested, so that they could be sure that they would have candidates who were worthy of the Party, and who had done some real work on behalf of the working classes of the country.

Mrs. A. Corner (Farnham), speaking as a Parliamentary candidate, said she entirely agreed with the principles contained in the resolution and the amendment, but personally she thought the resolution covered sufficiently both Parliamentary and Municipal candidates. She also thought it would be far better not to lay down too definite a time for membership. It was knowledge and service that counted. They might have people 20 years in the Movement who had done nothing. Then they had to consider it from the point of view of the unorganised areas, where very few elections had been fought. The sort of people they generally got there as candidates were the people the previous speaker had been talking about, but she admitted they were not the best sort of people. She would rather see the most insignificant figure who had never emerged into any position of importance, but who had worked in elections, as candidate than someone who had perhaps only been in the Party a short time and did not know the beginnings of election work. The danger was that other people could trip them up because they did not know the

A B C of the Labour Party. Whatever they did with this resolution, she hoped they would at least suggest some test for candidates, because if not they would only go the way of the old Parties and politics would become the hobby for the man when he had exhausted all the other hobbies.

The previous question was moved, duly seconded, and on being put to the Conference was carried.

INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT.

Mr. A. SMITH (Transport and General Workers' Union) moved the following composite resolution:—

> "*This Conference is of opinion that strenuous efforts should be made to secure a more united International expression of the Political Labour Movement. It, therefore, instructs the Officers and Executive to consult with* bona-fide *Political Labour Organisations with a view to exploring the position, and bringing forward a report containing suggestions for the co-ordination of International legislative action.*"

He said the resolution was in the nature of an instruction to the Executive of the Labour Party to gather the information which was necessary, and which should have been obtained years ago for the sake of international unity, as to the work which was being done in European countries to secure international unity. They knew from their experience in going to Conferences abroad that there was a very divided opinion, and in some cases no opinion at all, as to the value of international unity. The object of the resolution was that, when they again discussed these matters, they would have information at their finger-ends from all European countries, and even farther than that, for their guidance in drawing up some plan of organisation, so that what was being said in one country would be repeated in another country. At the moment they were all agreed that what was wanted more than anything else in the International Movement was a system of unity, understanding and organisation, so that when they came to their meetings they would be able to see that it was not only what they said here but that the same opinions were being held in various Continental and other countries.

Mr. H. F. HEAVISIDE (Doncaster D.L.P.), in seconding the motion, said that he had consented to the withdrawal of the resolution standing in the name of the Doncaster Divisional Labour Party in order to facilitate the passing of the resolution itself. But the moment they began to explore the avenues of international understanding they were brought face to face with the language difficulty. It was useless for the workers of the world to unite if, when they united, they were practically dumb because they could not understand each other's language. They could not have international understanding unless they had an international language, and the only international language to-day was Esperanto. At that moment there were international journals printed in Esperanto being sold outside that Hall, which were published in the interests of the working classes of the whole of Europe. By such means the findings of International Congresses would be able to be understood, not only in Europe, but in China, Brazil, and other places, and if a journal were published in the interests of the Labour Movement of Europe in that particular language it would be understood not only by Europeans, but by thousands of Esperantists in China, Japan, and elsewhere. At the present moment in Germany there were 40,000 adult adherents to the International Esperanto Movement

The resolution was then put to the Conference and declared carried unanimously.

UNEMPLOYED DEPUTATION.

The Conference then received a deputation from the National Unemployed Workers' Committee.

Mr. WALTER HANNINGTON said that that was the first Annual National Labour Party Conference that had been held at a time when there was a Labour Government in existence, and therefore it was his intention to bring before the notice of the Conference certain outstanding grievances affecting the unemployed to-day, with the object of getting the Conference to call upon the Labour Government for the removal of those grievances. Before enunciating the grievances, however, he wished to make a few general observations. He believed he was correct in stating that the problem of unemployment to-day was still the most outstanding of our social problems. As winter was now approaching, they found the army of unemployed was going up in thousands week by week. Only that morning in the *Daily Herald* were figures to the effect that no less than 18,500 more people had been added to the live registers of the Labour Exchanges, while in the previous day's *Daily Herald* it was stated that since April of this year no less than 180 pits in South Wales had closed down. Amongst the miners of Great Britain there was an army to-day of well over 100,000 unemployed. The figures issued by the Ministry of Labour should not delude them into the belief that that summed up the total volume of unemployment. The actual fact was that those figures only included unemployed persons who were on the live registers of the Labour Exchanges. There were hundreds of thousands of others who had been crossed off benefits during the last 12 months or two years who were not shown in the figures issued by the Ministry of Labour. There were also thousands of agricultural workers in the rural villages of Great Britain who were suffering from unemployment but who were not shown in the figures because they did not come within the pale of the National Unemployment Insurance scheme. He believed it to be true to say that the army of unemployed in Great Britain numbered somewhere round about

the figure of 2,000,000 rather than 1,250,000, as was shown by the figures issued by the Ministry of Labour. He was stating these facts because he wanted the delegates fully to appreciate the gravity of the problem and to realise the misery and the suffering that was at present prevalent in hundreds of thousands of working-class homes as the result of unemployment. The Prime Minister, in opening the present Conference, referring to unemployment, stated that it was a problem that arose from our present economic system of society. The National Unemployed Workers' Committee Movement fully agreed with that statement, and because they agreed with it they were anxious to see the Labour Government adopting a more aggressive policy on the question of unemployment than they had witnessed since December of last year. The Prime Minister spoke of certain schemes that had been put into operation by the Labour Government, but said that he realised that this was only patchwork. He (Mr. Hannington) wished to say, on the question of unemployment being something that arose from the present economic system of society, that there were thousands of persons throughout the country to-day who used that phrase as a cloak behind which to hide their own inactivity. It was true that they could not solve the problem under capitalism, but that did not necessarily mean that whilst capitalism prevailed they should not be bravely fighting the problem. The National Unemployed Workers' Committee Movement was not merely concerned about reforms within the present Constitution. They were a Movement understanding the cause of unemployment, recognising their struggles with the Local Authorities and the Central Governing Authorities were only part of what might be called a great preliminary skirmish that must eventually lead to the political struggle between those who were now in power and the working class as a whole. The Unemployed Workers' Committee, therefore, was anxious to associate itself with other working-class organisations aiming at the destruction of the system of society in whose foundations the problem of unemployment found its roots, namely, capitalism. On the previous day the Russian Treaty had been referred to, and he wished to say in passing that at each National Conference of their Movement since 1920, they had tabled a resolution calling for trade relationship with Russia. They had done so because they recognised that trade relationship with Russia would mean the finding of employment, if not for all those unemployed in this country, at least for a very large percentage of them. But they were not only interested in getting through this present Treaty because it would secure employment for a few; they also believed that a Treaty of this description would give facilities to the Workers' Government of Russia to develop the internal structure of a new system of society in that country, which would one day stand out as a glaring example to be copied by the workers throughout the world. He knew it would be argued that more could not have been done by the Labour Government with regard to unemployment because of the numerical weakness of the Labour Party in the House of Commons, and whilst they might agree that more could not have been done—that is, they might agree that any attempt at drastic legislation on the part of a Government which was in a minority would meet with defeat from the organised forces of reactionary parties in the form of Liberals and Tories—on the other hand, they felt that at least more could have been attempted. He said that because he believed that the mass of the working classes to-day were looking for a bold and determined lead. The mass of the working classes were not concerned about having a Government that would fit in nicely to the grooves of Constitutional procedure as adopted by their predecessors, but in having a Government which would, if necessary, break through all the obstacles that now stood in the way of the progress of the working class. Therefore, the National Unemployed Workers' Committee wanted to see a more aggressive and determined policy pursued on the question of unemployment by the next Labour Government than had been pursued by the present one. It might be there were many in that hall who would feel that these remarks and these criticisms were rather harsh, but if so he wished to point out that the last Election was fought on the question of unemployment. He also wanted them to understand that prior to the Labour Party taking office there were two Special Conferences called in the year 1921 at the Kingsway Hall, where definite resolutions were passed and definite statements were made as to what was considered to be maintenance. He also wished them to understand that the great mass of men, having dangling before their eyes the grim spectre of want and starvation, were inclined to look at things through different spectacles from those who were in comparative comfort. Therefore if his criticism was harsh and pointed, he wished them to understand that it was not criticism of a destructive nature but criticism aimed at making those who were now holding responsible positions understand the real feelings that were running rife amongst the masses of this country on the question of the Unemployed Workers' Six Point Charter. Their Movement felt that the Labour representatives had not fought for that Charter in the way they ought to have done. The Charter was issued, not by his Movement, but by the General Council of the Trades Union Congress. It therefore stood in the name of the whole of the organised Trade Union Movement in Great Britain. That being so, every Labour representative, whether on a Local Administrative body or in the Central Governing body, was in duty bound to stand by that Charter and be pre-

pared to advance the principles contained in it against all odds.

They felt that the Departmental powers of certain Ministers could have been used more effectively on behalf of the unemployed than they had been. It was not necessary to go before Parliament every time that an instruction was sent out from any particular Department. When Sir Alfred Mond was Minister of Health he used his Departmental powers to the fullest possible extent in one direction. To quote a case in point, he took it upon himself to send out to every Board of Guardians throughout the country a note stating that the milk that was being supplied to expectant mothers should be cut down or cut off completely. Again, this Minister of Health, as he had been called—Sir Alfred Mond—whom he believed it would have been more proper to have termed "the Minister of Disease and Death"—this Minister was responsible for sending out an instruction to the Local Authorities on the question of relief work, stating that where relief work was put into operation it should only be paid for at the rate of 75 per cent. of the proper Trade Union rate. The present Prime Minister (Mr. MacDonald) in referring to the relief work, stated that the Government had taken on the question of relief work at a time when it was a very troublesome problem. He wanted to point out that his Movement was definitely dissatisfied on the question of relief work, and emphatically protested against relief work being started unless it was paid for at the full Trade Union rate of wages. They objected to the unemployed having their unfortunate position exploited in order to get a lower rate of wages than the district rate. Then on the question of task work. This was a problem which had affected a very large percentage of the unemployed in this country —(A delegate: "And the employed.")—and the employed. Task work meant that a Local Board of Guardians had the power to say to a certain applicant for relief, "in order to prove that you are really an honest member of the working class you shall perform certain work in return for your scale of relief." He knew men in their own Movement, Trade Unionists, who had refused to undertake this work on those conditions, and had suffered three terms of imprisonment for daring to refuse. He believed it was the duty of the Labour Government to use all its powers to prevent the continuation of such an obnoxious system as task work. On the question of relief on loan, he said he had been informed that in the valleys of South Wales there were thousands of summonses pending against the miners because, at the latter end of 1921 and during 1922, when unemployment was rife in the coal-fields, men were driven by the lash of starvation into accepting relief, and signing that they were receiving that relief on loan, and the consequence was that when they secured employment they had a debt, amounting in some cases to £100 and £150 hanging like a millstone round their necks. It was the duty of the Labour Government to use its powers to prevent the continuation of a system which permitted Local Boards of Guardians to administer relief on loan.

He also wanted to say that there were a number of "colonies" existing in this country which he termed "slave colonies." One of these was Belmont and another Hollesley Bay. Those colonies were controlled by reactionary Boards of Guardians, who sent people to them, and when they got there they were neither more nor less than actual prisoners. Their status and condition were very little removed from that of the ordinary convict in any of the gaols throughout Great Britain. In the Belmont colony men were dressed in old German uniforms, and they worked so many hours per day, and so many days per week, and at the end of the week they simply received half an ounce of tobacco. They worked in those colonies for their maintenance, whilst their wives and children were left behind at the mercy of these unscrupulous individuals on the Boards of Guardians who had been responsible for sending them there. He wished to tell the delegates this home truth, not because he wanted to score a point against any particular Minister, but in order that it might not occur in the future. Some time ago the Southwark Board of Guardians complained to the Minister of Health that they had had a number of men unemployed for a very long while drawing unemployed relief. They were sending as many as they could to the Belmont colony, and they asked what they could do with the others. He had been very sorry to read in the *Daily Herald* that the Labour Minister of Health suggested they should make more extensive use of the colony at Hollesley Bay. That sort of thing, he maintained, should not occur. These colonies were part of the old regime, and when a Labour Government came into office it was its duty to break away from the procedure of its predecessors and to smash those pernicious systems which had operated against the interests of the working class.

They had a General Election pending, and he wished to assure the delegates present that, in spite of his criticism, the Party would have the support of every branch of the National Unemployed Workers' Movement in this Parliamentary struggle. In all the previous Parliamentary struggles his Movement had lined up solidly in support of the Labour candidates, and in the next Parliamentary struggle, although they felt that more could have been attempted than had been attempted, he had no hesitation in saying that if the Labour Party fought on the Russian Treaty, or on a real working class programme, then every member of the working class, irrespective of the political Party he was a member of, should be prepared to show a united front to the organised forces of capitalism, and send back

to the House of Commons Labour representatives in greater numbers.

His Movement had struggled on during the last four years under heavy difficulties, facing great obstacles. It was a comparatively new Movement compared with the Trade Union Movement of this country, but it had succeeded in doing a lot to alleviate the distress of the unemployed. But it was not anxious to carry on the fight alone. It wanted every working class organisation to engage in the struggle on the question of the unemployed, so that they would be able to clear away those grievances of which he had spoken. They also wished every Labour candidate to stand by the Charter of the unemployed issued in the name of the British Trade Union Movement. There was going to be a long drawn-out struggle, and the path towards their goal might be strewn with thorns, but they were anxious to see the Labour Movement of this country not fitting itself in with the machinery of the past, but where that machinery or the entanglements of that machinery stood in the way of progress, then they wanted to see the Local Authorities doing as Poplar had done, breaking away from those entanglements, and marching forward to the great goal of real working class emancipation. The words of the Premier on the previous day were true; that the problem of unemployment arose from our present economic system, and it was only with the destruction of that economic system and the introduction of a new system based not upon production for profit, but upon production for use, that they would be able to give to their children the opportunity of standing on the threshold of a new era and looking forward to a better, brighter and happier future; looking back at the old dark days of unemployment as a hideous nightmare never again to be revived amongst the working class of this or any other country.

The Conference then adjourned for the day.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 9th

Morning Session

The Conference reassembled at 9.30 a.m., Mr. C. T. Cramp being again in the Chair.

The Chairman, at the opening of the proceedings, said they had arrived at a situation which had never before been reached in the meetings of a Conference of this kind, and he was sure that the mind of the Conference would not be attuned to taking the agenda in the order originally set forth. There were certain important matters in the agenda which, in the light of the impending election, should be immediately dealt with as part of their election campaign. He feared it would be impossible to get through the whole of the agenda, but there were certain matters which ought to be dealt with. There was one matter which must be dealt with, and that was Finance. The Conference Arrangements Committee would report so far as they were able at the moment, what the course of business should be. He had already made an endeavour, with which he was sure the delegates would agree, that their Premier Chairman should be present with them that morning. They were all aware, of course, that he had grave matters to attend to, but when he could dispose of those he (the Chairman) was certain Mr. MacDonald would feel that his place was with his own people.

Mr. Will Thorne, reporting on behalf of the Conference Arrangements Committee, said that the first business that morning would be to deal with the Unemployment resolution, copies of which had been circulated. Delegates would notice there was an amendment at the bottom of the page, which would come in after the words "Women's Training Centres" on page 11. In the event of that amendment being carried, it would then become part of the motion, and another amendment would be moved, but if the amendment was not carried, a further amendment would be moved. After the Unemployment resolution had been dealt with, the Conference Arrangements Committee suggested that the resolution on Education should be taken.

Mr. George Lansbury asked when the Imperial Trading resolution would come on.

The Chairman replied that it was originally intended to take it in the afternoon, but he was afraid it was impossible, in the circumstances, to set down rigidly the order in which the business would be taken. He would endeavour to have that resolution brought on during the morning, because it was a most important question and should be placed before the electors. He would be guided, however, by the course of business, and, if Mr. MacDonald was able to come, very largely by what he had to say. Some of them had been talking over the possibilities, and it seemed to them that the sense of the Conference might very well be that they should adjourn that evening and take to the trenches. They would be very largely guided, however, by what Mr. MacDonald had to say. Mr. Lansbury might rest assured that they had not under-estimated the importance of the question he had raised, and they would endeavour to get it discussed before they took the question of Finance in the afternoon.

UNEMPLOYMENT.

The Conference then proceeded to discuss the following resolutions and amendments on Unemployment:—

"(*a*) *That this Conference, regarding the continuance of chronic Unemployment not only as the more serious menace to the standard of life of the people, but also as a disastrous drain upon the national resources, once more calls the attention of the Ministers to this grave issue.*

"*The Conference welcomes the steps taken by the Labour Government in its*

first session towards its declared policy of 'Work or Maintenance,' not only by the promotion of Peace, and the beginning of the restoration of normal production and exchange in Europe, but also in its steadily increasing provision, principally through the Local Authorities, of works of utility, roads and bridges, land drainage, tree-planting, harbour improvements, development of electricity and water supply, and in the restoration of the Women's Training Centres. The Conference particularly welcomes in this connection the adoption by this Government of

"(a) A gigantic Housing Programme;

"(b) An extensive scheme for the substitution all over the country of new and improved electrical plant and machinery for that now in use, and for a national system of transmission cables;

"(c) The active stimulation of the building of additional schools and the drastic improvement of those now being condemned;

"(d) The plan for the establishment of the sugar beet industry in this country, and other schemes of like character, calculated to find employment in the aggregate for hundreds of thousands of men and women.

"Meanwhile, for those for whom situations cannot yet be found, the Conference reiterates its demand for adequate Maintenance, unconnected with the Poor Law, and on national rather than local lines. It welcomes the Unemployment Insurance Act of this session with its abolition of the 'gap,' the provision of continuous benefit, and the increase in its amount, reforms which, taken together, will save thousands from destitution and the tender mercies of the Poor Law.

"But the Conference urges the Government and the public authorities to speed up the development of the latent resources of the country and the establishment of additional public utilities.

"Further, the Conference urges that the Maintenance provided for those for whom the community fails to find situations should be increased.

"The Conference, whilst confirmed in its conviction that only by a fundamental reorganisation of our economic system will this evil of unemployment be prevented, emphatically declares that the way in which so grave a problem of national life is, in the meantime, practically dealt with must be regarded as the acid test and the touchstone of each successive Government, from whatever party it may be formed."

Executive Committee.

AMENDMENTS.

(i) Line 21: Delete all after "Women's Training Centres" and add:—

"That this Conference approves of the Six Point Charter of the Trades Union Congress and the Unemployed Workers' Committee Movement, and accepts it as part of the Labour Party Programme. Further, and for the purpose of adequately financing and giving effect to the proposals contained in the Charter, the money be raised by a graded system of taxation on individuals with fortunes over £5,000."

THE SIX POINT CHARTER.

1. Work or effective maintenance for all unemployed workers and increased Government assistance to be provided through Trade Unions. All unemployment relief to be completely dissociated from Poor Law Administration.
2. The immediate development of Government schemes of employment to absorb the unemployed in their own trades at Trade Union rates of wages and conditions.
3. The establishment of State Workshops for the purpose of supplying the necessary service or commodities to meet the requirements of Government Departments.
4. The reduction in the hours of labour necessary to absorb unemployed workers, the normal working day or week to be regulated by the requirements of the industry.
5. The establishment of occupational training centres for unemployed workers, providing proper training with effective maintenance, particularly for unemployed boys and girls and able-bodied ex-Service men.
6. The provision of suitable housing accommodation at rents within the means of wage-earners, and the proper use of existing houses.

To move: Glasgow Trades and Labour Council.

To second: Wimbledon Labour Party.

In the event of the above amendment being carried, which then becomes part of the main motion, the following amendment will be moved:—

(ii) "This Conference further records its opinion that in view of the power of the Bank of England to lessen by a scientific regulation of credit the disastrous booms and slumps and the unemployment which they bring in their train, the Government should immediately give their attention to the influence of monetary policy on trade, industry, and unemployment. It asks that steps should be taken by nationalising the Bank of England and otherwise to ensure that the control of credit is exercised in the public interest and not in the interest of powerful financial groups."

Independent Labour Party.

In the event of the E.C. Resolution standing the following two amendments will be moved:—

(iii) Line 56: Insert after "additional public utilities" the following words:—

"*This Conference further records its opinion that in view of the power of the*

Bank of England to lessen by a scientific regulation of credit the disastrous booms and slumps and the unemployment which they bring in their train, the Government should immediately give their attention to the influence of monetary policy on trade, industry, and employment. It asks that steps should be taken by nationalising the Bank of England and otherwise to insure that the control of credit is exercised in the public interest and not in the interest of powerful financial groups."

Independent Labour Party.

(iv) Line 57 : Insert after "the Conference urges" the following words :—

"The cancellation of Loans by Boards of Guardians, the complete abolition of the waiting period and"

Moved by Barnard Castle L.P.
Seconded by Cannock D.L.P.

(b) "This Conference, while recognising and sympathising with the difficult position in which the Government has been placed through the capitalist parties possessing a majority of Members of Parliament, regrets the failure of the Government to adhere in its policy to the decision of the Labour Party Conference : special attention being directed to the failure of the Minister of Labour to establish the Divisional Councils of Labour Exchanges, and thereby bring about uniformity in decisions on claims, preventing Exchanges being used for the supply of cheap labour to sweating employers, and the avoidance of sending workers after situations outside their own district whilst suitable men are registered at the Exchanges where outside men are imported."

London T.C.

Mr. Robert Williams, in moving the first resolution on behalf of the Executive Committee, said it was identical with the resolution which appeared on page 28 of the Agenda, but according to Conference practice it was starred because the matter had been discussed and determined again and again at various Conferences of the Labour Party. The Executive, however, considered that Unemployment was of such paramount importance that the question of starring or unstarring was negligible compared with the desirability of a decisive declaration on the part of the delegates assembled on the important problem of unemployment. The Executive Committee were anxious that their programme should stand because it was becoming increasingly evident that the recommendations submitted to the Conference for approval and declaration must become the basis of their electoral programme which would very shortly be submitted to the country. He agreed with the Chairman that that was not a time when their energies should be spent in convincing one another of desirable points in their programme; the present time should be spent in convincing and converting members of their own class to the desirability of supporting their own Party at the election. It had become abundantly clear in his mind that they were faced with a thinly disguised resurrection of the Coalition. Lord Beaverbrook, Lord Birkenhead, Mr. Churchill, Mr. Lloyd George and others had been openly advocating a resurrection of the Coalition. They found in the capitalist Press that morning that kites were being flown in order to promote electoral arrangements between Liberal and Conservative nominees in three-cornered fights so that they could concentrate their forces against the Labour candidates. They did not mind which way it was in which they would have to fight landlord and capitalist interest as against the interests of the community, but they were convinced that they must fight on certain practical issues which were calculated to win the support of their own people. He did not, of course, deny the right of affiliated organisations to submit amendments to the proposal of the Executive, but he would ask the delegates, in all respect, to vote down the amendments, not because they were opposed to some of the sentiments contained in the amendment, but because they desired, when the Labour Party Executive had to frame and formulate a policy it would be a manifesto to the electorate of the country, and they wanted it done in a manner which would be clearly understood by the people whose suffrages they were demanding. He had listened with profound interest to the speech delivered by Mr. Walter Hannington just before the Conference broke up on the previous day. It was a well-phrased, well-balanced speech, and he thought the Executive, broadly speaking, were in full accordance with the views expressed. In fact it might be said that many members of the Conference, were they speaking with the authority behind them of the unemployed masses of this country, might have been a little more critical even than Hannington himself was. But to those who might be perturbed and afraid that their policy, whether on unemployment or any other burning topic would be influenced by outside causes, he would reassure them by saying that as far as his influence went and the influence of every Trade Union member of the Party, the programme and policy of the Party, either during elections or after elections, must ever be determined by the great majority of working class and Trades Union representatives who assemble in their Conferences. The resolution placed in the name of the Executive did represent what he might call considered Trade Union proposals, and they repeated the constructive phrase which they formulated in their last Election Manifesto. They wanted, moreover, to make unemployment a national question rather than to allow it to remain, as it was, a local question, in respect at least of Poor Law benefits. They wanted to abolish the taint of Poor Law altogether from unemployment. Their masters told them that they drew their excessive incomes from mining

royalties, their interest upon their invested capital and the profits of their various undertakings because of their alleged superior brains. He wished to say to them that if they had that capacity for Government and administration of which they boasted, and for which they took such high incomes, where was the constructive ability that could not find useful employment for the million and a quarter or the million and a half who were known to be suffering from unemployment? It was the duty of those who were responsible for the administration of economic affairs and the Government of the country—and the Labour Party had never really been responsible for the Government of the country—it was their bounden duty to provide either work or maintenance comparable with the rate of wages they would earn were they profitably employed. Superior people—people with superficial brains—were for ever talking about the dole which the unemployed workmen received from the Employment or Insurance Exchanges. It was an insult to use the word "dole." If delegates would look at the available information they would find that since the Armistice one hundred and fifty-five million pounds had been paid in insurance benefits. How had that been contributed? The workers' contribution—employed workers—had been fifty-five million pounds and the employers' contribution sixty million pounds. The employers' contribution was, as they all knew, one of the charges on costs of production and was not a deduction in any sense from the employers' pockets. Therefore they were entitled to ask that the employers and the State should make a more substantial contribution than they were making to-day. Would any fair-minded man or woman tell him that a State like theirs, which could afford to provide over three hundred and fifty millions in interest alone upon War Debt to the bondholders—that a nation who could treat its bondholders so well as that, could not afford to treat its unemployed—ex-Servicemen and ex-munition workers—a little better than it did to-day? It was an insult to their class to expect them to subsist even on the allowance as increased by the present Government. Therefore they were demanding that the benefit should be placed upon a national basis and absolutely removed from the taint of the Poor Law.

The resolution referred to the International Situation, and he was very encouraged when he heard Mr. MacDonald state that it was the duty of the British Movement and the International Movement to see that the International employers should not use the exploited labour of the German proletariat further to depress human conditions. He (Mr. Williams) admitted that he had criticised the possible effects of the Dawes Report. He had criticised them at the Hamburg Conference of the International Transport Workers, but when they had regard to the situation confronting Mr. MacDonald they must realise, although the Dawes Report contained potential disadvantages, the German Trade Union Organisations were asking, pleading for the co-operation especially of the British and Belgians in order that circumstances and conditions in Germany might be stabilised. Therefore great credit reflected upon Mr. MacDonald at least in this, that the economic position in Germany had been substantially improved since the operation of the London Agreement. ("Question.") That might be questioned, but he was speaking at least with the authority of the German officials in the Railway and Transport Organisations. At least it had arrested the downward trend in economic conditions.

Coming to the subject-matter of the amendments, there were two points in the first amendment which appeared to cut across the Executive proposal. The first was that they should endorse the Six Point Charter of the Trade Union Movement. The Labour Party was at all times prepared to co-operate with the General Council of the Trades Union Congress in order to give effect to any resolution arrived at either by Congress or Party. Delegates should understand, however, that the Six Point Charter was arrived at at a Trades Union Congress nominated by purely industrial considerations. If they would look at the Charter itself they would see that Point 4 called for the reduction in the hours of labour necessary to absorb unemployed workers, the normal working day or week to be regulated by the requirements of the industry. In principle he was heartily in accord with that. The Executive were heartily in accord with the joint arrangement to provide for that between the Congress General Council and their own Party Executive. There were people who imagined that giving effect to the provisions of the Washington Convention would mean a universal 48-hour week, but the Transport Workers to-day had a 44-hour week, and they did not want the universal 48-hour week. Every Trade Union official knew very well that once they discussed the question of reduction of hours apart from the political significance of giving effect to the Washington Convention it was not a question for this Conference but it was a question for the industries themselves. It was more an industrial consideration than a political consideration. The first amendment suggested a graded system of taxation on individuals with fortunes of over £5,000. That brought them back to the proposal of a Capital Levy, and he suggested that they would be cowards were they faced with an election, as they were to-day, to go back on their proposal for a Capital Levy. It was only right that those who had made vast fortunes out of the blood of the people during the war should have to bear the burden of paying for the war, but that could easily be another part of the Electoral Manifesto when it appeared. He therefore hoped having regard to all the circumstances, not because they disagreed with the principle contained therein, but merely as to the

ediency of it—he hoped the amendments uld be voted down and the resolution in name of the Executive would be carried animously.

Mr. W. Smith, M.P., in seconding the reso-ion, said his task had been rendered some-at easy by the very fine explanation and tement made by the mover, but he would the Conference to pay heed to the appeal ich had been made to endorse the resolu-n as it stood. That did not mean, as Mr. illiams had already stated, any hostility to y of the amendments that were upon the per; nor did it mean that the Executive d in any way withdrawn from any pre-ous declarations in regard to this problem unemployment. They could carry all ese amendments on the paper and still ere would be left room for sufficient neral agreement even to amend it further, d therefore the Executive felt that it was sirable and wise to confine themselves, at is moment, to a declaration in regard to employment which, as Mr. Williams had ated, would form the basis of their plat-rm in the forthcoming election campaign. he position was fairly and adequately ated in the first paragraph so far as present litical problems had a bearing upon this atter, and in the proposals set forth they d their constructive ideas, which not only lped in the sense of absorbing men and omen that were now unemployed, but also d a bearing upon other social problems. hey were creative suggestions which had a ouble effect and a double purpose. There as one of them which he desired par-cularly to refer to, and that was the one earing upon the development of the industry sugar beet and the manufacture of sugar this country. It had been recognised for any years past that one phase of the un-mployment problem had been the drifting of en from the land into industrial centres, d contributing thus a continuous stream competitive elements, making it difficult maintain the standard of comfort pre-iously obtained and won by Trade Union tion. If this industry could be suc-essfully established, it would have a aterial bearing upon that drifting from he land; it would mean the extension of mployment so far as cultivation was con-rned, and, by the erection of factories for he manufacture of sugar, would develop ew industries which would absorb much the surplus labour that now existed in the ural districts. These were placed under our headings. They had constructive pro-osals which, at the moment, formed a plat-orm which would enable them to go to the ountry with every confidence in regard to his matter. In the last paragraph they ade it abundantly clear that these pro-osals, in themselves, were no solution of he unemployed problem. They emphasised here that unemployment was part of the conomic system under which they lived, and here must be far more radical and sweeping changes before the problem would be ultimately removed from their midst. Therefore the resolution contained a declaration first of the significance of political problems of foreign relations to this question, with a declaration in favour of those definite and constructive proposals which were capable of immediate application, with a further statement that they were at best only palliatives and that the problem was far deeper rooted than was contained or represented by these suggestions. He felt that in this resolution they had a declaration which justified the appeal that had been made for its endorsement without amendment, and he repeated that that statement was made, not out of any hostility to the amendment as such. They could go on amending and amending, there was so much to be said about it, but the Executive felt that at this moment and in the light of what lay ahead of them at the present time, this resolution was adequate for their purpose and they asked the Conference for its endorsement.

Mr. W. McNeill (Glasgow Trades and Labour Council) then moved the amendment standing in the name of that organisation as above. He said that he felt, during a certain part of Mr. Williams' speech in moving the resolution, that he was making an admirable appeal in favour of the amendment. He also felt that when the Executive preferred this resolution they did not seem to have been thinking of the Trades Union Congress, or that they were in any way representing the Trades Union Movement in this country; and as the Party was faced with a General Election, he felt it was his duty to attempt, if possible, to get the Conference to line up along with the Trades Unions of the country and the unemployed in fighting this question. They felt that the Six-Point Charter was a real and definite statement of what ought to be done. With regard to the Six-Point Charter, although Mr. Williams was speaking for nearly fifteen minutes, he only objected to one of the points, namely, No. 4, and therefore he took it that he was in favour of all the others. With regard to No. 4, if there was any person in this Conference who would stand up and say that the hours of labour ought not to be reduced, he ought not to be here at all. With regard to where the money was to come from, they were told during the last General Election that from a Capital Levy a sum of £3,000,000,000 could be raised. He wanted to say that in Glasgow they thought that this sum could be raised. They believed the money was there and could be got, and it ought to be used to house the people of this country as they ought to be housed, and not as hundreds of thousands of them at the present time were housed. They felt that this money, derived from a system of graded taxation, could be used to solve most of the unemployed problems of Great Britain at the present time. He appealed to the Conference to show to the Labour Party,

the Trades Union Congress, and the Unemployed Workers that they were agreed upon a programme—a programme that ought to be put before the people, that would allow them to send back to the House of Commons a greater representation than they had yet had of those who were prepared to carry it out.

Mr. MARK STARR (Wimbledon Labour Party), in seconding the amendment, said that although the resolution of the Executive was a real statesmanlike proposal, yet it ignored the immediate difficulties and the immediate measures that were necessary at the present time. Mr. Smith had spoken about the sugar beet industry, but it seemed to him that if they were going to talk in that way while there were over a million unemployed in the country it would provide anything but a lump of sugar for the Labour Party. He claimed that the amendment got down to "brass tacks" and dealt with the difficulties which existed at the present time, without waiting until they had converted their opponents. It also provided the means for finding the money to pay the increased benefits which the unemployed needed. He was very glad indeed to hear from Mr. Williams that the Capital Levy had not been put to bed, but the Capital Levy, it was stated, was simply to be used for wiping off the National Debt. This amendment made the definite suggestion that the money required for carrying out the Six Point Charter should be obtained by taxing fortunes of over £5,000. He maintained that in the Six Point Charter they were not asking for something which was impossible but for something which could be realised and obtained if they were prepared to put their backs into fighting for it.

Mr. W. PAUL (Rusholme Labour Party) said that after hearing the delegate from the Unemployed Workers' Committee on the previous day he felt sure they must have all agreed that the policy of the Government had been absolutely inadequate so far as the unemployed were concerned. Here they were on the eve of an election, and if they were going to have in every constituency in the country Liberals and Tories taunting them that they had been unable to do anything for the unemployed when they held office, it was going to have a very bad effect. He maintained that they had in this Six Point Charter something with which they could go, even at this eleventh hour, to the country that would put confidence into the rank and file. If Mr. Williams wanted them to back up the Trade Union policy, then, he maintained, they could do nothing better than emulate the policy of the Trades Union Congress itself. Mr. Williams had argued that the policy put forward by the Trades Union Congress was industrial, whereas that of the Executive Committee was political. Surely Mr. Williams knew better than that, for the industrial policy automatically and inevitably became a political issue. That was the reason why he backed up this amendment. It was futile also to try to tell them that, so far as the Dawes Report was concerned, certain Trade Union leaders in Germany were in favour of it. They all knew that in Germany, as in this country, there were Trade Union leaders who were prepared to do everything for the working class except fight for them. In Germany there was being prepared the most terrible onslaught against the working class, and it was the duty of the delegates here to see that justice was done not only to the German working class, but also to show that they were prepared to fight for them by fighting for the working class at home. Delegates should not allow themselves to be misled by beet sugar in the sweet by-and-by, but should demand something here and now, and for this reason, being practical men, they commended the amendment to the Conference.

Mr. ROBERT WILLIAMS, replying to the discussion, said that the Labour Party Executive were prepared to meet the General Council of the Trades Union Congress and to listen to their representations with regard to including the Six Point Charter in the Election Manifesto. He saw before him at least three members of the General Council, and if the General Council considered that the most effective way to give effect to any decision arrived at, either by the Hull Congress or any preceding Congress, was to ask the Party to incorporate those points in their Election Manifesto, they would be prepared to consider those representations and to co-operate with the General Council at any time. He did not want to ask the delegates to vote against principles with which he was in accord—especially the Capital Levy—but the Executive were going to the country with an Electoral Manifesto, and they asked the mover and seconder, having made their speeches in support of their amendment, to now withdraw it.

A DELEGATE asked whether it was possible to incorporate the Six Point Charter as an addendum, but the Chairman replied that the resolution must be taken as printed.

The amendment was then put to the Conference on a card vote, the result being declared as follows :—

For the amendment, 607,000.
Against the amendment, 2,381,000

The amendment was therefore declared lost.

Before proceeding to discuss the amendment of the Independent Labour Party, the Chairman asked the Conference to allow Mr. Clynes to make a statement which would probably influence the Conference procedure.

THE DISSOLUTION OF PARLIAMENT.

The Right Hon. J. R. CLYNES, M.P., said he rose merely to make an announcement on behalf of Mr. MacDonald. He had just left him confident and cheerful. At this moment he was at the Palace with the King. Labour had cause to be proud of its Premier, and never more so than in the hour of defeat, which would be the gateway to greater victories. On the previous night they could have saved their political lives

for a few weeks by suffering humiliation, by submission, by trafficking, by compromise. Well, they had no long past behind them as a Labour Cabinet, but in this, as in other matters, they thought in the terms of the future, and neither now nor then would they do anything to lower the dignity of a Cabinet of the country. But they claimed for Labour the least that any would claim, namely, belief in the word of a Minister. Let others differ from them in matters of policy, but the facts were so convincingly and so fully revealed by all their speakers the previous night, that it was plain that perhaps at no time in the history of Parliament did truth count for less in the lobbies of the House of Commons than then. The Attorney-General absolutely justified in his speech—a magnificent and a human address—his refusal to send to gaol a crippled ex-soldier for the utterances that were contained in the *Workers' Weekly*. He was satisfied the country would not condemn him for that. He had heard it said a moment before by Mr. Paul that it was the duty of this Conference to give the Labour Cabinet a mandate, but they must go, he contended, to a wider area than that for the mandate that was still required, and so they felt that, not having been able to get fair play from the House of Commons, they would get it from the Throne in the authority that would be given to dissolve this Parliament and go straightway to the electors. He need now only add that the Prime Minister wished him to tell them that after he had made a short statement to the House of Commons, at about three o'clock, he would be happy to be here with them again in person and to say a final word to them.

Mr. Bowen suggested that there was now too much unreality about their proceedings to allow them to go on discussing mere resolutions on the agenda, and he therefore suggested that the Conference should adjourn at once and reassemble at four o'clock to meet the Prime Minister and to give him the strongest and heartiest word that the Conference could give.

The Chairman said he had already explained that if they were going to be effective in the election they were now facing, there were some resolutions printed here which ought to be decided upon in order that their candidates might know what the policy of the Party was. He therefore proposed to take such resolutions. In addition they would have to discuss finance. The sinews of war must be provided. If it could possibly be done it should be done that day. He suggested that they should go on with these important resolutions, and that instead of assembling at 3.30, as proposed, to discuss finance, they should commence immediately after lunch in order that they might, if possible, conclude that subject and be ready for the Prime Minister when he arrived. He believed then—although he would need greater authority—then would be a fitting moment to conclude the business of the Conference, so that their comrades could take up their positions ready for the fray which lay ahead.

I.L.P. AMENDMENT ON UNEMPLOYMENT.

Mr. H. N. Brailsford (Independent Labour Party) then moved the amendment to the Unemployment resolution standing in the name of the I.L.P. He said that the Independent Labour Party welcomed the appeal made from the platform that the proceedings of the Conference should be directed to preparation for the battle they were about to enter upon, but it was precisely for that reason that the I.L.P. felt unable to withdraw the amendment standing in their name. They had heard from the platform the arguments for the resolution which stood on the paper. The Party for which he spoke was warmly, enthusiastically, unanimously in support of every word of that resolution. They would not delete one word from it or change one word of it, but what they proposed to do was to make an addition to it which, they contended, would give the battle upon which they were about to enter the aspect of a real struggle for power. They had heard from the platform—perhaps too modestly—the statement that in the opinion of the Executive these proposals were only palliatives. They had heard, further, from the platform that there could be no cure for unemployment except by fundamental changes in the structure of society. There they were in agreement with the platform, and precisely because they wished this Election to be fought on realities and that it should turn on fundamental issues, they proposed to add to the resolution words which called attention to the power of banking and its influence upon unemployment from which they had been suffering during these terrible years. The power of the banks was like the air they breathed, no one was aware of it until the cyclone came. The cyclone came, in this instance, at the end of the boom period, towards the close of 1920, when the fiat went out from the American banks, echoed at once by the British banks, that the time had come to call in credit, and the result was that in a few weeks the figures of unemployment went up, and they had 2,000,000 unemployed. No one disputed that chapter of history. They had passed through it, and yet that terrible period had left no record on the official proposals of their Party. It was to remedy this that they proposed to make this addition to the resolution. They believed it was impossible to tackle the problem of unemployment until they first made themselves masters of the masters of our civilisation. The banks constituted an autocracy, the last autocracy that remained. What use was it to have overthrown in the war the attacks of the Imperialists if they left the autocracy of capital unchallenged? They contended that the investigations which had gone on as to the phenomena of booms and slumps had pro-

vided facts for study, and they contended that science had now evolved a procedure by which it would be possible to prevent these alternations of slumps and booms by the simple procedure of regulating the price at which money was to be made available for trade by the banks. It was not a theoretical proposal on their part. It was done every day by banks in every civilised country, but it was done for other purposes than those which they proposed. It was done in the interests of the investing class. They proposed that it should be done consciously and deliberately in the interests of the whole community—of the workers. They proposed that, in order to gain for the community this power of arranging credit, the State should nationalise the banks. They had already in Australia one great National Bank, and they had in America the Federal Reserve Board. What had been done there could be done here, but it must be done in the interests of the community—in the interests of the workers. He appealed, therefore, to the Conference to pass this amendment and thus make the Election a real struggle for power.

Mr. Fenner Brockway formally seconded the amendment.

Mr. Walton Newbold (High Peak L.P.), in supporting it, said that this was the very crux of the fight. It was also the answer of this Conference, on behalf of the entire working-class movement, to the people who had given Mr. MacDonald his *congé*. Mr. MacDonald had been thrown out of office because now that he had done his work in getting through the Dawes Report he was going forward with the whole working-class movement behind him, saying, " We are now going to extend the credit which the British State gained from the banks at the beginning of the war, and we are going to use that credit to finance our Acts." He asked them to make this Election a real fight and to show the people of this country that there was only going to be one Government in Britain and that was the Government of the working class.

The amendment was put to the meeting and carried on a show of hands.

The Chairman announced that the next resolution on the paper, standing in the name of the Barnard Castle Labour Party, was withdrawn, leaving the last amendment by the London Trades Council.

Mr. Duncan Carmichael (London T.C.) said that this was not intended as an amendment. It was down as a second resolution. It did not cut across any one of the points that had already been carried.

The Chairman said it was printed to be taken in conjunction with the resolution, but if it was desired to move it separately, he would at once take the vote on the resolution as amended, and then it could be moved.

The resolution as amended was then put to the Conference and carried unanimously.

Mr. Duncan Carmichael, in proposing the resolution of the London Trades Council (set out on page 161), said that was framed at a time when they expected that the Labour Government would be in existence for at least a couple of years, and there were therefore parts of it which he had no desire to speak upon under the circumstances they were faced with. But they felt very keenly that when the Labour Party Conference, in June of last year, passed a resolution unanimously, Mr. Tom Shaw did not make administrative changes in favour of a humane policy at all Labour Exchanges. During the time of Mr. Roberts and Dr. Macnamara Divisional Councils were in existence, and as a result, in the London area, they had those who sat on the Divisional Council and were also members of the local Employment Exchanges.

At this point the Attorney-General came upon the platform and received a great ovation.

Mr. Carmichael, continuing, said that the Divisional Councils were, in those days, very effective. This year the London Trades Council had had for about four months a struggle on behalf of the Goldsmiths and Jewellers, who had over 100 men registered at the Labour Exchanges, and yet the Ministry of Labour gave the opportunity for bringing 22 men from Birmingham to work at a rate which was considerably lower than that prevalent in London. They objected to the Labour Exchanges being used for removing unemployed men from one district into another district where the Trade Unions had been able to establish something like a living wage. Although no one could object more strongly than he did to a motion of censure on a Department, if the Executive were prepared to give a pledge that they would push forward the resolution which was passed at the Conference last year, they would be satisfied to have the next business carried.

Mr. Robert Williams said the Executive were prepared to give a pledge that they would do their best to carry out the declared policy and programme of the Party as the exigencies of the situation would permit. He did not like this subtle attempt to supersede a vote of censure by an application for an inquiry. It had been suggested that the amendment was not an amendment to the resolution, but a separate thing. The resolution which had been passed stated that it " Welcomes the steps taken by the Labour Government in its first session towards its declared policy of work or maintenance," but the resolution now moved suggested that the Conference " Regrets the failure of the Government to adhere in its policy to the decisions of the Labour Party Conference." That was clearly an amendment and a vote of censure. They should leave votes of censure to the Baldwins and the Simons. This was not an occasion, especially coming from London, where the power of reaction

was strongest, when they should have even an implied vote of censure upon the Party for its efforts during the past eight months. If Mr. Carmichael would not withdraw the resolution, it ought to be swept aside.

There was no seconder to the resolution and it consequently fell.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL.

The CHAIRMAN then called upon the Attorney-General to address the Conference.

Sir PATRICK HASTINGS, K.C., M.P., who was received with loud applause, said that he did not mind confessing that the last two or three weeks had not been very pleasant to him, but he also did not mind confessing that he had been amply repaid by the reception given him at that Conference. He had had, the previous night, to say a great deal about the Campbell case, and he did not propose to repeat it there. Neither did he propose to adopt the course which had been adopted in some quarters—to make personal attacks upon anybody else. But he thought it would not be out of place to give what he thought would be a word of warning, not to that Conference, which did not require it, but to a great deal wider meeting—a meeting of all the thoughtful people of this country whatever views they might hold, because as all the delegates knew, during the last three or four weeks there had not been one single newspaper in the country, with the exception of their own *Daily Herald*, that had given what he might call an impartial account of this case to anybody. Now in politics he was told—and he had not been in politics so long as many of them—that everything was regarded as fair. That might be so, but there were some things that might not be wise. If any attack was made upon their Party politically, he did not think that anyone would raise the slightest objection, but he thought it might be wise for people in this country to realise, whether they liked it or not, that there were not hundreds of thousands but millions of English men and women who believed in the Labour Party, and whether they liked it or not, he thought they ought to consider whether it was altogether wise to say things about individuals in the Labour Party which those millions might resent. For himself he would say nothing. Anyone who liked to attack him personally was entitled to do so, but there were some members of the Government, headed by the Prime Minister, whom millions of the people of this country trusted and loved, and for any organised opposition, unless they had absolute ground for doing it, to try and tell those millions of people, without a word of justification, that the men they trusted and loved were liars and dishonest, was not wise. In all his political life, even in the most bitter contests, he had never said one single word against the character of his opponent, whether a personal opponent or whether a member of a Party which was opposed to him. He had never permitted such a thing to be done, and he had never addressed a Labour audience in his life that had not heartily endorsed the policy of abstaining from personal attacks against anyone. Now, in all the time that he had been in the House of Commons he had never heard one word from the Ministers who were now in office or the Leaders of the Opposition when they were the Opposition, suggesting to the people of England that their opponents were personally dishonest, and he would suggest, not only to their opponents, but to the great weapon, the newspapers of the country, that they were not helping the welfare of the country, they were not helping the interests of civilisation, if they used their weapons to make covert attacks against the honour of people whom at least half the population of England loved, honoured and respected.

The CHAIRMAN said they would now deal with the resolution which, if it could be carried into effect, would render such attacks as had been spoken of by the Attorney-General absolutely repugnant to the masses of the people, the resolution on Education. Delegates would find on page 44 of the Agenda that there were resolutions there which had been starred, but in accordance with the Standing Orders, the Executive Committee felt that this question was of sufficient importance to justify a resolution of the Conference. A composite resolution had therefore been printed and circulated, and it would now be moved.

EDUCATION.

Mr. W. G. BACON (North St. Pancras L.P.) moved the following resolution :—

(*a*) "*This Conference welcomes the new spirit shown by the Labour Government in education. It congratulates them in particular on the reduction in the size of classes, and calls on them to make further advance in this direction so as to ensure that the classes in all elementary schools shall comply with the standard now in force in secondary schools.*

"*This Conference urges the Government to proceed without delay to carry out the declared policy of the Party; and to raise the school age to sixteen, with adequate maintenance for all children from* 14 *to* 16 *years of age.*

"*It further demands the complete abolition of fees in secondary schools, with such an extension of scholarships as will prevent any child being debarred by poverty from obtaining the education suitable to him or her.*

"*Finally, it calls upon the Government to bring University education within the reach of all workers:* (1) *by making the existing Universities accessible by means of a generous system of scholarships, and by increasing the facilities for non-residential students;* (2) *by encouraging by means of grants or otherwise, opportunities for independent working class education.*"

Mr. BACON said they would find that the resolution could be divided under four heads. Before dealing with them, however, he wanted to emphasise that those responsible for the resolution welcomed the new spirit that had been revealed in the Education policy of this country under the Education Minister of the Labour Government. There had been a very great improvement, but it was not sufficient. They wanted it to go forth from that Conference that the aim and object and declared policy of the Labour Party were far from yet being achieved. In the first place there was the size of the classes. This was a very important thing. It was all very well to teach children, and to build them up with fact upon fact and information that was merely information, but if the spirit of the times which was still abroad, and which had brought about the juncture they were now faced with, was to be changed, if they were to grapple with the growth of the mind of the children of this nation and forward the cause of Democracy, they must provide for a greater personal contact between the teachers—who were well adapted to direct and train the child—and the child itself, and therefore they must bring the classes down to a size where the teacher could undertake that great responsibility and duty. Therefore they urged that the aim and object of the elementary standard should be the one that was now ruling in the Secondary School classes. He thought he was speaking for the whole of the Labour Movement when he said that they disapproved entirely of the word "Elementary." Their object was not to carry on Elementary Education as understood by a good many people to-day. The system in vogue in this country at the present time was entirely different for different classes of people. The child of the well-to-do went to a Preparatory School and from there was sent to a Secondary School for higher education. They should not rest content until the Elementary system was a preparatory training for an education that would be higher and better, and the rights and privileges which were at present enjoyed by the higher classes should be made available to the working class of the country. With regard to the school leaving age, the resolution was a very practical proposition. They asked that the age should be raised to 16. To turn boys and girls at the age of 14 from the Elementary School, and shoot them into the industrial machine was to sear their souls and maim their bodies. Those boys and girls were approaching a period of life when they should have all the care and assistance that was possible, but instead of that they were being plunged into the capitalist system to produce goods which were cheap, but only cheap at the expense of the lives of these young people. They therefore contended that they should be kept at school until the age of 16. Then the question came in—which was always being asked by those who looked at the utilitarian aspect—how could this be done, because there was the question of accommodation, teaching staff and maintenance? Many of those present knew the work that Miss Susan Lawrence had done in appointing a Committee to investigate the steps taken by the reactionary London County Council for using the powers they possessed to afford greater and more efficient accommodation for the children of London. This accommodation, he maintained, could easily be provided. There were schools that for a year had never been used, and there was property purchased for the purpose of erecting schools which was still being let for other purposes. In regard to maintenance they asked that it should not be such as was given here and there, but that it should be a maintenance such as was the right of every child, whoever and whatever he may be, and not having to go before an inquisitorial Board. This maintenence must be the right of every British boy and girl.

The CHAIRMAN said that the Minister of Education had been present earlier and had asked him to say that he very much regretted having to go to a Cabinet meeting which prevented him being present during the discussion of this resolution, as he would have been pleased to have said something about it.

Mr. J. R. LESLIE (National Union of Shop Assistants), in seconding the resolution, said he wished to pay a tribute to the sympathetic administration of the present Board of Education under the Labour Government. In his own district they had had experience of that. A very reactionary Local Committee was in existence, and the Local Council deliberately boycotted Labour members from being put on the Local Education Committee. The first thing they attempted to do was to abolish the Central School and introduce what they called "Advanced Education" at the Elementary Schools. He was very pleased to say that Mr. Trevelyan had scotched that. There had been a very decided change in spirit in the Department of Education, a complete change of outlook, but there certainly remained much to be done to counteract the evil effects of the Geddes Report. There could be no denying the fact that under the Geddes Report children were sacrificed for the bondholders. In regard to the size of the classes, he maintained that it was impossible at present for a teacher to instruct the children as they ought to be instructed. The size of the classes was so large that teachers became merely lecturers. The Board of Education had sought to stop that sort of thing and to reduce the size of the classes. As the mover of the resolution had pointed out, they wanted the size of the classes to be no larger than was the case in Secondary Schools. With regard to the extension of the school age, they knew the great objection on the part of many parents was that they were unable to provide for their children and they were therefore anxious for them to enter the labour market. In regard to that there were two points of view, and he hoped the Party

would look upon this, firstly, from the point of view of Education, and, secondly, from the economic point of view. There was no doubt at all that the elimination of child competition in industry would mean a great deal for the older members of the family. Was it not terrible, he asked, to realise that to-day there were over half a million children thrown on to the labour market annually at the age of 14, and that no fewer than 40 per cent. of those went into blind alley employment, and at the age of 16 children who left school at the age of 14 were thrown out of work and went to swell the total of unemployed and became the prey of the employer who wanted cheap labour? This would prevent that sort of thing happening. They believed that at the age of 14 children were not fit to enter the fight in the battle of life. So far as the Secondary Schools were concerned, they wanted to remove the poverty bar. The President of the Board of Education had done something in this direction. In many cases he had recommended that the number of free places in the schools should be increased from 25 per cent. to 40 per cent. He held, and held strongly, that the best was not too good for the children of the working classes, and therefore they pressed for the adoption of this resolution in its entirety.

Mr. C. R. de Gruchy (University Labour Federation) said he had been asked to speak for the entire University movement, the University Labour Clubs and Parties. He did not propose to waste the time of the Conference by uttering platitudes on the subject of the right of the working class in respect of the Universities, and how they had been deprived of them. Nor did he propose to waste the time in answering the criticisms which had been passed against the Universities of the present day. Those who had had to fight for the elementary rights of holding meetings to express their political views knew the truth of those criticisms better than anyone else. The whole point they wished to make was this, that the only way to remove those reproaches lay in carrying out the proposals set forth in the latter part of this resolution. They insisted, and they proposed to continue to insist, that every person who was capable of passing a proper qualifying examination should be entitled to the best education the country and its Universities could give. And the business of that Conference should be to announce that that was its policy, and that it would be satisfied with nothing less. In regard to details, their experience led them to consider that the first step must be a great increase in the scholarships for the Universities, and they welcomed the efforts already made in that direction. Secondly, they considered that every possible facility should be provided for people who had to earn their living during the daytime to study in the evenings, and that was the reason why they supported increased facilities for non-residential students, and why they were opposed to what seemed to be the spirit of the Haldane Report. Thirdly, for those who did not require an actual University degree, they insisted that they should have facilities for cultivating and improving their minds, and they did not care under whose auspices that was carried on. Their contention was that the only way to democratise the Universities was to ensure free access, and they appealed to the Conference to throw open once more the Universities to the poor scholars for whose benefit they were founded in the Middle Ages.

The resolution was put to the Conference and carried unanimously.

Mr. L. G. Anderson (Shettleston L.P.) then moved the following resolution:—

> "*That this Conference requests the Government to amend the Education (Scotland) Act, so that the elections shall take place on the principle of single member constituencies.*"

He said that all they wanted was to be placed in the same position in elections for the Education Authority as for Parliamentary Constituencies and Parish Councils.

Mr. J. Maxton, M.P. (I.L.P.), in seconding the resolution, said he wanted to apologise for taking up the time of the Conference with what was purely a Scottish matter. But he did not want the Conference to pass this rather simple resolution without understanding quite fully that they were doing something which was not merely a minor matter of education administration, but were agreeing to what was the view of the Scottish Labour Movement, that Proportional Representation as a method of electing Local Government bodies had proved a complete failure. The position in Glasgow would indicate exactly how this operated against the Labour Movement. At the present moment they held 10 Parliamentary seats out of 15, and in about three weeks they would hold 13 out of 15. In the Town Council they held over one-third of the total members, but on the Educational body, elected upon the principle of Proportional Representation, Labour representation amounted to three members out of 45, one in 15 of the total. It might be said, looking casually at the situation, that their Labour representation on the other bodies was too great. He did not believe it was, but certainly it would be fair to claim that their representation on the Education Authority should have been somewhere between the two-thirds they had in Parliament and the one-third they had on the Local Council. Proportional Representation did not afford a fair reflex of the strength of Labour in the Glasgow Division. Having proved that in two Elections they asked that the next Government should amend the Education (Scotland) Act in the way suggested in the resolution.

The resolution was put to the Conference and carried unanimously.

INTERNATIONAL SUPPLIES.

Mr. GEORGE LANSBURY, M.P., then moved the following resolution on behalf of the Executive Committee :—

"*That in view of the increasing and alarming control by international combinations and monopolies of the Overseas Supplies of Foodstuff and Raw Materials upon which the people of this country depend for subsistence, this Conference calls upon the Government to devise some means of protecting British industry and British consumers against arbitrary and needless increases of price.*

"*The Conference suggests for consideration the following expedients:—*

"*(a) The conclusion by the British Government of agreements with the several Dominion Governments, and where necessary also with Foreign Governments, for the bulk purchase and government transport of the principal commodities required in this country.*

"*(b) The distribution by Municipalities and other Local Authorities on the one hand, and through the consumers' Co-operative Societies on the other, of the foodstuffs and other household supplies thus obtained by the Government.*

"*(c) The standardising, grading, and marking of all commodities in which this is practicable, according to quality and condition, with a view to the publication and enforcement of uniform standard prices, by which purchasers could be guided.*

"*(d) The enactment of more stringent measures for the prevention of adulteration, false description, the addition of harmful preservatives or colouring matter, and the palming off of substitutes, together with a drastic tightening up of the local administration of such statutory provisions on these matters as exist.*"

Mr. LANSBURY said that the Parliamentary Labour Party was always being confronted with new questions in a more acute form than ever before. During the period that there had been a Labour Government they had had to consider relationships, not only with Foreign Powers, but with their own brothers and friends in the Dominions across the seas. They had also had to consider the question of the relationship that should exist between this country and people of another colour, another race under the British Flag. The Executive had not drafted this resolution and he was not moving it in any spirit of Imperial domination or Imperial exploitation. The difference between themselves and the other two Parties in connection with foreign territory or territory under the British Flag other than these Islands was that they believed that the proper relationship should be that of comradeship rather than of one dominating the other. In the Commonwealth Group that had been formed from the Labour Party in the House of Commons there was no intention on the part of any of them that he knew of—certainly not of the majority of them—there was no intention of supporting any policy which would mean British people getting rich at the expense of coloured people. They wanted, if they could, to get that Conference and the Labour Movement to consider and to devise means for bringing about international trade between various nations. They were not confining the resolution within the British Dominions. If any foreign Government, Russia for instance, would sell their goods to our Government direct, those goods would be welcomed just as much as the goods from Australia; but he wished to point out to the Conference that they had to face the fact that there was competition which was going to ensue under capitalism, of the coloured races being used by white capitalists to down the white workmen in various parts of the world, and unless the Labour Government could devise some scheme for getting round that—and the only scheme was International Socialism—unless they could start on that road there was not much hope of their being any better than the ordinary capitalists were. The fact was that to-day many goods were produced in various parts of the world under bad conditions. They came here cheap and were sold dear. If their scheme could be got going they should insist, and he thought the Trade Unions should insist, that all goods used here were produced under decent humane conditions, and they ought not to tolerate the people of any community being exploited so that we here might have a better life. If we had any business with these other nations it ought to be to give them whatever we had got. If we had better brains, then we ought to help them to rise, with ourselves, to a better standard of life. The main thing to consider was that in the world to-day it was not that there was not enough produced; the question was how to distribute what was produced, whether in India, Australia or anywhere else, and the resolution suggested the means for doing so: that Governments should buy in bulk, transport in ships controlled by the nations, that then the goods should be handed over, not to private capitalists to fix whatever monopoly prices they pleased, but should be distributed through the Municipalities and through the Co-operative Societies and the price should bear some relation to the cost. They believed that if that were done, not only would the people of this country benefit, but also the people across the water. One of the reasons, in his opinion, why they were thrown out on the previous night was that had the Government gone to an Autumn Session a Bill was going to be introduced which would have controlled prices of building materials. They wanted not only building materials, but also food supplies to be controlled, whether coming from abroad or grown in this country. As they had heard, the working man's wife had been robbed of nearly all the benefits which Mr. Snowden's

Budget conferred by the action of the profiteers, and they knew perfectly well that there was no way of controlling that sort of thing but through national and international action. They therefore asked the Conference to pass the resolution, and not only to pass it in the Conference but to work for the principles it contained. The British Empire was going to be developed either on capitalist lines or on lines of true internationalism, and they were the people who were to see that it was developed on the latter lines. This was only the beginning. Those who told them that this thing could not be done, forgot altogether that during the war it was done to a very large extent, and if the Government could control supplies in order to kill people on the Continent, surely it could control supplies and control prices in order to raise the standard of life for the whole of the people. It was because they wanted to do that, and because they knew that if it were done, if the goods were bought at proper prices—prices that would enable the people who did the work to have a decent standard of life, and if they were transported in ships controlled by the nations, and if they were then distributed in the way that was suggested, he was confident that the whole standard of life of all the people concerned would be raised.

Mr. Tom Johnston, M.P., in seconding the resolution, said that Mr. Lansbury had discussed this matter from the international point of view, and he wished the Conference to consider it now from the economic point of view. In many industries in capitalist society, when increases of wages were demanded, when a better standard of living was sought for the workers, they were immediately told that such betterment could not be afforded because of foreign competition. The wages of the colliers could not be raised because of the miserable wages paid abroad. This resolution turned the flank of that argument. He proposed to show them how the purchasing power of wages could be doubled if they got rid of the parasitic group of middlemen, brokers—suckers of one kind or another—who fastened on to the product after it had left the workshop and before it got to the consumer. This year fibrous cotton was arriving at the London docks from our Colonies at 3¾d. per lb. Before it got to the consumer it had jumped up, in some parts of the country, to as high as 1s. 4d. per lb. Sir Joseph Cook, the present High Commissioner for Australia, had declared that during the war Australia sold its mutton at a maximum price of 4⅞d. per lb., when it was being sold to our people at 1s. 6d. per lb. (A voice : "That was only the thin bits.") Yes, as high as 1s. 6d. per lb. The price that was being paid now for a stall in Smithfield Market was £15,000. That the retail charges need not be so high was proved by Mr. Lansbury during the war, when Poplar induced the War Office to sell them mutton, and Poplar was able to sell that mutton to the people of Poplar at 6½d. per lb.

Mr. Lansbury here interposed, and said they were only able to buy it for the people they were obliged to feed in their Institutions, but they did buy it at 6½d. per lb.

Mr. Tom Johnston said he was not sure who it was sold to, but the point was that the figures were correct, and if Mr. Lansbury could sell it to his Institutions at 6½d. per lb., it ought to have been possible to sell it to the workers also at that price. With regard to fruit, he said that apples were arriving at Tilbury at 1d. per lb., while they were being sold to the people at 9d. per lb., and at Wembley at 6d. per lb. With regard to wool, on which there was an infernal ramp at the present time, during the war the British Government bought the entire wool clip of Australia, and the last 100,000 men that were sent to the front were clothed cheaper than the first 100,000 that went. Notwithstanding that, the Government reduced the price of wool by 1½d. per lb., they sold it at a profit of £60,000, and it only took one dozen experts and 100 ledger clerks to look after the distribution. The Lancashire Farmers' Union reported a very extraordinary case. One of their members sent some cabbages to Covent Garden. Those cabbages sold for £15 2s. 6d. Of that £9 10s. 8d. went to the railway company, £1 15s. 4d. for cartage, £3 16s. for the middlemen at Covent Garden, and 6d. in penny stamps was left for the farmer. It was the same with practically any foodstuffs they liked to take. Mr. Philip Snowden took 4d. per lb. off tea, and the middlemen at once put up the price 4d. Rice, the common food of the people—he had received these figures the previous day from the Board of Trade—rice was arriving in August of this year at 13s. per cwt. What was it selling at in London? Working it out in hundredweights, the finest Patna rice was selling at 56s. per cwt. (6d. per lb.), as against 13s. per cwt. An Indian Co-operative delegate at the Wembley Conference declared that if the coolies' wages, at present £2 per year, could be raised to £3 per year, the increased purchasing power would keep every mill in Lancashire busy. During the war the Ministry of Food contracted operations involving a turnover of 1,200 million pounds. They had been fed by the capitalist press with stories about the enormous losses which had been incurred. There was no loss. Actually there was a profit on that turnover of £6,400,000, after paying all the expenses of rationing and so on. If they could succeed in abolishing this growing parasitic class at home—if those two men out of every seven in London who were mere parasites on industry, and were not engaged in any gainable occupation could be got rid of—if they could deal with that they would cheapen the price to the consumer, and double the purchasing power of British wages in the home market. It was not good enough for this great Labour Movement to shut its eyes to the fact that growing imposts

were taking place in the food supplies. They would have to face it as a Labour Movement, and organise the food supplies on a Socialistic basis, and see not only that the producers got an adequate and decent wage, but that the consumers had a plentiful supply of the good things of this life by being able to purchase double the quantity at present possible even with the wages they now had.

The resolution was put to the Conference and carried unanimously.

CONFERENCE ARRANGEMENTS.

Mr. WILL THORNE, M.P., said that the Conference Arrangements Committee recommended that, after lunch, they should resolve themselves into a Private Session for the purpose of discussing Finance and the *Daily Herald*. They expected that the Prime Minister would be present at about 4 or 4.30, and would make a statement to the Delegates, and the Conference Arrangements Committee recommended that as soon as the Prime Minister had made his statement they should resolve to go home and hand over the rest of the business for the Executive to deal with.

A DELEGATE asked whether there would be an opportunity of discussing the resolution on Imperial affairs.

The CHAIRMAN replied that that would depend upon what progress they made. It was very necessary to ascertain whether the Delegates accepted the report of the Conference Arrangements Committee. If so, they would resume in the afternoon in private session.

The report of the Conference Arrangements Committee was agreed to unanimously.

AGRICULTURE.

Mr. DUNCAN CARMICHAEL (London Trades Council) moved the following resolution:—

"*This Conference is of the opinion that in order to ensure the revival of British agriculture, so that the people may be less dependent on foreign food supplies, it is essential to control the fluctuating prices of the chief products of the farm, and to eliminate middlemen and speculators, whose profiteering injures producers and consumers alike. The Conference proposes, as the chief instrument of this policy, the creation of a disinterested Statutory Board of Supply, which shall undertake the purchase, importation, and storage of the nation's overseas supplies of wheat and meat, with the double object of freeing the consumer from the domination of trusts, and of ensuring to the producer steady prices.*

"*As an immediate step, it calls for the organisation of agriculture by the development of County Agricultural Committees, remodelled so as to represent the whole industry, labourers equally with farmers, and armed with adequate powers to ensure the full use of the land for food production to promote better farming, and to foster co-operation among farmers and smallholders. These Committees, gradually acquiring experience in the management of land, would prepare the way for a full policy of Nationalisation.*

"*State Credits for Co-operative enterprises, the creation of Land Courts to deal with rent and tenure, the cheapening of transport and the development of electricity are also essential.*

"*The wholesale trade in milk should be nationalised, and the retail trade brought under the municipalities, with Co-operative supply as an alternative.*

"*The farm labourer's terms of service and housing conditions are too often affected to his great disadvantage by the obsolete Hiring Statutes, which therefore should be abrogated.*

"*In membership of the County Agricultural Committees, in an extended scheme of rural housing and elimination of the tied cottage, and in the development of rural education, the Conference sees the chief means of raising the status of the labourer, so that he shall take his due place in a system of farming, based on the ideal of national service.*"

He said it was a pleasure for him to move practically the same resolution as was taken back by the Executive last year. The resolution pointed out that the national resources, from an agricultural point of view, were being largely neglected at the present time. When the nation was at war it was necessary to apply one or two of the points in this resolution. It was found by the farmers in the County Associations that at least 1,000 farmers were neglecting to utilise the soil in a proper way, and more than 1,000 bailiffs were placed in possession of the farms and land was properly cultivated. Livestock was increased so far as Britain was concerned, so that at the end of the war there were more head of cattle in British fields than in the year 1914. The Ministry of Agriculture worked in conjunction with the Ministry of Food, and prices were regulated. After the statements which Mr. Johnston had just made, it was only necessary for him to tell them how the price of meat was kept down in this country when the Government were the sole importers. Meat from the Argentine was delivered in this country at an average of 8½d. per lb, and meat from Queensland at an average of 10½d. per lb, while British farmers received a price equivalent to 1s. 1d. per lb. But the Government found it was impossible, from these three sources, to supply the necessary quantity to ration the people, and they had to go to the American Trust. The American Trust, having control of the primal factor, imposed a price of 1s. 5d. per lb. on the nation. But by pooling the cheap supply from the Argentine and from Queensland, the Government was able, through the Ministry of Food under Mr. Clynes, to sell it wholesale at 1s. 1½d. per lb, the retail charges amounting to 2½d. The consumer therefore paid

1s. 4d. per lb, while the actual cost to the nation of the American supply was 1s. 5d. That was one of the benefits that could be obtained from nationalisation, whether applied to agriculture or any other industry. Then with regard to the milk supply in our large towns, medical men, scientists, after an examination of our milk, found that there was only about 5 per cent. of London milk that would be allowed to be sold in New York. The Americans would not permit in New York City the sort of milk that was sold for feeding the children of London. When the Government decided to take over the wholesale milk supplies, they found that 85 per cent. of the milk delivered in London was controlled by the United Dairies Company, and the United Dairies Company demanded 25 per cent. above the market price for their shares if they were to be bought out.

Mr. E. E. HUNTER (Independent Labour Party), in seconding the resolution, said that there were two important points with which he wished to deal. There was the fundamental point of stabilising prices. Farming was a gamble. It was a gamble against the weather, but there was also the additional gamble which the farmer was up against and that was the fluctuating prices which change from day to day. One of the most essential things to be done to save the Agricultural Industry and to put it on a firm footing was to regularise the position and steady prices. But it was not only necessary to do that; it was also necessary to make farming a really national industry, and in this resolution the means were suggested whereby farming could be made a great social service, the men and women who worked on the farm working together and making their work a great service to the men and women of the country.

The resolution was put to the Conference and carried.

STATE FARMING.

Mr. E. J. PAY (Social Democratic Federation) moved the following resolution :—

"*This Annual Conference of the Labour Party, in view of the growing danger which threatens the nation's food supply through the inevitable and permanent decline in British export trade and the decrease in the area of cultivated land in this country, strongly appeals to the Labour Government to prepare a scheme for organising and developing State farming on as large a scale as possible on the tracts of land at present in the possession of State departments. It urges Labour Members to press in Parliament for a return of all such lands, showing details of acreage under the several headings: Arable, Grazing, Reclaimable, or Irreclaimable; such returns also to show the acreage of 'good' and 'poor' land capable of being made arable. This State farming should be organised under the management and advice of Government agricultural experts, and trained labour employed without stint. The distribution of products should be carried by Government transport and completed in Government markets set up in all the cities and towns. Such tracts of arable land that have been allowed to go out of cultivation as are necessary to the success of State farming should be commandeered under conditions fair and reasonable to the public.*"

He said that the resolution called attention to the danger of the nation's food supply, and it also definitely sought to establish public ownership in place of private enterprise. They were not at all concerned about the farmers. These people were able to look after themselves, but they were concerned about the industry. Some people described the agricultural worker as a clodhopper and an ignoramus, but he submitted that the agricultural worker was not ignorant; he was only inarticulate. He had no opportunity of articulating his thoughts, and that was due to some extent to the isolation of his life in the country villages and also the isolation of the industry, which was absolutely soul-destroying. That was why they emphasised the importance of setting up a social industry, so that there should be greater opportunity for intercourse amongst those who had to spend the most impressionable years of their life in that industry. He also wished to say that what they were advocating here would provide the opportunity of meting out some copious draughts of information against private enterprise, which looked upon competition as the very elixir of commercial life. It would save their souls as well as their bodies, and also the souls and bodies of the men who followed the industry. They had also to remove one of the greatest handicaps to the industry, and that was the poor and expensive transit. The transit of this country needed to be absolutely reorganised, not only in the interests of the agricultural industry but also of all the great industries of the land. The other thing they advocated was State Markets, which would cut across the whole of the private profit-mongering which at present went on.

Mr. A. E. MONKS (Banbury L.P.), in seconding the motion, said that this was the only resolution which really touched the spot in regard to agriculture. There was too much pandering, he thought, to the wishes of the farmer, and they would never get the support of the farmer in the way expected in the resolution which had just been passed. It would only be when they devoted the whole of their propaganda to the workers in the farming industry that they would win the agricultural constituencies for Labour. He hoped the Conference would carry this resolution, because he was convinced that until they got a system of State farming they would never solve the agricultural problem.

The resolution was put to the Conference and carried.

TAXATION OF LAND VALUES

Mr. WILL LAWTHER then moved the following resolution on behalf of the Executive Committee :—

"That this Conference, regarding the economic rent of Land and Minerals, apart from improvements, as the primary source from which national revenue should be drawn, welcomes the proposal of the Government to restore the Land Valuation Department so improperly destroyed in 1923, and calls for the earliest possible introduction and passage into law of a measure for the Taxation of Land Values."

He said that this was one of the resolutions that had been before practically every one of the 24 Conferences that had been held, but at least, in this resolution, they made a declaration which had not been contained in any former resolution, and that was particularly in relation to the question which was now before them of an immediate General Election. Not merely did the resolution reiterate the demand for the taxation of land values, it also stressed the fact that they believed it would be the destiny of the Labour Government to bring in this measure in the next Budget.

Mr. GEORGE LANSBURY, M.P., in seconding the resolution, called the attention of the delegates to the fact that everyone of them who were on Local Authorities, whether Communists, Socialists or Labour men, were up against the fact that whenever they wanted to build houses, or in fact to put up any building, they were exploited and robbed by the ground landlords. Down in Bow, when they wanted to get a site which belonged to Lord Tredegar, after a good deal of haggling they obtained it at £3,000 odd and they discovered that when this gentleman inherited the estate his agents paid death duty on just over £2,000 for that same piece of land. Lord Tredegar ought not to have been paid that £3,000, because he did nothing in the Poplar area except draw tribute from them year by year. Lloyd George and the Liberals had talked about this for years. They started on it and then they killed it. They talked about the equalisation of rates for London, but 30 of those who really believed in it had to go to prison before they got a bit of it.

The resolution was put to the Conference and carried unanimously.

The Conference then adjourned.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 9th

Afternoon Session.

The Conference reassembled at 2.30 p.m., in Private Session, Mr. C. T. CRAMP being again in the Chair.

The Statement of Accounts, comprising the General Account, Literature Account, *Daily Herald* Development Fund and General Account and Investments were formally moved, seconded, and carried unanimously without discussion.

The Accounts of the Trades Union Congress and the Labour Party National Joint Departments were also moved, seconded, and carried unanimously without discussion.

THE "DAILY HERALD."

Mr. GEORGE LANSBURY, M.P., said the delegates would find on pages 41 to 44 of the Report references to the *Daily Herald*. He would take it for granted that they had read most of that Report, but there were one or two things to which he wished to call special attention. First of all, as a result of a very genuine co-operation of the members of the staff and of a sub-committee that was set up by the Trades Union Congress, with the object of finding out where they could economise, even before the circulation went up, they were able, by the adoption of proposals made by Mr. Hamilton Fyfe, the Editor, and others, to reduce the loss so that the amount of money raised from September to December was not called up to the extent that was anticipated. That was due to two causes, first to economies, and secondly to increased circulation and increased advertisement revenue. He thought everyone should realise that the paper was not really at present a newspaper—not because of any want of ability on the part of the staff nor on the distributing side of the paper. But the paper was not really worthy of the Movement. It ought to be a larger paper and it ought to be published in the North as well as in the South, and instead of spending from £800 to £1,000 on editorial charges, news collection and so on, they ought to be spending thousands a week in order to get the most up-to-date news from every corner of the world. They were unable to do that owing to lack of money, and although he was very pleased, and all in connection with the paper were very pleased, that for nearly ten months they had not had the headache because they did not know whether the paper would be able to continue, but had been able to balance expenditure with income since Christmas, they felt that if the Movement settled down to be content with a paper of, say, 350,000 or 360,000 circulation, then all the efforts which had been made in the past would have been wasted. A great Movement such as this ought, every morning, to be spreading its news far and wide throughout the land. He therefore thought that, directly the Election was over, they should settle down to raise a capitalisation fund of half a million or a million of money. If the *Daily Herald* was a capitalist concern—and there were some present who would no doubt know the truth of what he was saying—if it was a capitalist concern they would be able to get that amount of capital in order to develop it. But this Movement, by some means or other, must find that money if they were going to have a really worthy paper. He noticed that some of the delegates cheered when he

mentioned the idea of a Northern Edition, but what was even more important was that the paper should get into the agricultural districts of the country. He was speaking of what he knew, because he went amongst these people a little, and when he was making up his diary for next year he was going to put in many more dates for the rural districts than ever before. Although everyone in the rural districts did not buy a daily newspaper, there was generally one in the "pub" and in the village library, while several people would often buy one between them. The men who were joining the Agricultural Workers' Union and the Workers' Union would be only too glad to combine to get a copy of the *Daily Herald* if they could obtain it. But unfortunately, under present conditions, it was impossible to get it to them. If they were provided with the money it would be possible to employ men with motor cycles and they could then cover the villages and secure the return to the House of Commons of Labour men and women. He wanted the delegates to go away from the Conference with the determination that some portion of their funds should be used for developing the *Daily Herald*, so as to make it something that would give them a big return by helping them to get better conditions throughout the length and breadth of industry. He could not say that he was enthusiastic about the *Daily Herald* as it was at the present moment. It was small and there were very few pictures. It was not possible to give them a quarter of the things they wished to give in the paper. It had cost them, he supposed, between £200,000 and £250,000, and they had collected during twelve years in pennies and shillings and pounds another £100,000. That money had made it possible to have what they had got now, but if at any moment they had that extra amount of money to use, it would be possible to give them a much better paper than they had at present. If the branches would only take this job in hand he was certain the Executive would help in finding the money, and they would get a very big return, and they would be able to satisfy North, South, East and West, and also Scotland. The Executive would only be too glad to do it if the Movement would find the money. He expected some of the delegates would be telling him presently of occasional difficulties in getting the paper. All he could say was that if, when there was any difficulty, they would send a postcard to the office, they would take the matter up and try to put it right. Sometimes the trains let them down. On the previous Saturday they had lost a lot of circulation in the Manchester district because the train was late. This was a thing that sometimes happened to other papers, but they were able to catch up much better because they could take on more motors. But the management would do all that it could to meet any complaints that were sent in. They got a much higher percentage of returns than any other paper. That ought not to be, and could be obviated if people would only order the paper from their newsagents every day. The circulation of the *Daily Herald* fluctuated more than any other paper, and that was because men and women thought it did not matter whether they bought it at one place or another. If they bought it regularly from one newsagent he would see that he always had the copies.

It was no use thinking that the present circulation would remain stable. It would either go up or down. At the moment it was going up, but in the past it had gone down, probably because many people who used to buy two copies now only bought one, and also because some people thought the paper did not adequately represent them as individuals. Well, when any of them lived to see the day when any single newspaper would represent the views of two people, he would think they were very lucky indeed. The paper could only, in a general way, represent the general view. This he could say, that it represented the Labour view better than any other newspaper in the country, and it was nonsense for the Communist to say he would not take it because it was too moderate, or for the Right Wing man to say he would not take it because it was too revolutionary. They had to remember that the Labour Movement, like humanity itself, was made up of a good many different kinds of people. Therefore they had to take the paper as it was and do their best to get more readers. They had published a special "No More War" edition, and the Movement had splendidly backed the enterprise, for in two or three days they got rid of nearly 450,000 copies. And if they had had a little money to advertise it, if they could have put a big notice in some of the other papers, that could easily have made it a million.

That, again, was money that they needed and did not get. Then he wished to tell them that they were going to bring out an Election Special, and it would be splendid propaganda for the election. He only wanted to say in conclusion that no one knew better than he, that there was much that could be done better in connection with the paper, and there was much which was left undone which ought to be done; but at the same time the crowd of men and women who had had anything to do with producing the paper—they could leave him out of account—but the men and women who had worked on the paper had worked for a Cause, and that Cause was that there should be an expression of working class opinion in this country, and an expression which would give the men and women of the working class a broad, clear, fundamental idea of what the Movement stood for. Poor women and poor men had sent their sixpences and shillings, and rich people—there were some on the platform—had put in their hundreds and thousands in order to build up the paper, and it was up to the Movement, now they had got it, to provide the machinery that

would enable them to make it the greatest weapon that the Labour Movement possessed. But it needed enthusiasm, hard work and some of their money. They might cheer Mr. Fyfe, and they might cheer him, but what would gladden their hearts more than anything else would be to see the circulation trebled.

The CHAIRMAN said that Mr. Fyfe would prefer to speak a little later on, after he had heard the questions which many of the delegates might like to put. He suggested that such questions should deal with the larger aspects, and that they should not start by asking why they could not buy it from so-and-so. It would be obvious that it was only the larger questions of policy with which Mr. Fyfe could deal.

Mr. FRANK ROWE (Camborne D.L.P.) asked whether the directors were contemplating the issue of a Sunday edition of the *Herald*. In Cornwall the majority of the agricultural workers only read the Sunday paper, and therefore a Sunday edition of the *Herald* would be extremely useful.

Mr. A. SMITH inquired whether the special Election edition to which Mr. Lansbury had referred would be simply one issue. He suggested it should be at least one a week until the date of the election.

Mr. T. TIMBERLAKE (London Society of Compositors) said that his Society had the honour of publishing the first edition of the *Daily Herald* when it came out in 1911, and they were very keen that the paper should prosper. He did not understand how it was that the *Daily Herald* was not printed so well as other newspapers, and would like to know the reason. Mr. Lansbury had been asking for funds to enable them to get a much better *Daily Herald* than they had at present. It had struck him very forcibly during the last few years that the circulation of the *Daily Herald* was small when they considered the propaganda work that had been put in by those who were responsible for it. He wondered why the Labour Movement had not taken it up more seriously. They had read of meetings which had been held in different parts of the country from time to time where those present had pledged themselves to take the *Daily Herald*. Why had they not done it? He thought one reason was the smallness of the paper as compared with other daily papers. It was up to the Conference and the delegates present to do all in their power to provide the financial support which Mr. Lansbury had asked for, but he wished to ask whether it was not possible to produce a larger paper because the general run of the public looked upon the *Daily Herald* at present as rather insignificant.

A DELEGATE asked whether it was not possible for the Election edition to be printed in the North. At present they were at a terrible disadvantage in getting people to buy it in the North owing to the lateness of its arrival. If they could get the Election edition published in Manchester it would be great propaganda, and he believed they would be able to print the paper in the North and in a very short time it would pay its way.

Mr. HERBERT EASTWOOD (Bolton L.P.), speaking as a journalist, said that the directors of the *Daily Herald* should endeavour to secure news from towns in proportion to their population. At present they found that certain Lancashire towns, smaller than Bolton, had many times the amount of Bolton news.

Mr. G. A. GRIFFITHS (Hemsworth D.L.P.) suggested that the paper should be issued with a space left in which could be printed local news.

A DELEGATE said that much of the news contained in the *Daily Herald* was that which was found in the papers of the evening before, and suggested that an effort should be made to bring the news more up-to-date.

Mr. S. E. DALLAS (Paddington L.P.) said that the *Daily Herald* stood for a certain principle, and that was the employment of workmen at Trade Union rates of wages. He therefore wished to ask Mr. Lansbury what the men who were carrying *Daily Herald* Boards outside were receiving for a day's work. He had been told by one of them that he was being paid the magnificent sum of 4s. a day, that he had to work for nine hours with half an hour's break at lunch time, and that they were supervised and were obliged to keep on the walk.

A DELEGATE said that he had just received a telegram to the effect that certain London newspapers had now completed arrangements for printing special editions during the period of the Election in Manchester, and he wished to ask Mr. Lansbury if it were possible to print on the Co-operative Society's premises in Manchester during the period.

Another DELEGATE asked what was the policy of the *Daily Herald* management in regard to the members of the staff whom it was obliged to dismiss when the paper was not paying. Was it the intention, now that the paper was paying its way, to take them back?

Another DELEGATE inquired whether the management had considered the advisability of running the *Herald* in London as an evening paper, and issuing the latest editions in the provinces the next morning as a morning paper.

Mr. ALEXANDER GOSSIP wished to know whether the Trade Unions which had not paid their fees in advance as requested some time ago would be again approached by the management of the *Daily Herald*. They had a lot of complaints when the *Daily Herald* was mentioned, but when Trade Unions were asked to pay their money in advance, a good many of them did not comply with the request.

Councillor GEORGE BRITTAIN said he thought it was the duty of the delegates to go back to their respective localities and go

into the highways and byeways pasting up advertisements urging the workers to buy the *Herald*. He hoped everyone would take part in this good work because a few of his colleagues and himself had satisfied themselves that by doing that kind of thing the whole country could be linked up, and the first thing that would meet the eyes of the capitalist in the morning would be an advertisement of the *Daily Herald*.

Mr. Hamilton Fyfe asked the delegates what they would think of anybody who saw a ragged man in the streets, with his clothes in tatters, unfit to shelter him from the wind and weather, and who went up to him and said, "Have you considered buying yourself a nice new suit and a warm overcoat"? (Laughter.) Almost every question that had been asked had been as to why they had not done something that would cost a great deal of money. Mr. Lansbury had told them that they had not got any money. It was true they were in a much better position than they were a short time ago. Not very long ago they were being subsidised to the extent of £500 a week, and at one time nearly three times that amount. One day towards the end of last year Mr. Lansbury came to him and said, "Well, we are no longer needing the subsidy of £500 a week, we are making 5d. a week," and a few weeks afterwards he said they were making £5 a week. Since then they had done even a little better, but what they were making was as nothing compared with what they needed. If they were going to make this the beginning of a great Labour Press, such as the Movement must have, if it was going to provide itself with artillery that would fire, for every shell the other side fired into them, two shells back again, they would have very largely to increase the circulation.

Dealing with the questions which had been put, he said the first one was with regard to a Sunday paper. Even if the Election were out of the question, the distribution of a Sunday paper was an enormously expensive business. A daily paper was distributed in bulk by wholesale newsagents, but Sunday papers had to be dealt with separately, and so had evening papers. They would be delighted to start an evening paper and delighted to start a Sunday paper, and would do so at once if the money were provided. That was all they were waiting for. Evening papers had to be distributed in motor cars or by motor-cycles belonging to the paper itself, and it would be necessary to equip themselves with a big fleet of motor cars and cycles. The delegates could believe him that they had considered all these things. He did not think there was any proposal—certainly no proposal which had been put forward that afternoon—which they had not considered, and he did not think any practical newspaper man could put up any proposal to them which they had not already gone into very carefully and had to turn down simply because of the expense. The Election edition would be a "special" like the "No More War" special. If possible they would issue two of them. It all depended on the orders they received for the first. If they found that the orders for the first were coming in so well as to justify them bringing out three, they would bring out three numbers, but that depended entirely on themselves. He thought that perhaps there were many comrades in the Movement who did not realise to whom this paper belonged. One delegate asked whether the proprietors were prepared to find money for something or other, but the delegate himself was one of the proprietors. They had to ask themselves whether they were prepared to find the money. That was a fact which people were liable to forget. A comrade had suggested that the Election editions might be printed also in Manchester. There was no need for that, because it would not be a daily issue. It would merely mean that they would have to go to much greater expense by having the edition set up and stereoed in Manchester as well as in London. That would have to be done for a daily paper, and that was what made the expense of producing a Northern edition so heavy. But this edition could be printed in London and sent to all parts of the country without any difficulty. Then there was the suggestion that they ought to ration the news, that they ought to make a list of all the towns in the Kingdom with their populations, and say, "Now here is a town with 500,000 inhabitants, that must have a good show in the paper, while this town with only 75,000 cannot expect to get very much." Supposing, he said, a gas works blew up in the 75,000 town and a dog was run over in the 500,000 town; they would have to give the dog nearly five times as much space as they gave to the gas explosion. (Laughter.) The friend who proposed that said he was a journalist. (Renewed laughter.) The suggestion that they should issue this special edition with a blank page on which could be put local news, was, he was afraid, too big a proposition, and there was not time. The I.L.P. when they issued their excellent Election special last year only had a comparatively small area to cover, but the *Daily Herald* would have to cover 600 Divisions. It would be impossible to do that, and in a great many cases it would be impossible for the local people to get their local matter printed in it. He wished it were possible to do it. They would go into it, but he was afraid it was not possible. Then there was the suggestion that they should take back those employees whom they were unfortunately obliged to part with last year when the expenses had to be heavily cut down. They would be only too delighted to do it if they could, not only for their sakes—very much, of course, for their sakes—but also for the sake of the paper. They were working at present with a very short staff. Everybody on the *Herald* was doing about twice as much work as he

ought to be doing, and as people in his or her position were doing on other papers. Personally he was doing the work which was done by three and a half people when he took it over. He did not complain. He liked work when there was a real object to work for. It was for the Cause he was working. If he thought they were not sufficiently interested in the *Herald*, and if he thought they were content to let it go on being the little paper it was at present, then he did not think he would feel his duty compelled him to stay with it. He thought there would be other things, perhaps of more importance, which he could do for the Movement; because a little paper of that kind, if it was going to stay a little paper, was never going to be of any great value to them. They had now a circulation which put them in the way of being a great newspaper, but it only put them in the way of it. It depended entirely on the members of the Movement whether it would remain as it was. They were having very good meetings all over the country, but unfortunately those meetings did not have much effect on the circulation. He thought it was as well the delegates should know this, and he believed the reason was that at those meetings they were preaching to the converted—talking to people who already took the paper. It was an undeniable fact that if they could stick up just the name of the paper in enormous letters on advertisement hoardings all over the country, or if they could send up airmen to write the name of the newspaper in the sky, that would have far more effect on people than any number of meetings. They were up against advertisement psychology—that was what the advertisement people called it—and it was a very difficult thing to be up against. To give them an idea of how difficult this was, last year the *Daily Mail* lost something like 100,000 circulation, and they put down the loss very largely to the *Daily Herald*. They also attributed that loss of circulation to the fact that they had given up a good many of their methods of advertisement. Then they put back those methods of advertisement and went even further than they had gone before, and in five months they had got back nearly 50,000 of the 100,000 they had lost. That showed how it was done. They could be quite sure if they advertised sufficiently in the right way—and all these newspaper rivals of theirs knew the right way to advertise—they could be quite sure of the result. At present the *Daily Herald* could not afford to advertise on a very large scale, and therefore the only thing to do was to turn themselves into advertising agents for the paper, to bother their friends about it, but not to tell them it was their duty to take the paper. If they did that these people would immediately think it was something unpleasant; they would regard it as medicine. But if they told them that the *Daily Herald* was very interesting, if they reminded them that there was more fun in it than in any daily paper, then they would want to take it. Remind them of "Gadfly," of "Bobby Bear," of "The Way of the World." He knew—no one knew better—how much better the paper ought to be in every way—except perhaps "Gadfly." He did not think they could improve on "Gadfly," but they might have more of it. But although he knew that, he was not going to apologise for the paper. That was not the way to do things. It was as good as it could be at present. That is what he wanted them to believe, and it depended upon them how soon it would be made better.

Mr. George Lansbury, M.P., in answer to the questions, said that he was not aware exactly what arrangements had been made with regard to the sandwichmen, as they were made during his absence. He could tell the delegates, however, that the men who were employed to sell the "No More War" edition were paid double what the contractors would have paid them. He was not aware of any Trade Union available for the poor fellows who had to get their living in that way. If there was one he would like to know of it. He did not know how these men could be employed nine hours, seeing that the Conference did not sit for that length of time, and they were engaged for the time that the Conference was on. He would certainly go into the matter. Mr. Fyfe had spoken about the employees who had been discharged. Apart from these casual men outside, to whom reference had been made, he was certain that the Trade Unions would tell everybody, and the men themselves would tell everybody, that the *Daily Herald* paid the best wages, and gave the best conditions in the trade. The reason why they had had to dismiss people last year was because they were faced with the alternative either of stopping or cutting down. If it were possible they would be very glad indeed to have all those employees back, but they could not afford it at the present moment. They would take any of them back who were not employed—he hoped none of them would be out of work—whenever they had the means to do so. With regard to the Co-operative Society printing the *Herald* in Manchester, that was really not practicable. They had gone into that matter, and had spent days in Manchester seeing what could be done, but, as Mr. Fyfe had told them, it was a question of £ s. d. They had got to get down to that in their various Unions, and make up their minds what they were going to do about it. With regard to the question which Mr. Gossip had put, that was a matter for the Trades Union Congress when it next met. He (Mr. Lansbury) knew what Unions had paid and what had not, and there were representatives present who also knew whether their Unions had paid.

A Delegate, referring to the statement made by Mr. Fyfe, that if they increased the advertising expenditure they were sure of success, suggested that there were financiers

in the City who were always prepared to finance a sure and certain thing.

Mr. LANSBURY replied that there were very few of these gentlemen in the City who wanted to do anything in connection with the *Herald*, which existed to put them out of business at the earliest possible moment.

A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE TRANSPORT WORKERS asked whether it was possible to blacklist the newsagent who would not take the *Daily Herald*. There were certain of these people who, if they went in the morning to buy the *Daily Herald*, told them that the train had not arrived, and if they went later they were told that the papers were sold out. It was evident that these people did not want to sell the *Daily Herald*, and he wished to know whether there was any method of dealing with them.

A REPRESENTATIVE FROM ST. PANCRAS, SOUTH-WEST, thought that no advertisements should be accepted by the paper of any article that was not produced under Trade Union conditions.

Mr. A. CUMMINGS (Transport Workers) said that Mr. Fyfe had indicated that he was doing three and a half men's work. The Labour Party was advocating better conditions, and therefore he wished to know why Mr. Fyfe was doing the work of three and a half men.

A DELEGATE suggested that a scheme of insurance in connection with the *Daily Herald* would help to get up the circulation.

Mr. GEORGE LANSBURY, replying to the discussion, said it was no more possible to ensure that all the things advertised in the paper were produced under proper conditions than it was, when they bought their bread, to know that that also was produced under Trade Union conditions. As a matter of fact they knew that the grain was produced under the most sweated conditions possible. The easiest way to deal with the newsagents who did not wish to sell the *Daily Herald* was to order a copy from them. They would get it if it was ordered, and if they could get only one or two people to order it, the newsagent would show a bill. If any particular newsagent would not order the paper, then they could tell their pals, and they could themselves go to another newsagent and buy everything they wanted. But they would find that the most bitter Tory opponent was ready to make money out of selling the *Daily Herald* if there was some to be made. With regard to Mr. Fyfe, it was perfectly true that he was doing three men's work, and there were many other people employed by the *Daily Herald* who were doing, in the same hours, one and a half or two men's work. As far as Mr. Fyfe at any rate was concerned, he was doing it at half an editor's salary.

The paragraphs in the report of the Executive Committee relating to the *Daily Herald* were then unanimously adopted.

IMPERIAL AFFAIRS.

The CHAIRMAN said he was very anxious that all smaller matters should be cleared out of the way before Mr. MacDonald arrived, so that they might finish the Conference on the high note with which he believed they would go to the country. A gentleman who had been present at the Conference, a member of the Indian Legislative Assembly, had assured him that it would assist the Indian Labour Movement if they were to take the resolution on Imperial affairs. In the ordinary way he would not put this, but he had been told that the mover and seconder were prepared to move this without speaking to it. He did not think it was a contentious resolution, and if it would assist their Indian comrades and carry the goodwill of the Conference to them, he was inclined to take that resolution now.

Mr. FENNER BROCKWAY (I.L.P.) then moved the following resolution :—

"*This Conference considers that the time is long overdue for a determined stand by organised Labour against the crimes committed by the British ruling class in the furtherance of its Imperialist aims. It therefore demands that steps be taken forthwith.*

"(1) *To stop the persecution of workers for political or industrial reasons, particularly in India and Egypt, and to secure the release of all who are suffering imprisonment for their opposition to British Imperialism.*

"(2) *To provide adequate protection for the subject races of the Empire in their struggle for freedom.*

"(3) *To find ways and means of linking up British working-class organisations, both industrial and political, with those of the wage-earning population of India, Egypt, South Africa, etc., with a view to the speedy attainment of self-government throughout the British Empire.*

"(*d*) *The Conference is moreover of opinion that in order to hasten the grant of a full measure of Home Rule to India, steps should be taken to summon a Conference of Representatives of the various parties of India who shall be invited to prepare a scheme of self-government for discussion with the British Government.*"

Mr. HANDS seconded the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

SCRUTINEERS' REPORT.

The Scrutineers then reported the following results of the ballots :—

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—NATIONAL SOCIETIES.

The following were elected :—

	Votes.
J. R. Clynes	2,437
F. O. Roberts	2,351
C. T. Cramp	2,026
A. G. Cameron	2,025
Robert Williams	1,993
F. W. Jowett	1,756
A. J. Cook	1,743
Sidney Webb	1,611
W. H. Hutchinson	1,599
Thomas Griffiths	1,454

Stanley Hirst	1,435
P. J. Tevenan	1,388
F. B. Varley	1,366

LOCAL CONSTITUENCY ORGANISATIONS.

George Lansbury	2,483
Herbert Morrison	1,885
J. C. Wedgwood	1,464
R. J. Davies	1,064
William Lawther	1,058

WOMEN MEMBERS.

Dr. Ethel Bentham	2,114
Mrs. Agnes Dollan	2,028
Mrs. F. Harrison Bell	1,661
Miss Mary Carlin	1,124

TREASURER.

J. Ramsay MacDonald (Unopposed)

AUDITORS.

T. H. Gill	1,414
Robert Young	1,154

CONFERENCE ARRANGEMENTS COMMITTEE.

Joseph Cross	2,024
E. L. Poulton	1,401
John Hill	1,316
R. C. Wallhead	1,184
Will Thorne	1,154

It was agreed to accept the Scrutineers' Report.

PARTY ORGANISATION AND FINANCE.

Mr. EGERTON P. WAKE, National Agent (who was received with applause), said that rather than discuss the finance of the periods through which they had passed, or even the finance of the *Daily Herald*, it was quite clear that the duty of this Conference at the moment was to concentrate upon finance for the immediate future. They were going to be faced with the most critical test of their fighting efficiency that the Party had ever experienced, and, personally, he was of the opinion that the Party was not only ready for that test, but that it would emerge from it stronger than it had ever been in the past. But however confident they might be as to the resources of their Movement with regard to organisation and with regard to service—that devoted service, that voluntary service which had been the crown and glory of the Labour Party throughout its existence—however sure they might be with regard to that, it would be utter folly on their part to ignore the essential question of the sinews of war for the test that lay in front of them.

He wanted to explain to them, in the first instance, the position they were in with regard to candidates. At the last General Election, as the reports which they had previously considered indicated, they had to face one of the most colossal tasks that any political party had ever engaged in. The Election last year came very suddenly, and when the Dissolution was announced on that occasion, including their sitting Members, there were probably only two hundred of their candidates in the field. Within fourteen days of the announcement of the Dissolution they had to place, and they succeeded in placing, over two hundred candidates—a feat which he thought they might claim had never been equalled by any political party in the country. As a result, at the last General Election, they fought 427 out of the 615 constituencies in the country. He was convinced that, although a General Election was coming on them rapidly, they were in a state of preparedness which was considerably in advance of the position they were in last year. If the Election came next day, he was convinced that they would have at least the same number of candidates that they had last year; they would certainly not have less if it were possible to have an instantaneous Election. However, that was not all that they required. Their first duty, of course, was to maintain the 192 seats which they at present held, and their second duty was to extend the fighting front of the Party as far as possible. He hoped the time was not far distant when it would be the proud boast of the Labour Party that they were able to fight every constituency in the country. That would mean they would have to fight practically another 200 constituencies; at any rate, leaving out the North of Ireland constituencies, it would mean that they would have to fight another 180 constituencies.

He wanted to tell the delegates quite frankly that the problem with regard to those 180 constituencies was not a problem as to personnel—as to candidates. The candidates could be forthcoming from the resources, the wonderful resources, of their great Party. But the measure of their advance into those constituencies that they had not fought in the days gone by, depended entirely upon the resources placed at the disposal of the Party. He wanted to impress upon them that, during the last year they had had a great deal of talk—justifiable talk—about the desirability of a Labour majority in the House of Commons. They had said that they wanted to give the Labour Government not merely office, but that confidence and power which could only come from the fact of their having a majority behind them to enforce their views upon the legislation of the House of Commons. That was a desirable ideal, a thing they all wanted, but as a matter of fact the problem before them was that 180 constituencies which they had not fought in days gone by. There lay the whole problem in regard to the future of the Labour Party, and when they came to analyse that problem it was entirely a problem of finance, of providing for the Party an adequate finance that would enable them to fight those constituencies. It was easy to criticise. They could all exercise that faculty. It was easy to make demands, and say what the Party ought to do, but it was essential for them to get down to bed-rock facts, and the bed-rock fact of their position was entirely the question of

the resources available for the fighting purposes of the Party.

He wanted to bring them to this. With the wonderful growth and development that had taken place during the last few years they had almost got to the limit of what the Trade Unions were able to do in support of the political activities of the Party. The political funds of the Trade Unions were now used practically to their utmost so far as supporting candidates and maintaining Members were concerned, and so this powerful organisation of theirs with over 3,000,000 members in the Trade Unions had almost got to their limit so far as political funds were concerned. Over 100 sitting Members were Trade Union Members, and there were many other candidates in the field for whom the Trade Unions were accepting financial responsibility. If delegates looked at the list they would see that there were very few Trade Union candidates who had not already been placed in constituencies. If he were to say that, roughly speaking, there were only about a dozen Trade Union nominees who had not yet been placed in constituencies, he would be very near the mark. That indicated that, so far as the resources of the Trade Unions were concerned, they had almost reached the limit of their support financially. They had done their utmost, and had done magnificently in the past. If it had not been for the resources which the Trade Union Movement had put behind the Labour Party it would have been impossible for them to be in the proud position they were in to-day. But they were a growing Party, and they ought to rejoice in their growth; but whilst they rejoiced they ought also to remember that this growth brought with it tremendous responsibilities. At the beginning of the last Election they were faced with a debit balance in their General Fund and nothing at all in their Fighting Fund. It was not a very fine prospect with which to start placing 200 candidates in constituencies, but they did it, and they were encouraged by the munificent gift of the National Union of Railwaymen. The value of that grant was not merely measured by what they were able to do, but it was the inspiration it gave to the whole country to respond to their appeal for help, and they had, on the last occasion, something just over £20,000 subscribed from all sources, by means of which they could prepare for the fight. They were now in for another fight. The N.U.R. this time, he believed, were going to treat them as generously as they could, but the N.U.R., this time, were responsible for 18 candidates themselves, and therefore they were helping in that manner in a very substantial way, and they could not expect them to repeat their munificence of last year.

He wished to say one word particularly to Trade Union representatives. If in their Trade Union funds, in view of this great national crisis as the result of a conspiracy—in view of that, if they had any balance in the political funds of the Trade Unions, after the just claims of their own candidates had been met, he appealed to them as strongly as he could to follow the splendid example of the N.U.R., and make as generous a donation as they could to the Fighting Fund of the Labour Party. They had got to tap all the resources possible, because if they were going to extend their front these resources were absolutely necessary.

There was another reason he regretted to say, and it would be a matter of regret to them all when they came to analyse it. He regretted to say that a great many of those constituencies which they had not yet fought were the very constituencies that most needed fighting—the scattered rural constituencies. They represented the English countryside—those areas where the present depressed state of agriculture was grinding the faces of the poor. They were too poor to have any "punch," to poor to have any initiative — they were so scattered and isolated that they could not help themselves because of the depression and poverty of their existence. It was all right for those who lived in a busy industrial borough, where they could meet together easily. The task of organisation there was very simple, but surely, if there was any meaning in the word "solidarity," they ought not to be content with the advantages they had in their own industrial constituencies, but should be prepared to make some sacrifices to help the agricultural labourer. Most of those 184 constituencies which remained unfought at the last General Election were constituencies of that character. They could be fought. There were brave and valiant souls there holding up the Labour banner. When the local elections came along each year, it was really an amazing experience to find how bravely these isolated little groups of agricultural workers set to work. For the Parish Councils, the Local Urban District Councils and also the County Councils they put up their fights, almost unaided, against all the territorial influences of the countryside. In some cases they had captured the Parish Councils, and had secured Labour majorities. But when it came to organising a constituency of 150 parishes, when it came to dealing with a division in which they had got to hold 45 meetings before they had a meeting in each polling district, then it would be seen that if these people were left to themselves they would have an impossible task. He was, therefore, making an appeal to those who had done so well in the industrial constituencies and had returned 192 Members to the House of Commons, because he wanted them to see that their success depended not only upon their own efforts, not only upon maintaining those 192 Members, but it also depended upon opening up those other 184 constituencies. Unless they did that it was absolutely useless to talk about a Labour Government with a Labour majority behind it. They could not get a Labour majority unless they opened up those 184 constituencies. Therefore the appeal of the National Executive was this: they were opening up their Fighting Fund

once more, and they were going to make an appeal, and they appealed to the Trade Unions to assist them out of the balances of their political funds. Last year they helped to finance 53 rural constituencies; altogether they gave assistance to something like 235 constituencies. They hoped to be able to do the same, but they were bound to tell their friends that at the moment the help they would be able to give would be measured entirely by the response which was made to that appeal. They therefore appealed to the delegates to do their utmost. The National Campaign had been a great success. They had had very good collections throughout the country, but they had had to spend a considerable amount of money out of the General Fund in order to get those special collections for their Fighting Fund. The response had been very good, but it was only a drop in the ocean compared with what they needed in order to have an effective Fighting Fund. They therefore asked the Conference seriously to consider this question of providing the Party with a Fund which would be adequate to maintaining their organisation, carrying their message to the countryside, and enabling them to open up in other constituencies, so that even though they might have a short sharp Election, they might be able to place more candidates in the field this time than on the last occasion, and they might be able to take a message of hope and freedom to the distressed workers in the rural areas, and that not only on the floor of the House of Commons would they have a Labour majority, not only sufficient to keep the Cabinet in office, but also sufficient to give that Cabinet the necessary support to carry their principles of social justice into operation in the life and legislation of the State.

Mr. Bram Longstaff (Barrow Labour Party) said he wished to support the appeal of the National Agent for the Party to rally to the assistance not only of their own constituencies, but also to the Party as a whole. The day had long since passed when they in the constituencies could look upon the winning of an Election in their own constituency as the completion of their labours. They had not only this Election to face. He had no fear at all what would come, and that they would find the money, but he wished to emphasise the fact that labour used for obtaining money at an Election time was labour that could be better utilised in other directions. He wished to reiterate that afternoon what had been said from that platform, not only during that Conference, but also last year, that Labour could never win a majority sufficient to carry its legislation until the agricultural labourers were won for Labour. This concerned industrial constituencies as well as agricultural constituencies. When the devastated areas of France and Flanders were suffering acutely as a result of the war, many towns and boroughs "adopted" those devastated areas and saw to the rebuildi of the houses. He was going to appeal the industrial constituencies to come forwa and "adopt" these devastated rural area As far as they in Barrow were concerne they were prepared to do this. He agree that the Trade Unions had done well, b they found there was some reluctance on t part of the Unions to adopt agricultur areas. They knew that even the Agricultur Unions would not adopt agricultural area There were constituencies that were n touched and never would be touched unt there was a central fund sufficiently large t adopt those constituencies. Another point wa that they were not going to get the best can didates until they had a Fund of this kind There were men and women in the Labou Movement who had done the spade work an were still in the background, whilst there were other men and women coming into th Movement supported by various interests, Trade Union and others, that were being adopted as candidates. He maintained that the people who had worked in the Movement as evangelists in the days of adversity ought to be in the House of Commons. It was only laziness on their part that had prevented them having a substantial Central Fund. He wished to bring forward a scheme which had been adopted in Barrow, and which he thought might be adopted with advantage in other constituencies. They said to themselves, "We are going to raise money in this town to finance one candidate and then we will feel that our politics are of value." They had therefore set to work, although it was in a town of 73,000 inhabitants, of whom 10,000 were unemployed—many of them had been unemployed for three, four or more years. They had adopted a scheme whereby even the children could contribute—the subscription being from one farthing to one penny per week, and in the short space of time from the end of March to the present moment, Barrow had got, in farthings, a fund which totalled £450. What could be done in a devastated area like Barrow could be done in every town and village of the country.

Eventually it was stated that the scheme which Mr. Longstaff wished to bring forward would be circulated among the delegates.

PRIME MINISTER CHALLENGES NEW COALITION.

At this stage the Prime Minister arrived, and after receiving a tumultuous ovation, he addressed the Conference in the following terms :—

As I anticipated, when I addressed you at the opening of the Conference, the Conservatives last night turned tail and voted against their own resolution, not because they had ceased to be Conservatives, but because they had come to a pact with the Liberals to turn the People's Government out.

A Trumpery Affair.

We take up the challenge. The reason, I told you in that address of mine, was a trumpery affair. Yesterday, after the Attorney-General had delivered that remarkable address, the whole thing was blown to smithereens. Not two planks of the accusation remained. The sea was strewn with wreckage and one or two drowning men. But still they had made up their minds that out we were to go, and, reason or no reason, they decided that when eleven o'clock came the new Liberal-Tory Coalition was to become effective and we were to be put in a minority.

We Cannot Deal With Numbers.

My friends, we can deal with reason, but we cannot deal with numbers. Two and two are four—even if they are asses. And so when it came down merely to the counting of noses last night, at about twenty minutes past eleven, we were in a minority.

I want to say this to you and, through you, to the country: I never heard in all my life a case in the House of Commons so completely shattered as the case against us was shattered yesterday.

The Premier's Pledge.

I want to give you this assurance, and the country through you, that so far as the Government is concerned, there was in no sense and in no degree and in no way any pressure that was illegitimate, any pressure that was wrong, any pressure that was personal, any pressure that was party—no pressure of that kind whatever was brought to bear upon the Law Officers by the Government in relation to this Campbell case. I give you that pledge. I give you that assurance.

The Plot.

But, my friends, it was not the Campbell case. That was the cloak; that was the excuse. It is quite true that at the end of the day the cloak was torn to shreds and the excuse was so thin that you saw through it. But, nevertheless, as I said, the murder had been plotted and planned and it came off, and you never in all your life—I never in all my life—saw a more downhearted, melancholy, conscience-stricken bridal procession walking into the Lobby to register and cement a union.

The Coalition Knew.

They knew they were doing wrong. They knew an Election was inevitable. They knew that as soon as they did what they did last night, they had decreed that so far as this Parliament was concerned, its usefulness had gone. They knew perfectly well that this Parliament had already passed a vote of no confidence in Mr. Baldwin and his Party. They knew perfectly well that it was impossible for Mr. Baldwin and his Party to take up office again until that vote of no confidence had been rescinded. They knew perfectly well that, however much the Liberal Party might have liked to do in its heart, its numerical position put it not merely in the control of a combination, but put it in the control of either the Tory Party and ourselves, and that that Party was absolutely unthinkable as an alternative Government; and that the moment they, by this combination, passed the vote of censure on the Labour Government, then the Parliament was ended, and there was nothing for it but to go to the country.

What a Record!

I did not court that. I did not want it. Our usefulness is not ended. Eight months and a day or two over—and what a record! With all its failings, a record that makes every one of you, when you remember that you are associated with us in the same Movement, when you remember it was by your work, your efforts—a great many of you unknown and unrecorded—but, nevertheless, known and recorded by the mind that knows everything, recorded in the records in which the very falling of a sparrow finds a place. Your work, anonymous, obscure in hundreds of villages from one end of the country to another, your work at night as secretaries, keeping your committees together, inspiring your men and women to faith in the Labour Movement—you, knowing what your colleagues of the Government had done—may well feel proud of the record that the Government has made.

The Record Before the Country.

We are going to take that to the country. And now I know this, that the Liberals and Tories to-day are trying to pretend—I really use the double diminutive—they are trying to pretend that they are not responsible for the Election. Oh dear, no! As I said, they only meant to put us in a fix. That was all, and then they meant a fortnight after they had got us in a fix to put an Election upon us. I do not care about humbug. Yesterday was the first move in the game, and they knew as well as I know that if we lost the move the end of the game was very quick. I take that now.

Minimising the Inconvenience.

Now, my friends, as we do not want an Election, as we censure those who have caused the Election, as we shall blame them from every platform in the country for taking such Parliamentary action as inevitably put the nation to the trouble, the expense, the turmoil and the loss of an Election, we had to consider how best to minimise the loss that the Election would inevitably entail.

Election this Month.

How have we done it? The Municipal Elections come on November 1; in Scotland they are on November 4. A certain scheme of days has to be gone through. Dissolu-

tion; then, on the eighth day, nomination. Then, on the nineteenth day, Election. We have been looking into the time-table. We do not want to damage trade; we do not want to inconvenience the people; and instead of doing what the others would have done—hung on and hung on—we have decided to dissolve to-night.

Nomination day will be Saturday week, and the Election will be over before the Municipal Elections on November 1.

Business-like All Through!

Business-like to the end! Business-like at our birth, business-like during our term of life, business-like at the moment of our death, business-like in our resurrection! No Charles II. with us, having to apologise because we are taking a long time to die. No! Clean!! When we are done, why cumber the ground?

No Eight-Hour Day for Ministers.

Ah, they have been telling you how we stick to our offices. Oh, what wonderful things those offices are! Up at six o'clock in the morning, working through breakfast, at it all the forenoon, worried in the afternoon, in the House of Commons at night. When the House of Commons is finished, you begin your morning's work at eleven o'clock at night. And you get the magnificent salary of £5,000 a year, less income tax and super tax, which takes it down straight away to £3,000 and a few hundreds over. Glorious offices! Wonderful things to stick to! The only thing you cannot stick to whilst you have that work is your life. You stick to everything else except that.

Back to the Constituencies!

But, as I say, there we were struck down yesterday. All right! To-day Dissolution is declared. Back you go now from here, back to your constituencies, back to your parishes, back to your towns, back to your villages, and start the fight, the greatest fight, the most memorable fight, involving the largest issues of any of the many fights that you and I have engaged in during the last thirty years.

Be of Good Heart.

Be of good heart, my friends. Some of us are getting old; and yet who gets old in the Labour Movement? Our surroundings are so perennially young that we drink them in and by some magic of assimilation the youth of our circumstances defies the length of our years.

Now, my Labour friends, we have given the word; we have given the lead; we have asked you to enlist; we have asked you to prepare. We now ask you to fight, and we ask you to fight not to send us back to take office as we had to do eight months ago, we ask you men and women, with the cause you now have, with the case you now can present, with the experience of a Labour Government that is now yours, we ask you, between now and October 29, when the Election will take place, to work, work, work, so that when the secrets of the ballot box will be declared, it will not be the second party that will be returned as the Labour Party, but the party with a majority that will enable it, as a Government, to carry out its will in the House of Commons.

Now we have to go, but I am sure before you go you would like that your attention should be drawn for a minute or two to the necessary financial problems. We fight far cheaper than any other Party. We can make a shilling go as far as they can make a pound. Our funds are popular and democratic, and therefore you must know about them. Mr. Henderson, who is in charge of them, would like to have a few words with you.

MR. HENDERSON ON PARTY FINANCE.

Right Hon. Arthur Henderson, M.P., said they were starting out on what was undoubtedly the most momentous Election contest ever associated with the Labour Movement of the country. Most of the delegates were aware that the Party was in a peculiar position in that respect. A considerable number of the candidates were nominated and financed by their respective Trade Unions. It was not a difficult matter, a few years ago, to get all the candidates that they were then in a position to look after in the country through the Trade Unions, or at any rate the overwhelming majority of them through the Trade Unions. They were in a different position to-day. After all, the candidates of the Trade Unions were mostly associated with the great urban centres, and they were able to look after themselves. It was a comparatively easy matter to fight even a Parliamentary contest. But the Party had now reached this stage; it had to look further afield and had to think of the great number of rural and semi-rural constituencies spread over many of the counties of the country that could only be fought under the auspices of the Labour Movement itself. At the last Annual Conference they appealed on behalf of the rural constituencies. At that time they did not think the Election was quite so near as it was, but they raised in the Hall itself close upon £1,000. They continued to make the appeal after the Conference, but when they saw the Election was so near the appeal had not to be restricted even to the rural constituencies. He wished to say that when the last Election came upon them they were in a totally inadequate financial position to meet it, but such was the spirit that spread throughout the entire country, that before polling day they were in a better position than they had been at any previous General Election. Now they were faced with another situation, and it would be a mistake were he to allow the Conference to pass away without making use of the magnificent opportunity it afforded. It was necessary that they should tackle most of the rural and semi-rural constituencies, but they could not do that, under their constitution,

out of the General Fund of the Party. They had been looking round, and he was very happy to say they had already met with splendid success. He did not propose to go into details, and it was not his intention to tell them how much they had received, because if so they might feel inclined to put their hands into their pockets and keep them there. He was going to read, however, a letter that he had received about two hours previously, which was much more eloquent than anything he could say to the Conference. With the reading of that letter, and in a few sentences applying the moral, he hoped to bring his remarks to a close :—

"DEAR FRIEND HENDERSON,—

"I see from the papers that the Labour Government has been defeated, for which I am very sorry. I consider that the Labour Government was equal to any and better than many. Your opponents were afraid that you would continue with the good work you have started by making peace all over Europe, and increasing the feeling of good will that is felt towards you throughout the world. Both the Liberals and the Tories saw that they would never have a chance to rise again, and as a precaution for their own salvation they dragged up a case that every man can see is unreasonable and not right, for the sake of putting you out. As you know, I started life as a labouring man and am still a true friend to Labour and to your Party. Without expecting recognition for myself, but because of the good will I bear towards you, I enclose herewith a cheque for £5,000, which I hope will assist the Labour Campaign at the Election. 'A Friend in Need is a Friend Indeed,' and I wish you had 50 friends like myself. Then you could go forward quite easily and defeat your opponents, and I hope that somebody else will follow my example. As I said to you before, the future is yours, and if you could go on without fear or hesitation you will surely succeed in time. I hope Labour will rise as one man for this onslaught which has just been given to the Government. I advise you that the first principle is for all the Cabinet and everyone to be united as one man. That is success in itself. As Washington says, 'United we stand, divided we fall,' and if all Labour is with you, then you will surely succeed. Again wishing you success, I remain the friend of Labour for ever.

"Yours very sincerely,

"(Signed) BERNHARD BARRON."

This gentleman he (Mr. Henderson) wished to say quite frankly had been a personal friend of his for some years. He was an employer of labour, but he recognised facts as they existed to-day, and he was prepared—he had already demonstrated it—voluntarily and freely to come forward and give this magnificent piece of financial assistance in the greatest crisis of the political Labour Movement of the country. He knew that there were not many in the Movement that could follow that example, but there were many who could give assistance, and he did not want the Conference to close, if there was any friend in the gallery at any rate—he left the floor out of his consideration—or on the platform, without giving those who were prepared to do so an opportunity of augmenting this sum. They would undertake that it would be given to the candidates who needed it most. Only by augmenting this Fund and covering the country to a greater extent than ever before could they hope to achieve the success that would give Mr. MacDonald the majority of which he had spoken.

PREMIER'S FINAL WORDS.

Rt. Hon. J. RAMSAY MACDONALD, M.P., said they would now go their various ways for the field of battle. On the following day they would be in action and would carry on until the 29th. Good luck to them all! Let them see that the old Movement went on, that they enlisted the right sort of men and women, because, important as quantity was, quality was even more important. They would fight a clean fight. They would be perfectly straight, they would not mince their words, and they would feel everything they said, and it was when one felt things, that they could speak with that rugged force which drew people to them. That was the Labour Movement method.

The Conference concluded by the delegates joining hands and singing "Auld Lang Syne."

APPENDIX I.

THE CONSTITUTION AND STANDING ORDERS OF THE LABOUR PARTY

1.—NAME.

The Labour Party.

2.—MEMBERSHIP.

The Labour Party shall consist of all its affiliated organisations,* together with those men and women who are individual members of a local Labour Party, who subscribe to the Constitution and Programme of the Party, and who, if eligible for Trade Union membership, are Trade Unionists.

3.—PARTY OBJECTS.

National.

(a) To organise and maintain in Parliament and in the country a Political Labour Party, and to ensure the establishment of a Local Labour Party in every County Constituency and every Parliamentary Borough, with suitable divisional organisation in the separate constituencies of Divided Boroughs;

(b) To co-operate with the General Council of the Trades Union Congress, or other Kindred Organisations, in joint political or other action in harmony with the Party Constitution and Standing Orders;

(c) To give effect as far as may be practicable to the principles from time to time approved by the Party Conference;

(d) To secure for the producers by hand or by brain the full fruits of their industry, and the most equitable distribution thereof that may be possible, upon the basis of the common ownership of the means of production and the best obtainable system of popular administration and control of each industry or service;

(e) Generally to promote the Political, Social, and Economic Emancipation of the People, and more particularly of those who depend directly upon their own exertions by hand or by brain for the means of life.

Inter-Dominion.

(f) To co-operate with the Labour and Socialist organisations in the Dominions and the Dependencies with a view to promoting the purposes of the Party and to take common action for the promotion of a higher standard of social and economic life for the working population of the respective countries.

International.

(g) To co-operate with the Labour and Socialist organisations in other countries and to assist in organising a Federation of Nations for the maintenance of Freedom and Peace, for the establishment of suitable machinery for the adjustment and settlement of International Disputes by Conciliation or Judicial Arbitration, and for such International Legislation as may be practicable.

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* Trade Unions, Socialist Societies, Co-operative Societies, Trades Councils, and Local Labour Parties.

4.—PARTY PROGRAMME.

(a) It shall be the duty of the Party Conference to decide, from time to time, what specific proposals of legislative, financial, or administrative reform shall receive the general support of the Party, and be promoted, as occasion may present itself, by the National Executive and the Parliamentary Labour Party : provided that no such proposal shall be made definitely part of the General Programme of the Party unless it has been adopted by the Conference by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the votes recorded on a card vote.

(b) It shall be the duty of the National Executive and the Parliamentary Labour Party, prior to every General Election, to define the principal issues of that Election which in their judgment should be made the Special Party Programme for that particular Election Campaign, which shall be issued as a manifesto by the Executive to all constituencies where a Labour Candidate is standing.

(c) It shall be the duty of every Parliamentary representative of the Party to be guided by the decision of the meetings of such Parliamentary representatives, with a view to giving effect to the decisions of the Party Conference as to the General Programme of the Party.

5.—THE PARTY CONFERENCE.

1. The work of the Party shall be under the direction and control of the Party Conference, which shall itself be subject to the Constitution and Standing Orders of the Party. The Party Conference shall meet regularly once in each year, and also at such other times as it may be convened by the National Executive.

2. The Party Conference shall be constituted as follows :—

(a) Trade Unions and other societies affiliated to the Party may send one delegate for each 1,000 members on which fees are paid.

(b) Local Labour Party delegates may be either men or women resident or having a place of business in the constituency they represent, and shall be appointed as follows :—

In Borough and County Constituencies returning one Member to Parliament, the Local Labour Party may appoint one delegate.

In undivided Boroughs returning two Members, two delegates may be appointed.

In divided Boroughs one delegate may be appointed for each separate constituency within the area. The Local Labour Party within the constituency shall nominate and the Central Labour Party of the Divided Borough shall appoint the delegates. In addition to such delegates, the Central Labour Party in each Divided Borough may appoint one delegate.

An additional woman delegate may be appointed for each constituency in which the number of affiliated and individual women members exceeds 500.

(c) Trades Councils under Section 8, clause *c*, shall be entitled to one delegate.

(d) The members of the National Executive, including the Treasurer, the Members of the Parliamentary Labour Party, and the duly-sanctioned Parliamentary Candidates shall be *ex-officio* members of the Party Conference, but shall, unless delegates, have no right to vote.

6.—THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE.

(a) There shall be a National Executive of the Party consisting of twenty-three members (including the Treasurer), elected by the Party Conference at its regular Annual Meeting, in such proportion and under such conditions as may be set out in the Standing Orders for the time being in force, and this National Executive shall, subject to the control and directions of the Party Conference, be the Administrative Authority of the Party.

(b) The National Executive shall be responsible for the conduct of the general work of the Party. The National Executive shall take steps to ensure that the Party is represented by a properly constituted organisation in each constituency in which this is found practicable; it shall give effect to the decisions of the Party Conference; and it shall interpret the Constitution and Standing Orders and Rules of the Party in all cases of dispute subject to an appeal to the next regular Annual Meeting of the Party Conference by the organisation or person concerned.

(c) The National Executive shall confer with the Parliamentary Labour Party at the opening of each Parliamentary Session, and also at any other time when the National Executive or the Parliamentary Party may desire such conference on any matters relating to the work and progress of the Party, or to the efforts necessary to give effect to the General Programme of the Party.

7.—PARLIAMENTARY CANDIDATURES.

(a) The National Executive shall co-operate with the Local Labour Party in any constituency with a view to nominating a Labour Candidate at any Parliamentary General or By-Election. Before any Parliamentary Candidate can be regarded as finally adopted for a constituency as a candidate of the Labour Party, his candidature must be sanctioned by the National Executive.

(b) Candidates approved by the National Executive shall appear before their constituencies under the designation of " Labour Candidate " only. At any General Election they shall include in their Election Addresses and give prominence in their campaigns to the issues for that Election as defined by the National Executive from the General Party Programme. If they are elected they shall act in harmony with the Constitution and Standing Orders of the Party in seeking to discharge the responsibilities established by Parliamentary practice.

8.—AFFILIATION FEES.

1. Trade Unions, Socialist Societies, Co-operative Societies, and other organisations directly affiliated to the Party (but not being affiliated Local Labour Parties or Trades Councils) shall pay 3d. per member per annum to the Central Party Funds with a minimum of 30s.

The membership of a Trade Union for the purpose of this clause shall be those members contributing to the political fund of the Union established under the Trade Union Act, 1913.

2. The affiliation of Trades Councils will be subject to the following conditions :

(a) Where Local Labour Parties and Trades Councils at present exist in the same area every effort must be made to amalgamate these bodies, retaining in one organisation the industrial and political functions, and incorporating the constitution and rules for the Local Labour Parties in the rules of the amalgamated body.

(b) Where no Local Labour Party is in existence and the Trades Council is discharging the political functions, such Trades Council shall be eligible for affiliation as a Local Labour Party, providing that its rules and title be extended so as to include Local Labour Party functions.

(c) Where a Local Labour Party and a Trades Council exist in the same area, the Trades Council shall be eligible to be affiliated to the Local Labour Party, but not to the National Party except in such cases where the Trades Council was affiliated to the National Party prior to November 1, 1917. In these cases the Executive Committee shall have power to continue national affiliation on such conditions as may be deemed necessary.

(d) Trades Councils included under Section (*c*) shall pay an annual affiliation fee of 30s.

3. Local Labour Parties must charge individually enrolled members, male a minimum of 1s. per annum, female 6d. per annum; and 2d. per member so collected must be remitted to the Central Office, with a minimum of 30s., as the affiliation fee of such Local Labour Party.

4. In addition to these payments, a delegation fee of 10s. to the Party Conference or any Special Conference may be charged.

9.—CONDITION OF ELIGIBILITY OF DELEGATES FROM CONSTITUENT BODIES TO EITHER LOCAL LABOUR PARTIES OR TO ANY NATIONAL OR LOCAL CONFERENCE OF THE LABOUR PARTY.

Every person nominated to serve as a delegate shall individually accept the Constitution and principles of the Labour Party.

STANDING ORDERS.

1.—ANNUAL CONFERENCE.

1. The National Executive shall convene the Annual Party Conference for the month of June (but not at Whitsuntide) in each year, subject to the Constitution and the Standing Orders, and shall convene other Sessions of the Party Conference from time to time as may be required.

2. In the event of it being necessary to convene the Party Conference upon short notice, in order to deal with some sudden emergency, the Secretaries of the affiliated organisations and Local Labour Parties shall, on receiving the summons, instantly take such action as may be necessary to enable the Society or Constituency to be represented in accordance with the rules.

3. Any Session of the Party Conference summoned with less than ten days' notice shall confine its business strictly to that relating to the emergency, which cannot without detriment to the Party be postponed.

4. Persons eligible as delegates must be paying *bona fide* members, or paid permanent officials of the organisation sending them.

5. No delegate to the Conference shall represent more than one Society, and no Member of Parliament who has not joined the Parliamentary Labour Party is eligible as a delegate.

6. Every person nominated to serve as a delegate shall individually accept the Constitution and principles of the Labour Party.

7. Members of affiliated organisations claiming exemption from political contributions under the Trade Union Act, 1913, shall not be entitled to act as delegates.

2.—AGENDA

1. Notice of Resolutions for the Annual Conference, not exceeding three from any one affiliated organisation, shall be sent to the Secretary at the Office of the Party not later than April 1, for inclusion in the first Agenda, which shall be forthwith issued to the affiliated organisations.

2. Notice of Amendments to the Resolutions in the first Agenda, and Nominations for the Executive, Treasurer, Auditors (2), Annual Conference Arrangements Committee (5), shall be forwarded to the Secretary not later than May 16, for inclusion in the final Agenda of the Annual Conference.

3. No business which does not arise out of the Resolutions on the Agenda shall be considered by the Party Conference, unless recommended by the Executive or the Conference Arrangements Committee.

4. When the Annual Conference has, by resolution, made a declaration of a general policy or principle, no motion having for its object the reaffirmation of such policy or principle shall appear on the Agenda for a period of three years from the time such declaration was made, except such resolutions as are, in the opinion of the Executive, of immediate importance.

3.—VOTING.

Voting at the Party Conference shall be by Cards issued as follows :—

Trade Unions and other affiliated societies shall receive one Voting Card for each 1,000 members or fraction thereof paid for.

Trades Councils affiliated under Section 8, Clause *c*, shall receive one Voting Card.

Every Local Labour Party shall receive one Voting Card for each delegate sent in respect of each Parliamentary Constituency within its area.

Central Labour Parties in Divided Boroughs shall receive one Voting Card.

4.—NATIONAL EXECUTIVE.

1. The National Executive shall be elected by the Annual Conference, as a whole, and shall consist, apart from the Treasurer, of (a) 13 representatives of the affiliated organisations; (b) five representatives of the Local Labour Parties; and (c) four women. The Executive shall be elected by ballot vote on the card basis from three lists of nominations confined to delegates appointed to attend the Annual Conference.

2. Each affiliated national organisation shall be entitled to nominate one candidate for List A; and two candidates if the membership exceeds 500,000. Each candidate must be a *bona fide* member of the organisation by which he or she is nominated.

3. Each Parliamentary Constituency organisation, through its Local Labour Party or Trades Council, may nominate one candidate for List B, and the candidate so nominated must be resident or have his or her place of business within the area of the nominating Local Labour Party.

4. Each affiliated organisation shall be entitled to nominate one woman candidate for List C, and two candidates if the membership exceeds 500,000, whether such nominees are or are not members of the nominating organisation.

5. The National Executive shall elect its own Chairman and Vice-Chairman at its first meeting each year, and shall see that all its officers and members conform to the Constitution and Standing Orders of the Party. The National Executive shall present to the Annual Conference a Report covering the work and progress of the Party during its year of office, together with the Financial Statement and Accounts duly audited.

6. No member of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress is eligible for nomination to the National Executive.

7. The consent of candidates must be secured before their nomination for office.

5.—TREASURER.

The Treasurer shall be elected separately by the Annual Conference. Each affiliated organisation may nominate a candidate for the Treasurership independent of any other nomination it makes for the National Executive.

6.—SECRETARY.

The Secretary shall be elected by the Annual Party Conference, and be *ex-officio* a member of the Conference; he shall devote his whole time to the work of the Party, but this shall not prevent him from being a Candidate for or a Member of Parliament. He shall remain in office so long as his work gives satisfaction to the National Executive and Party Conference. Should a vacancy in the office occur between two Annual Conferences, the Executive shall have full power to fill the vacancy, subject to the approval of the Annual Conference next following.

Nominations for the office shall be on the same conditions as for the Treasurership.

7.—ANNUAL CONFERENCE ARRANGEMENTS COMMITTEE.

1. The duties of the Conference Arrangements Committee shall be :—

(a) To attend at the place of Conference two days before its opening, for the purpose of arranging the Conference Agenda;

(b) To appoint Scrutineers and Tellers for the Conference from among the delegates whose names have been received at the Head Office prior to May 31, such appointments to be subject to the approval of the Conference;

(c) To act as Standing Orders Committee during the Conference.

2. Should any of the five members of the Conference Arrangements Committee be unable to fulfil his or her duties, the person who received the highest number of votes amongst those not elected shall be called upon, but should the voting list be exhausted, it shall lie with the Society the member represents to nominate a substitute.

3. Remuneration of the Conference Arrangements Committee, Scrutineers and Tellers shall be at the rate of 15s. per day.

APPENDIX II

LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCES

Year	Place of Conference.	Chairman.	No. of Delegates	Membership.	Income of General Fund, &c.
					£
1900	London	W. C. Steadman	129	568,177	—
1901	Manchester	J. Hodge	82	456,438	243
1902	Birmingham	W. J. Davis	110	469,311	286
1903	Newcastle-on-Tyne	J. N. Bell	243	861,150	715
1904	Bradford	J. Hodge	355	969,800	1,009
1905	Liverpool	D. J. Shackleton	348	900,000	1,305
1906	London	A. Henderson	363	921,280	2,059
1907	Belfast	J. J. Stephenson	347	998,338	2 768
1908	Hull	W. Hudson	404	1,072,413	1,789
1909	Portsmouth	J. R. Clynes	399	1,152,786	2,057
1910	Newport	J. Keir Hardie	448	1,486,308	3,053
1911	Leicester	W. C. Robinson	460	1,430,539	6,628*
1912	Birmingham	Ben Turner	474	1,539,092	2,834*
1913	London	G. H. Roberts	516	1,895,498	21,529†
1914	Glasgow	Tom Fox	551	—	8,297
1916	Bristol	W. C. Anderson	608	2,093,365	20,092‡
1917	Manchester	G. J. Wardle	752	2,219,764	11,734
1918	Nottingham	W. F. Purdy	879	2,465,131	12,263¶
1918	London	W. F. Purdy	852	2,726,000	—
1919	Southport	J. McGurk	954	3,013,129	25,537‖
1920	Scarborough	W. H. Hutchinson	1,109	3,511,290	37,866
1921	Brighton	A. G. Cameron	872	4,359,807	54,523
1922	Edinburgh	F. W. Jowett	820	4,010,361	61,178
1923	London	Sidney Webb	939	3,311,036	51,721
1924	London	J. Ramsay MacDonald	1,059	3,155,911	57,159

* Including Special Appeal Fund. † Including all balances on amalgamation of General, Special and Parliamentary Funds.
‡ Two years (1914-15). ¶ Excluding £18,000 Treasury Bills realised. ‖ Excluding £14,920 Investments realised.

APPENDIX III

GENERAL ELECTION, 1923

LABOUR'S APPEAL TO THE NATION

After a year of barren effort, the Conservative Government has admitted its inability to cope with the problem of Unemployment, and is seeking to cover up its failure by putting the nation to the trouble and expense of an election on the Tariff issue.

TARIFFS NO REMEDY

The Labour Party challenges the Tariff policy and the whole conception of economic relations underlying it. Tariffs are not a remedy for Unemployment. They are an impediment to the free interchange of goods and services upon which civilised society rests. They foster a spirit of profiteering, materialism and selfishness, poison the life of nations, lead to corruption in politics, promote trusts and monopolies, and impoverish the people. They perpetuate inequalities in the distribution of the world's wealth won by the labour of hands and brain. These inequalities the Labour Party means to remove.

"WORK OR MAINTENANCE"

Unemployment is a recurrent feature of the existing economic system, common to every industrialised country, irrespective of whether it has Protection or Free Trade. The Labour Party alone has a positive remedy for it . We denounce as wholly inadequate and belated the programme of winter work produced by the Government, which offers the prospect of employment for only a fraction of the unemployed in a few industries; and in particular provides no relief for women and young persons.

LABOUR'S UNEMPLOYMENT PROGRAMME

The Labour Party has urged the immediate adoption of national schemes of productive work, with adequate maintenance for those who cannot obtain employment to earn a livelihood for themselves and their families. The flow of young workers from the schools must be regulated to relieve the pressure on the labour market, and full educational training, with maintenance, must be provided for the young people who are now exposed to the perils and temptations of the streets.

The Labour Programme of National Work includes the establishment of a National System of Electrical Power Supply, the development of Transport by road, rail and canal, and the improvement of national resources by Land Drainage, Reclamation, Afforestation, Town Planning, and Housing Schemes. These not only provide a remedy for the present distress, but are also investments for the future.

HELP FOR AGRICULTURE

Agriculture, as the largest and most essential of the nation's industries, calls for special measures to restore its prosperity and to give the land workers a living wage. The Labour Policy is one that will develop Agriculture and raise the standard of rural life by establishing machinery for regulating wages with an assured minimum, providing Credit and State Insurance facilities for Farmers and Small-holders, promoting and assisting Co-operative Methods in Production and Distribution, so as to help to stabilise prices, and make the fullest use of the results of research.

THE LAND

The Labour Party proposes to restore to the people their lost rights in the Land, including Minerals, and to that end will work for re-equipping the Land Valuation Department, securing to the community the economic rent of land, and facilitating the acquisition of land for public use.

PEACE AMONG THE NATIONS

Labour's vision of an ordered world embraces the nations now torn with enmity and strife. It stands, therefore, for a policy of International Co-operation through a strengthened and enlarged League of Nations; the settlement of disputes by conciliation and judicial arbitration; the immediate calling by the British Government of an International Conference (including Germany on terms of equality) to deal with the Revision of the Versailles Treaty, especially Reparations and Debts; and the resumption of free economic and diplomatic relations with Russia. This will pave the way for Disarmament, the only security for the nations.

RELIEF FOR THE TAXPAYER

Labour condemns the failure of the Government to take steps to reduce the dead-weight War Debt. No effective reform of the National Finances can be attempted until the steady drain of a million pounds a day in interest is stopped. Treasury experts, in evidence before a Select Committee of the House of Commons,

expressed their view that a Tax on War Fortunes could be levied, and have therefore admitted both the principle and its practicability. A Labour Chancellor of the Exchequer, in consultation with Treasury experts, would at once work out a scheme to impose a non-recurring, graduated War Debt Redemption Levy on all individual fortunes in excess of £5,000, to be devoted solely to the reduction of the Debt.

The saving thus effected, with reduction of expenditure on armaments, other sane economies, and the increased revenue derived from Taxation of Land Values, would make it possible to reduce the burden of Income Tax, abolish not only the Food Duties, but also the Entertainments Tax and the Corporation Profits Tax, as well as provide money for necessary Social Services.

THE COMMONWEALTH OF CO-OPERATIVE SERVICE

The Labour Party is working for the creation of a Commonwealth of Co-operative Service. It believes that so far only a beginning has been made in the scientific organisation of industry. It will apply in a practical spirit the principle of Public Ownership and Control to the Mines, the Railway Service and the Electrical Power Stations, and the development of Municipal Services. It will make work safe for the worker by stricter Inspection of Work-places and more effective measures against Accidents and Industrial Diseases. It will provide fuller Compensation for the Workers and Improve the Standard of Hours.

THE AGED, THE WIDOWS, THE CHILDREN

Labour Policy is directed to the creation of a humane and civilised society. When Labour rules it will take care that little children shall not needlessly die; it will give to every child equality of opportunity in Education; it will make generous provision for the aged people, the widowed mothers, the sick and disabled citizens.

It will abolish the slums, promptly build an adequate supply of decent homes and resist decontrol till the shortage is satisfied. It will place the Drink Traffic under popular control.

EX-SERVICE MEN'S PENSIONS

In accordance with its past actions inside and outside Parliament, the Labour Party will do its utmost to see that the Ex-Service men and their dependants have fair play.

EQUAL RIGHTS

Labour stands for equality between men and women; equal political and legal rights, equal rights and privileges in parenthood, equal pay for equal work.

LABOUR'S PRACTICAL IDEALISM

The Labour Party submits to the men and women of the country its full programme. It urges them to refuse to make this General Election a wretched partisan squabble about mean and huckstering policies. It appeals to all citizens to take a generous and courageous stand for right and justice, to believe in the possibility of building up a sane and ordered society, to oppose the squalid materialism that dominates the world to-day, and to hold out their hands in friendship and good-will to the struggling people everywhere who want only freedom, security and a happier life.

J. RAMSAY MACDONALD, *Chairman, Parliamentary Labour Party.*

J. R. CLYNES, *Deputy-Chairman, Parliamentary Labour Party.*

MARGARET BONDFIELD, *President of the Trades Union Congress.*

FRED BRAMLEY, *Secretary of the Trades Union Congress.*

C. T. CRAMP, *Vice-Chairman, Labour Party Executive Committee.*

ARTHUR HENDERSON, *Secretary, Labour Party.*

GENERAL ELECTION, 1924.

LABOUR'S APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE.

The Labour Government, defeated in the House of Commons by a partisan combination of Liberals and Tories, appeals to the People.

ITS WORK FOR PEACE

The supreme need of this country, as of the whole world, is peace among the nations, and the restoration of industry and commerce. For this the Labour Government has continuously worked; and it has already achieved much. It has insisted on maintaining, in the spirit as in the letter, the honourable binding Treaty with the Irish Free State, no less than the agreement with the Northern Province. It has maintained, and even strengthened the ties of sentiment with the Dominions upon which, rather than upon either force or any Imperialism, the very existence of the British Commonwealth of Nations depends. The embittered relations between France and Germany left by the disastrous tangles of preceding Governments have been improved, and cordial relations established between this country and France. Important steps have been taken at Geneva towards arbitration, security and general disarmament.

The Labour Government has refused to exclude from this general pacification the Russian people, with whom it is essential to resume our trade in the interests of our unemployed and the country as a whole.

The Treaties with Russia, now awaiting ratification, open up for our fishing industry thousands of square miles of additional fishing ground, and provide for new outlets for our manufactures and our coal. When compensation has been secured to British subjects for their losses in Russia, a third Treaty will be negotiated providing for the raising (from private financiers) by Russia of a loan the interest and sinking fund charges on which shall be guaranteed by Great Britain. It is laid down in Article 12 of the General Treaty that "the amount, terms and conditions of the said loan, and the purposes to which it shall be applied," shall be defined in the future Treaty referred to; and this Treaty "will not come into force until the necessary Parliamentary authority for the guarantee of the said loan has been given."

Will you allow this work for peace and prosperity to be stopped?

ITS WORK FOR HOUSING

In the face of much opposition, the Labour Government has passed into law

THE GREAT HOUSING CHARTER,

the statute that enabled the Local Authorities and the Building industry to engage in a fifteen years' uninterrupted building programme, with such generous financial assistance as will provide:—

(1) Houses to let at low rents;
(2) A separate dwelling for every family in the land;
(3) A continuous policy of slum clearance and an ending of overcrowding.

Meanwhile, the Rent Restriction Acts (which practically expire next year) have to be continued and amended; and the Bill to prevent profiteering in building materials has still to be passed.

It depends on the result of the Election whether this great Housing Policy will be carried out.

THE FIRST LABOUR BUDGET

In Finance, the Labour Government has achieved a marked success. Whilst subjecting to the most competent examination its own and all other schemes for dealing with the War Debt, and the terrible burden upon industry of a tribute of £1,000,000 per day, the Labour Government has swept away no less than £30,000,000 a year of taxes on the people's food (just six times as much in eight months as the Liberal Government did in eight years). The Labour Government has abolished the irritating Inhabited House Duty, which no other Government had dared to do, and has taken the first step towards the Abolition of the Entertainment Tax. It has found means to change the whole spirit of the administration of the War Pensions Ministry, to increase in many thousands of cases the pittance that the preceding Governments had allotted to those Ex-Service Men who had suffered in the War, and to the parents and dependants of those who have fallen. Above all, the Labour Government has found means to stop the contemptible

deduction from the weekly ten shillings of many thousands of Old Age Pensioners, which the Liberal Government instituted, and the Unionist Government persisted in maintaining; whilst nearly 200,000 more old people, to whom the pension has been hitherto denied, have been admitted to the pension roll. Is it not because the Liberals and Unionists fear the Second Labour Budget that an excuse has been found for giving the Labour Government no further chance?

WHAT IT HAS DONE FOR EDUCATION

Labour's intention to "give every child equality of opportunity in education" has begun to be fulfilled in the drastic change of the policy of the preceding Government. The Labour Government has been insisting on smaller classes, an increase in the number of fully-qualified teachers, new schools, maintenance for the poorer children, more free places in Secondary Schools and Scholarships to the University: all practical steps towards the ideal of securing to all children the same chance of advanced education as the children of the rich. The Labour Government has been steadily working towards progressively higher qualifications for teachers; and, consequently, of no niggardly treatment of teachers' salaries. Shall this policy now be reversed?

LABOUR AND THE COUNTRYSIDE

The Labour Government has consistently acted on the conviction that Agricultural Prosperity is vital to the nation. It has helped the farmers by loans to their Co-operative enterprises, by assistance to their Credit Societies, by increased grants for Agricultural Education and Research. It has offered a substantial grant for the development of the Sugar Beet Industry in this country. It has included exceptional provision, on a generous scale, for a vast increase of cottages in the rural areas at low rents, which will lessen the evil of the tied-cottage system. It has, after great difficulty and opposition from both the other Parties, got District Wages Committees and an Agricultural Wages Board once more set up by law, in the hope of obtaining and maintaining a decent standard of life for the labourers.

UNEMPLOYMENT

Apart from the necessary transformation of the whole industrial system, the only practicable way of dealing satisfactorily with Unemployment is the working out of a constructive policy of National Development, along with the restoration, through pacification, of the production and trade of other nations. It is along these lines that the Labour Government has made progress. Meanwhile the Government has stimulated useful enterprises and helped works of further relief in all directions. During the past nine months, in the face of continued depression in Textile, Engineering, Shipbuilding and other industries, the number of unemployed has been reduced by considerably over 100,000, and, indeed, by many more when allowance is made for the increased number of workers brought on to the live register as a result of the extension of the Insurance Act, and who had not previously been recorded as unemployed. The great works, notably in the way of building, involving furnishing, etc., and in the way of iron and steel and engineering for the electrical and mining developments, should provide work for a much larger proportion of the unemployed. For the others, Labour's slogan still remains "Work or Maintenance." By the drastic revision of the Unemployment Insurance Acts last August, (1) the "gap" has been abolished and the Benefits made continuous; (2) the arbitrary refusals of Benefit by the preceding Governments to something like one-fifth of the claimants have been stopped; (3) the weekly amount has been increased by about 25 per cent.

The increased financial assistance provided by the Labour Government in aid of approved schemes of work and the improvements in the Unemployment Insurance Acts have together substantially relieved the heavy burdens previously borne by Local Authorities.

WHAT THE LIBERALS AND TORIES HAVE COMBINED TO STOP

All the Labour Government's other Bills before Parliament, great or small, are now summarily brought to an end. The great Factory Acts Amendment Bill, the Bill to prevent Profiteering in Building Materials, the Forty-Eight Hours (Washington Convention) Bill, the Bill to secure Wages for Shipwrecked Seamen, the Bill to prevent Frauds in the Sale of Bread, and various others, are stopped. But besides these Bills actually introduced, the work for the next Session has been going on steadily. The measures still in one or other stage of preparation for the next twelve months include proposals for:

The Reorganisation of the whole Mining Industry (in conjunction with By-Products and Power Stations), on the lines of National Ownership, equitable treatment for all interests concerned, security both for the taxpayer and the consumer,

wages under properly-arrived-at National Agreements, and participation in administration, both national and local, by the various grades and sections of those engaged in the industry.

The continuance and amendment of the Rent Restriction Acts with a view to providing adequate protection for tenants.

A drastic dealing with the whole Poor Law System, so as to secure the economy and efficiency of unified administration in each locality, and complete and honourable provision for the sick and infirm, the aged, the children and the able-bodied unemployed apart from the workhouse and pauperism.

The Taxation of Land Values and such a dealing with Agricultural Land as will secure its maximum productivity, and with urban land and building sites as would protect the occupying tenants and secure its best use.

The development of the present chaotic Electrical Generating Stations on the lines of a National System, uniformly standardised, with transmission lines linking up town and country, with the primary object of providing cheap power for industry—instead of profit for shareholders—and cheap and convenient light for householders everywhere.

With regard to the measures to be taken in the national interest against the evils and burdens connected with the administration of the Licensing Laws, the first step, it is clear, in the present state of the controversy, is a full and impartial inquiry by a Royal Commission. This the Labour Government had arranged to begin next Spring.

In addition to these measures the following proposals are being considered and prepared for:

A systematic reorganisation, in the national interest and on terms fair to all concerned, of the whole system of Transport, including the more rapid development of an entirely Unified Railway and Canal System in National Ownership and under exclusively Public Control, with fuller use of electric power and in more intimate connection not only with the ports, but also with the increasing road motor service. Without greater and cheaper transport facilities, the British producers of every kind will find it ever harder to compete with their rivals.

The Prevention of Profiteering and Exploitation by Rings, Trusts and Monopolies, not merely in building materials, but also in foodstuffs and household necessities, in conjunction with concerted arrangements with the Dominions and other Governments for bulk importing and systematically organised distribution from port to consumer, as a means towards establishing reasonable and stable prices.

A substantial improvement of the Workmen's Compensation Acts, which the Tory Government denied to injured workers.

The Prevention of Excessive Hours of Labour in the distributive trade, in the mercantile marine, and in other occupations (including those of women) omitted from the Washington Eight-Hours Convention: together with proposals for such a further development of the system of Trade Boards as will prevent the still existing evils of Sweating.

Whether any of these projects can be proceeded with, and which of them, and to what extent, depends on the electors' response to the present appeal.

A WORD TO THE WOMEN

Is it nothing to you that the Labour Government's successful work for Peace, its great programme of House-building, its sweeping reduction in the Food Taxes, its forward policy for the Children's Schooling, should be interrupted, and that the Bill giving Votes for Women at 21 on the same terms as men should be killed? But there is more to be said. During the past few months the detailed working out of the Labour Government's measure giving Pensions for Widowed Mothers with Children has reached an advanced stage. In the very next Session it was to have been laid before Parliament. This is what the Liberals and Tories have combined to stop. It depends on this Election whether the Labour Government can secure this great reform.

THE SPIRIT THAT GIVETH LIFE

It is along such lines as those marked out in this Appeal, and in the spirit of public service herein indicated, that the Labour Party, in conformity with its consistent public declarations, would work in Parliament towards the transformation, gradual as it must be, of the existing economic and industrial system into a genuine Commonwealth of Labour. We know the facts. We realise the difficulties. The path to our goal is long and narrow and sometimes so hard to travel that men and women faint by the way. But we have faith in humanity. We refuse to believe that there is nothing to be done but conserve the present order, which is disorder; or that the misery, the demoralisation and the ruin that it causes to innocent men and women and children can be remedied by the perpetual repetition of the abstract principles of Individualism.

We appeal to the People to support us in our steadfast march—taking each step only after careful examination, making sure of each advance as we go, and using each success as the beginning of further achievements towards a really Socialist Commonwealth, in which there shall at least be opportunity for Good Will to Conquer Hate and Strife, and for Brotherhood, if not to supersede Greed, at least to set due bounds to that competition which leads only to loss and death.

J. RAMSAY MacDONALD, *Leader of the Labour Party.*

J. R. CLYNES, *Deputy Leader.*

ROBERT SMILLIE, *Chairman of the Parliamentary Labour Party Executive.*

GEORGE LANSBURY, *Vice-Chairman.*

A. B. SWALES, *President of General Council of the Trades Union Congress.*

FRED BRAMLEY, *Secretary.*

C. T. CRAMP, *Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Labour Party.*

ARTHUR HENDERSON, *Hon. Secretary*

APPENDIX IV.

HIS MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT.

[Formed by Rt. Hon. J. Ramsay MacDonald, January, 1924.]

THE CABINET.

Prime Minister, First Lord of the Treasury, and Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs—Rt. Hon. J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P.

Lord Privy Seal and Deputy Leader of the House of Commons—Rt. Hon. J. R. Clynes, M.P.

Lord President of the Council—Rt. Hon. Lord Parmoor, K.C.V.O.

Lord Chancellor—Rt. Hon. Lord Haldane, K.T., O.M.

Chancellor of the Exchequer—Rt. Hon. Philip Snowden, M.P.

Secretary of State for Home Affairs—Rt. Hon. Arthur Henderson, M.P.

Secretary of State for the Colonies—Rt. Hon. J. H. Thomas, M.P.

Secretary of State for War—Rt. Hon. Stephen Walsh, M.P.

Secretary of State for India—Rt. Hon. Lord Olivier, K.C.M.G., C.B.

Secretary of State for Air—Rt. Hon. Lord Thomson.

First Lord of the Admiralty—Rt. Hon. Viscount Chelmsford, G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., G.B.E.

President of the Board of Trade—Rt. Hon. Sidney Webb, M.P.

Minister of Health—Rt. Hon. John Wheatley, M.P.

Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries—Rt. Hon. Noel Buxton, M.P.

Secretary for Scotland—Rt. Hon. William Adamson, M.P.

President of the Board of Education—Rt. Hon. Charles Philips Trevelyan, M.P.

Minister of Labour—Rt. Hon. Thomas Shaw, M.P.

Postmaster-General—Rt. Hon. Vernon Hartshorn, M.P.

Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster—Colonel Rt. Hon. Josiah C. Wedgwood, M.P.

First Commissioner of Works—Rt. Hon. F. W. Jowett, M.P.

Ministry of Transport :	
Minister	H. Gosling, M.P.
Ministry of Pensions :	
Minister	Rt. Hon. F. O. Roberts, M.P.
Parliamentary Secretary	J. W. Muir, M.P.
Home Affairs :	
Under-Secretary of State ...	R. J. Davies, M.P.
Foreign Affairs :	
Under-Secretary of State ...	A. Ponsonby, M.P.
Colonies :	
Under-Secretary of State ...	Rt. Hon. Lord Arnold of Hale.
War Office :	
Under-Secretary of State ...	Major C. R. Attlee, M.P.
Financial Secretary	J. Lawson, M.P.
Air Ministry :	
Under-Secretary of State ...	W. Leach, M.P.

India Office :	
Under-Secretary of State ...	R. Richards, M.P.
Admiralty :	
Parliamentary Secretary	C. G. Ammon, M.P.
Civil Lord	F. Hodges, M.P.
Board of Trade :	
Parliamentary Secretary	A. V. Alexander, M.P.
Mines Department Secretary ...	E. Shinwell, M.P.
Overseas Trade Department—	
Parliamentary Secretary ...	W. Lunn, M.P.
Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries :	
Parliamentary Secretary and Deputy-Minister of Fisheries ...	W. R. Smith, M.P.
Ministry of Labour :	
Parliamentary Secretary	Miss Margaret Bondfield, M.P.
Ministry of Health :	
Parliamentary Secretary	A. Greenwood, M.P.
Board of Education :	
Parliamentary Secretary	Morgan Jones, M.P.
Attorney-General	Sir Patrick Hastings, K.C., M.P.
Solicitor-General	Sir H. H. Slesser, K.C.
Paymaster-General	H. Gosling, M.P.

TREASURY :

Parliamentary Secretary	B. C. Spoor, M.P.
Financial Secretary	W. Graham, M.P.
Lords Commissioners	W. Graham, M.P.
	F. Hall, M.P.
	J. Robertson, M.P.
	T. Kennedy, M.P.
	G. H. Warne, M.P. (unpaid).

SCOTLAND :

Lord Advocate	Rt. Hon. Hugh P. Macmillan, K.C.
Solicitor-General	J. C. Fenton, K.C.
Parliamentary Under-Secretary for Health	J. Stewart, M.P.

COURT :

Treasurer of the Household ...	T. Griffiths, M.P.
Comptroller of the Household ...	J. A. Parkinson, M.P.
Vice-Chamberlain of the Household	J. E. Davison, M.P.
Lords in Waiting	Rt. Hon. Lord Muir Mackenzie, G.C.B.
	Rt. Hon. Earl De La Warr.
Charity Commissioner in the House of Commons	R. Richardson, M.P.
Second Church Estates Commissioner, representing Ecclesiastical Commissioners	G. Middleton, M.P.

APPENDIX V.

LABOUR MEMBERS, OCTOBER, 1924

Constituency.	*Name.*	*Society.*
BERKS : Reading	Dr. Somerville Hastings, 43, Devonshire Street, Portland Place, W.1.	I.L.P.
CHESHIRE : Birkenhead, West	Mr. W. Egan, 49, Hamilton Square, Birkenhead.	Boilermakers
Crewe	Mr. E. G. Hemmerde, K.C., 1, Hare Court, Temple, E.C.4.	D.L.P.
CUMBERLAND : Carlisle	Mr. G. Middleton, 61, Kidderminster Road, West Croydon.	U.P.O.W.
Whitehaven	Mr. T. Gavan Duffy, Miners' Hall, Cleator Moor, Cumberland.	Cumberland Iron Ore Miners
Workington	Mr. T. Cape, 91, Harrington Road, Workington, Cumberland.	M.F.G.B.
DERBY : Derby	Rt. Hon. J. H. Thomas, 125, Thurlow Park Road, Dulwich, S.E.21.	N.U.R.
	Mr. W. R. Raynes, 13, Commerce Street, Derby.	D.L.P.
Clay Cross	Mr. C. Duncan, 14, Forres Gardens, Golders Green, N.W.	W.U.
Ilkeston	Mr. G. Oliver, 37, Wallbrook Road, Derby.	D.L.P.
North Eastern	Mr. F. Lee, Tennyson Avenue, Chesterfield.	M.F.G.B.
DURHAM : Barnard Castle	Mr. Moss Turner Samuels, 2/14, Roland Gardens, Gloucester Road, S.W.7.	D.L.P.
Bishop Auckland	Mr. Ben Spoor, 7, Eton Road, Hampstead, N.W.3.	I.L.P.
Blaydon	Mr. Wm. Whiteley, 3, The Villas, Red Hills, Durham.	M.F.G.B.
Chester-le-Street	Mr. J. Lawson, 6, Twyzell Lane, Beamish, Co. Durham.	M.F.G.B.
Consett	Rev. H. Dunnico, Tyne Villa, Wellesley Road, Ilford.	I.L.P.
Durham	Mr. J. Ritson, 58, Forester Street, Sunderland.	M.F.G.B.
Houghton-le-Spring	Mr. R. Richardson, Roseville, St. Aidans Terrace, New Herrington, Philadelphia, Co. Durham.	M.F.G.B.
Jarrow	Mr. R. J. Wilson, 4, Sidecliffe Road, Sunderland.	N.U.D.A.W.
Seaham	Rt. Hon. Sidney Webb, 41, Grosvenor Road, London, S.W.1.	Fabian Society
Spennymoor	Mr. J. Batey, 27, The Avenue, Durham.	M.F.G.B.
ESSEX : East Ham, North	Miss Susan Lawrence, 16a, John Street, Adelphi, London, W.C.2.	D.L.P.
East Ham, South	Mr. A. Barnes, 7, Lichfield Road, East Ham, E.6.	Co-op.

Constituency.	*Name.*	*Society.*
ESSEX—*cont.*		
Leyton, East	Major A. G. Church, 46, Ederline Avenue, Norbury, S.W.16.	D.L.P.
Walthamstow, West	Mr. V. L. McEntee, 64, Ulverston Road, Walthamstow, E.17.	A.S.W.
West Ham, Plaistow	Mr. W. Thorne, 28, Tavistock Square, London, W.C.1.	N.U.G.W.
West Ham, Silvertown	Mr. J. J. Jones, 28, Tavistock Square, London, W.C.1.	N.U.G.W.
West Ham, Stratford	Mr. T. Groves, 155, Leytonstone Road, E.15.	D.L.P.
West Ham, Upton	Mr. Ben Gardner, 472, Barking Road, E.13.	I.L.P.
Maldon	Mr. V. G. Crittall, New House, Chelmsford, Essex.	D.L.P.
South Eastern	Mr. P. C. Hoffman, 38, Oakwood Road, Hampstead Garden Suburb.	Shop A.U.
GLOUCESTER :		
Bristol, East	Mr. Walter Baker, 1, Chestnut Grove, Balham, S.W.	U.P.O.W.
Bristol, North	Mr. Walter Ayles, 12, Station Road, Ashley Down, Bristol.	I.L.P.
Forest of Dean	Mr. J. Wignall, 17, Fawnbrake Avenue, Herne Hill, S.E.24.	T. & G.W.U.
KENT :		
Dartford	Mr. J. E. Mills, 4, Lassa Road, Eltham, S.E.9.	D.L.P.
Gravesend	Mr. G. A. Isaacs, Caxton House, 26, Blackfriars Road, S.E.	N.S.O.P.A.
LANCS :		
Bolton	Mr. A. Law, 11, Dorlcote Road, Wandsworth, S.W.18.	U.T.F.W.A.
Burnley	Rt. Hon. Arthur Henderson, 81, Carlisle Mansions, Carlisle Place, S.W.1.	N.U.F.W.
Eccles	J. Buckle, J.P., 13, Eighteenth Avenue, New Wortley, Leeds.	B.S.U.
Leigh	Mr. J. Tinker, 30, Wolseley Road, St. Helens, Lancs.	M.F.G.B.
Liverpool, Edge Hill	Mr. J. H. Hayes, Vigilance House, 57, Clapton Common, E.5.	P. & P.O.
Liverpool, West Toxteth	Mr. Joseph Gibbins, 79, Mulgrave Road, Primers Park, Liverpool.	D.L.P.
Manchester, Ardwick	Mr. T. Lowth, 17, Campdale Road, Tufnell Park, N.7.	N.U.R.
Manchester, Clayton	Mr. J. E. Sutton, 109, North Road, Clayton, Manchester.	M.F.G.B.
Manchester, Gorton	Mr. J. Compton, 48, Whitby Road, Fallowfield, Manchester.	N.U.V.W.
Manchester, Platting	Rt. Hon. J. R. Clynes, 11, Downing Street, S.W.1.	N.U.G.W.
Nelson and Colne	Mr. Arthur Greenwood, 28, The Avenue, Surbiton, Surrey.	D.L.P.

Constituency.	*Name.*	*Society.*
LANCS.—*contd.*		
Oldham	Mr. W. J. Tout, 18, Hare Hill Street, Todmorden, Lancs.	U.T.F.W.A.
Preston	Rt. Hon. T. Shaw, 12, Cardinal Mansions, Carlisle Place, S.W.1.	U.T.F.W.A.
St. Helens	Mr. J. Sexton, Holmfield, Tarbock Road, Huyton, Liverpool.	T. & G.W.U.
Salford, North	Mr. Ben Tillett, 10, Beaconsfield Road, New Southgate, N.11.	T. & G.W.U.
Salford, South	Mr. J. Toole, 7, Essex Road, Gorton, Manchester.	D.L.P.
Salford, West	Mr. A. W. Haycock, 66, Oxney Road, Rusholme, Manchester.	D.L.P.
Warrington	Mr. C. Dukes, 27, Cornwall Street, Warrington.	D.L.P.
Wigan	Mr. J. A. Parkinson, Glenthorne, Orrell Mount, near Wigan.	M.F.G.B.
Farnworth	Mr. T. Greenall, 25, Charles Street, Swinton, Manchester.	M.F.G.B.
Ince	Mr. Stephen Walsh, 8, Swinley Road, Wigan.	M.F.G.B.
Newton	Mr. Robert Young, 213, Barry Road, East Dulwich, S.E.	A.E.U.
Westhoughton	Mr. R. J. Davies, "Maendy," 17, Alan Road, Withington, Manchester.	N.U.D.A.W.
LEICESTER : Leicester, East	Mr. G. Banton, Stapleford, Westfield, Leicester.	I.L.P.
Leicester, West	Mr. Pethick Lawrence, 11, Old Square, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.2.	I.L.P.
LONDON : Bermondsey, Rotherhithe	Mr. Ben Smith, 29, Birkbeck Avenue, Horn Lane, Acton, W.3.	T. & G.W.U.
Bethnal Green, North East	Mr. W. Windsor, 11, Willoughby Road, Hampstead, N.W.3.	D.L.P.
Camberwell, North	Mr. C. G. Ammon, 121, Alscot Road, S.E.1.	U.P.O.W.
Deptford	Rt. Hon. C. W. Bowerman, 4, Battledean Road, Highbury, N.5.	L.S.C.
Finsbury	Mr. G. M. Gillett, 4, North Square, Golder's Green, N.W.4.	D.L.P.
Greenwich	Mr. E. T. Palmer, 74, Inverness Avenue, Westcliff-on-Sea.	Pru. Staff Fed.
Hackney, South	Mr. H. Morrison, 272, Well Hall Road, Eltham, S.E.9.	D.L.P.
Hammersmith, North	Mr. J. P. Gardner, 14, Leysfield Road, W.12.	I.L.P.
Islington, South	Mr. W. S. Cluse, 43, Addington Mansions, Highbury, N.1.	S.D.F.

Constituency.	*Name.*	*Society.*
LONDON—*contd.*		
Islington, West	Ald. F. Montague, 48, Lucerne Road, Highbury, N.5.	S.D.F.
Lambeth, Kennington	Lt.-Col. Beauchamp Williams, 3, Cursitor Street, Chancery Lane, E.C.	D.L.P.
Poplar, Bow and Bromley	Mr. Geo. Lansbury, 39, Bow Road, Bow, E.3.	D.L.P.
Poplar, South	Mr. S. March, 2, Plimsoll Street, Poplar, E.14.	T. & G.W.U.
St. Pancras, North	Mr. J. Marley, 10, Estelle Road, Hampstead, N.W.3.	D.L.P.
St. Pancras, South East	Mr. H. G. Romeril, 16, Victoria Terrace, Brunswick Park, New Southgate.	R.C.A.
Shoreditch	Mr. Ernest Thurtle, 36, Temple Fortune Hill, N. 11.	D.L.P.
Southwark, North	Dr. Haden Guest, The Clinic, Pocock Street, Blackfriars, S.E.	D.L.P.
Southwark, South East	Mr. T. E. Naylor, 175, Highbury Hill, N.5.	L.S.C.
Stepney, Limehouse	Major C. R. Atlee, 17, Monkham's Avenue, Woodford Green.	I.L.P.
Stepney, Mile End	Mr. John Scurr, 15, Woodstock Road, Poplar, E.14.	I.L.P.
Stepney, Whitechapel	Mr. Harry Gosling, 229, South Lambeth Road, S.W.8.	T. & G.W.U.
Woolwich, East	Mr. H. Snell, 3, Leighton Crescent, N.W.5.	D.L.P.
MIDDLESEX: Edmonton	Mr. F. A. Broad, 39, Sweet Briar Walk, Edmonton, N.18.	A.E.U.
Tottenham, North	Mr. R. C. Morrison, 30, Sandford Avenue, N.22.	Co-op.
Tottenham, South	Mr. Percy Alden, 33, Bloomsbury Square, W.C.1.	D.L.P.
Willesden, West	Mr. S. P. Viant, 71, Clifford Gardens, Kensal Rise, N.W.10.	A.S.W.
Enfield	Mr. W. W. Henderson, 81, Carlisle Mansions, Carlisle Place, S.W.1.	D.L.P.
Harrow	Mr. Oswald E. Mosley, 8, Smith Square, S.W.1.	
NORFOLK: Norwich	Miss D. Jewson, 14a, Knollys House, Compton Street, W.C.1.	D.L.P.
	Mr. W. R. Smith, Belle Vue, Old Catton, Norwich.	B. & S.Op.
Northern	Rt. Hon. Noel Buxton, 12, Rutland Gate, S.W.7.	D.L.P.
Southern	Mr. Geo. Edwards, 7, Lichfield Street, Fakenham, Norfolk.	A.W.U.
NORTHAMPTON: Northampton	Miss Margaret Bondfield, 1b, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.2.	N.U.G.W.
Kettering	Mr. S. F. Perry, 223, Pitshanger Lane, Ealing, W.5.	Co-op.

Constituency.	*Name.*	*Society.*
NORTHAMPTON—*contd.*		
Wellingborough	... Mr. W. G. Cove, 6, Bailey Street, Ton Pentre, Rhondda.	... D.L.P.
NORTHUMBERLAND : Morpeth	... Mr. Robert Smillie, 29, Miller Street, Larkhall, Lanark.	... M.F.G.B.
Newcastle, Central	... Rt. Hon. C. P. Trevelyan, 14, Gt. College Street, Westminster.	... I.L.P.
Wallsend-on-Tyne	... Sir Patrick Hastings, K.C. 5, Paper Buildings, E.C.4.	... D.L.P.
Wansbeck	Mr. G. H. Warne, 100, Woodhorn Road, Ashington.	M.F.G.B.
NOTTINGHAM : West	... Mr. A. Hayday, 1, St. James, Nottingham.	... N.U.G.W.
Broxtowe	... Mr. G. A. Spencer, 39, Langtry Grove, Nottingham.	... M.F.G.B.
Mansfield	... Mr. F. Varley, 4, Caledon Road, Nottingham.	... M.F.G.B.
SALOP : The Wrekin	... Mr. H. Nixon, Eston Nab, Frodingham Road, Scunthorpe, Lincs.	... Blastfurnacemen
SOMERSET : Frome	... Mr. F. Gould, Rackvernal Road, Midsomer Norton, nr. Bath	... D.L.P.
STAFFORD : Newcastle-under-Lyme	... Rt. Hon. J. C. Wedgwood, 12, Beaufort House, Beaufort Street, S.W.3.	... I.L.P.
Smethwick	... Mr. J. E. Davison, 32, Cottingham Street, Attercliffe, Sheffield.	... Ironfounders
Stoke-on-Trent, Hanley	... Mr. Harper Parker, J.P., 2, Hill Street, Sneyd Green, Hanley, Staffs.	... N.A.U. Enginemen
Wednesbury	... Mr. A. Short, Norton Cuckney, nr. Mansfield, Notts.	... Boilermakers
West Bromwich	... Rt. Hon. F. O. Roberts, 61, Collingwood Road, Northampton.	... Typo. A.
Cannock	... Mr. W. M. Adamson, 25, Queen's Crescent, Lincoln.	... W.U.
Kingswinford	... Mr. C. H. Sitch, 1, Whitehall Road, Cradley Heath, Staffs.	... Chainmakers
Leek	... Mr. W. Broomfield, Foxlowe, Market Place, Leek, Staffs.	...Midland Textile Associations
Lichfield	... Mr. Frank Hodges, Thornfield, Trafalgar Road, Twickenham.	... M.F.G.B.
SUFFOLK : Ipswich	... Mr. R. F. Jackson, 31, Broomhill Road, Ispwich.	... I.L.P.
WARWICK : Coventry	... Mr. A. A. Purcell, 1, Brook Terrace, Davyhulme, Manchester.	... A.U.Furn.T.
YORKSHIRE : Barnsley	... Mr. J. Potts, 13, Victoria Road, Barnsley.	... M.F.G.B.
Batley and Morley	... Mr. Ben Turner, The Homestead, Carlton Avenue, Batley.	... G.U.Tex.W.
Bradford, Central	... Mr. Wm. Leach, 16, Haslingden Drive, Bradford.	... I.L.P.
Bradford, East	... Rt. Hon. F. W. Jowett, 10, Grantham Terrace, Bradford.	... I.L.P.

Constituency.	*Name.*	*Society.*
YORKSHIRE—*contd.*		
Huddersfield	Mr. J. Hudson, 5, Laburnam Avenue, Folly Lane, Swinton.	I.L.P.
Leeds, South	Mr. H. C. Charleton, 83, Falkland Road, Kentish Town, N.W.5.	N.U.R.
Leeds, South East	Mr. J. O'Grady, 60, Cavendish Road, Clapham Common, S.W.13.	T. & G.W.U.
Leeds, West	Mr. T. W. Stamford, 103, Durham Road, Bradford.	I.L.P.
Rotherham	Mr. F. W. Lindley, 92, Heeley Bank Road, Sheffield.	A.S.W.
Sheffield, Attercliffe	Councillor C. H. Wilson, 26, Chippenham Street, Attercliffe.	D.L.P.
Sheffield, Brightside	Mr. A. Ponsonby, 40, Smith Street, S.W.3.	I.L.P.
Sheffield, Hillsborough	Mr. A. V. Alexander, 4, Great Smith Street, S.W.1.	Co-op.
Wakefield	Mr. G. H. Sherwood, Oak Villa, Sandal, Wakefield.	N.U.R.
West Riding, Colne Valley	Rt. Hon. Philip Snowden, 53, Carlisle Mansions, Carlisle Place, S.W.1.	I.L.P.
West Riding, Doncaster	Mr. W. Paling, 36, Askerne Road, Bentley, Doncaster.	M.F.G.B.
West Riding, Don Valley	Mr. T. Williams, 11, Lincoln Gardens, Goldthorpe, near Rotherham.	M.F.G.B.
West Riding, Hemsworth	Mr. J. Guest, The Elders, South Heindley, Barnsley.	M.F.G.B.
West Riding, Normanton	Mr. Fred Hall, 26, Victoria Road, Barnsley.	M.F.G.B.
West Riding, Pontefract	Mr. T. Smith, 19, Harrogate Road, Darnall, near Sheffield.	M.F.G.B.
West Riding, Rother Valley	Mr. T. W. Grundy, 15, Godstone Road, Rotherham.	M.F.G.B.
West Riding, Rothwell	Mr. W. Lunn, "Westleigh," Rothwell, Leeds.	M.F.G.B.
West Riding, Shipley	Mr. Wm. Mackinder, 12, Kirkstone Street, Bradford.	N.U.D.A.W.
West Riding, Wentworth	Mr. G. Hirst, Church Street, Darfield, Barnsley, Yorks.	M.F.G.B.
	WALES.	
WALES & MONMOUTH : Carmarthen, Llanelly	Dr. J. H. Williams, Snowden House, Burry Port, Carmarthen,	D.L.P.
DENBIGH : Wrexham	Prof. R. Richards, Llangynog, Oswestry, Salop.	D.L.P.
GLAMORGAN : Cardiff, South	Mr. A. Henderson, junr., 81, Carlisle Mansions, Carlisle Place, S.W.1.	D.L.P.
Merthyr Tydfil, Aberdare	Mr. G. H. Hall, 4, Harris View, Penrhiwceiber, Glam.	M.F.G.B.
Merthyr Tydfil, Merthyr	Mr. R. C. Wallhead, Valley Road, Welwyn Garden City, Herts.	I.L.P.
Rhondda, East	Col. D. Watts Morgan, D.S.O., Caemar, Porth, Gla-	M.F.G.B.

Constituency.	*Name.*	*Society.*
GLAMORGAN—*contd.*		
Rhondda, West	Mr. Will John, Gelli-deg, Tonypandy, S. Wales.	M.F.G.B.
Swansea, East	Mr. D. Williams, 25, Windmill Terrace, Swansea.	I.L.P.
Swansea, West	Mr. H. W. Samuels, 46, Lynette Avenue, S.W.4.	Fabian Society
Aberavon	Rt. Hon. J. R. MacDonald, 10, Downing Street, S.W.1.	I.L.P.
Caerphilly	Mr. Morgan Jones, 59, Warner Road, Camberwell, S.E.5.	I.L.P.
Gower	Mr. D. R. Grenfell, Ardwyn, Carnglas Road, Sketty, near Swansea.	M.F.G.B.
Neath	Mr. W. Jenkins, Mount Pleasant, Cymmer, Port Talbot, Glam.	M.F.G.B.
Ogmore	Rt. Hon. V. Hartshorn, Hill Crescent, Maesteg, Glam.	M.F.G.B.
Pontypridd	Mr. T. I. Mardy Jones, 16, Llantwit Road, Pontypridd, Glam.	M.F.G.B.
MONMOUTH : Abertillery	Mr. G. Barker, 116, Alexandra Road, Abertillery.	M.F.G.B.
Bedwellty	Mr. C. Edwards, Stafford House, Celli Crescent, Risca, Mon.	M.F.G.B.
Ebbw Vale	Mr. Evan Davies, Caerwent, Ebbw Vale, Mon.	M.F.G.B.
Pontypool	Mr. T. Griffiths, 45, Lewis Road, Neath.	B.I.S.A.K.T.A.

SCOTLAND.

ABERDEEN & KINCARDINE : Aberdeen, North	Mr. F. Rose, Dumbarton, 192, Brixton Hill, S.W.	A.E.U.
AYR & BUTE : Kilmarnock	Mr. R. Climie, 25, Armour St., Kilmarnock.	I.L.P.
South	Mr. J. Brown, 56, Annbank-by-Ayr, Scotland.	M.F.G.B.
BERWICK & HADDINGTON :	Mr. R. Spence, 29, Thomson Street, East Kilbowie, Clydebank, Dumbarton.	D.L.P.
DUMBARTON : Dumbarton and Clydebank	Mr. David Kirkwood, 36, Taymouth Street, Tollcross, Glasgow.	A.E.U.
Dumbartonshire	Mr. W. H. Martin, Braemar, Kirkintilloch, Scotland.	I.L.P.
FIFE : Dunfermline	Mr. Wm. M. Watson, 341, Broad Street, Cowdenbeath.	M.F.G.B.
Kirkcaldy	Mr. T. Kennedy, 10, Belvoir Road, East Dulwich.	S.D.F.
Western	Rt. Hon. W. Adamson, 6, Victoria Street, Dunfermline.	M.F.G.B.
FORFAR : Dundee	Mr. E. D. Morel, Cherry Croft, Kings Langley, Herts.	D.L.P.
LANARK : Glasgow, Bridgeton	Mr. J. Maxton, M.A. Beechwood, Barrhead, Scotland.	I.L.P.
Glasgow, Camlachie	The Rev. Campbell Stephen, 13, Ronald Street, Townhead, Glasgow.	I.L.P.

Constituency.	*Name.*	*Society*
LANARK—*contd.*		
Glasgow, Gorbals	... Mr. G. Buchanan, 28, Pollok Street, Glasgow.	... Patternmakers
Glasgow, Govan	... Mr. Neil McLean, 181, St. Andrews Road, Pollokshields, Glasgow.	... I.L.P.
Glasgow, Maryhill	... Mr. J. W. Muir, 65, Handside Lane, Welwyn Garden City, Herts.	... I.L.P.
Glasgow, Partick	... Mr. Andrew Young, 13, Gayfield Square, Edinburgh.	... Co-op.
Glasgow, St. Rollox	... Mr. James Stewart, 312, Cumbernauld Road, Glasgow.	... I.L.P.
Glasgow, Shettleston	... Rt. Hon. John Wheatley, "Romsdale," 49, Edrom Street, Shettleston, Glasgow.	... I.L.P.
Glasgow, Springburn	... Mr. G. D. S. Hardie, 1, Benview Road, Clarkston, Renfrewshire.	... I.L.P.
Glasgow, Tradeston	... Mr. Thos. Henderson, Drumoyne, Govan, Glasgow.	... Co-op.
Bothwell	... Mr. J. Robertson, Cadzowburn House, Hamilton, Scotland.	... M.F.G.B.
Coatbridge	... Mr. James C. Welsh, Stanley Cottage, Low Waters, Hamilton.	... D.L.P.
Hamilton	... Mr. Duncan Graham, Gowrie House, Bothwell Road, Hamilton.	... M.F.G.B.
South Lanark	... Mr. T. Dickson, 19, Deaton Street, Larkhall.	... D.L.P.
Northern	... Mr. J. Sullivan, 523, Main Street, Mossend, Lanarkshire.	... M.F.G.B.
Rutherglen	... Mr. W. Wright, 104, Rodenhurst Road, Clapham Park, S.W.4.	... I.L.P.
LINLITHGOW : Linlithgow	... Mr. E. Shinwell, 105, Stephens Road, Becontree, Essex.	... I.L.P.
MIDLOTHIAN & PEEBLES : Edinburgh, Central	... Mr. W. Graham, 105, Sunny Gardens, Hendon, N.W.4.	... I.L.P.
North Midlothian & Peebles	... Mr. Andrew Clark, 64, Campia Road, Musselburgh, Midlothian.	... Sc.M.W.
Peebles & Southern	... Mr. J. Westwood, Haig Avenue, Kirkcaldy, Fife.	... M.F.G.B.
RENFREW : Eastern	... Mr. Robert Nichol, 6, Auldhouse Avenue, Pollokshaws.	... I.L.P.
Western	... Mr. Robert Murray, 19, Arthurlie Street, Barrhead, Renfrewshire.	... I.L.P.
STIRLING & CLACKMANNAN : Eastern	... Mr. L. MacNeil Weir, Darley, Milngavie, near Glasgow.	... I.L.P.
Western	... Mr. T. Johnston, Peelview Terrace, Kirkintilloch, Scotland.	... I.L.P.

APPENDIX VI.

ENDORSED CANDIDATES, OCTOBER, 1924

(Exclusive of Sitting Members)

Constituency.	*Candidate.*	*Financing Organisation.*
BEDFORD :		
Luton	... Mr. Philip Millwood, 2, Carmelite Street, E.C. ...	D.L.P.
BUCKINGHAMSHIRE :		
Aylesbury	... Mr. F. C. Watkins, 9, Council Houses, Ley Hill, Chesham, Bucks. ...	D.L.P.
Buckingham	... Mr. E. J. Pay, 95, Totteridge Road, High Wycombe. ...	D.L.P
CAMBRIDGESHIRE :		
Cambridge	... Mr. Alex. Firth, 32, Eccleston Square, S.W.1. ...	D.L.P.
Cambridgeshire	... Mr. G T. Garratt, 5, Brompton Square, S.W. ...	D.L.P.
CHESHIRE :		
Stockport	... Mr. A. E. Townend, 8, Meadowcroft, Dane Road, Sale, near Manchester. ...	R.C.A.
Stalybridge	... Alderman Walter Fowden, The Norfolk Arms Hotel, Hyde, Cheshire. ...	I.L.P.
CORNWALL :		
Camborne	... Mr. Frank Rowe, 8, Bickenhall Mansions, Portman Square, W.1. ...	D.L.P.
CUMBERLAND :		
Penrith and Cockermouth	... Mr. F. Tait, 38, Hartington Street, Gateshead. ...	D.L.P.
DERBYSHIRE :		
Belper	... Mr. Jack Lees, 63, Gainsborough Grove, Newcastle-on-Tyne. ...	I.L.P.
Southern	... Mr. A. Goodere, 38, Nightingale Road, Derby. ...	D.L.P.
DEVONSHIRE :		
Plymouth, Drake	... Mr. J. J. Moses, 95, Alexander Road, Devonport. ...	S. & S.S.
Torquay	... Mr. A. Moyle, 63, Beulah Road, Tunbridge Wells. ...	D.L.P.
Totnes	... Miss K. Spurrell, 9, Tregantle Villas, Peverell, Plymouth. ...	D.L.P.
DORSET :		
Western	... Mrs. L. Simpson, Roseville, Winchmore Hill, N. ...	D.L.P.
DURHAM :		
Darlington	... Mr. Arthur Shepherd, Reeth, Richmond, Yorks. ...	D.L.P.
Gateshead	... Mr. John Beckett, Norway House, Norway Place, E.14. ...	I.L.P.
Stockton-on-Tees	... Mr. F. F. Riley, 43, Cromwell Road, S. Kensington, S.W. ...	U.P.O.W.
Sedgefield	... Mr. J. Herriotts, J.P., 31, Eden Terrace, Chilton Buildings, Ferryhill, Co. Durham. ...	M.F.G.B.
ESSEX :		
Ilford	... Mr. Dan Chater, Ley Street Farm, Ilford. ...	D.L.P.

Constituency.	*Candidate.*	*Financing Organisation.*
ESSEX—*contd.*		
Leyton, West	Mr. A. Smith, 71, Burns Road, Harlesden.	T. & G.W.U.
Walthamstow, East	Mr. J. Gilbert Dale, 68, Holland Park, W.4.	D.L.P.
Chelmsford	Mr. N. H. Moller, 2, Hare Court, Temple, E.C.	D.L.P.
Colchester	Capt. R. L. Reiss, 3, Gray's Inn Place, W.C.1.	I.L.P.
Romford	Mr. Emil Davies, 65, Chancery Lane, W.C.	D.L.P.
Saffron Walden	Mr. W. Cash, 8, Grange Road, Bermondsey, S.E.	D.L.P.
GLOUCESTER :		
Bristol, Central	Mr. J. A. Lovat Fraser, 21, Cambridge Street, Hyde Park, W.2.	D.L.P.
Bristol, South	Mr. D. J. Vaughan, Eden Derry, Ridgeway, Newport, Mon.	D.L.P.
Stroud	Miss E. Picton Turbervill, 14, Gayfere Street, Westminster.	D.L.P.
HAMPSHIRE :		
Bournemouth	Miss Minnie Pallister, 3, Palmerston Close, Valley Road, Welwyn Garden City.	D.L.P.
Portsmouth, North	Dr. Olaf Gleeson, 323, Commercial Road, Portsmouth.	D.L.P.
Portsmouth, South	Councillor Jessie Stephen, 103a, Alscot Road, Bermondsey, S.E.	D.L.P.
Southampton	Councillor T. Lewis, 22, St. Mary Street, Southampton.	D.L.P.
	Mr. R. W. Sorensen, 49, Greenleaf Road, Walthamstow.	D.L.P.
New Forest and Christchurch	Mr. L. Brighton, 59, Onslow Road, Southampton.	D.L.P.
Winchester	Mr. R. Stamp, 8, Agamemnon Road, N.W.6.	D.L.P.
HERTS :		
Hitchin	Mr. Julian Tayler, The Studio, Letchworth.	D.L.P.
St. Albans	Mr. Frank Herbert, 11, Downing Street, S.W.1.	D.L.P.
Watford	Mr. H. H. Elvin, 3rd Floor, Holborn Hall, Gray's Inn Road, W.C.1.	D.L.P.
KENT :		
Bromley	Mr. H. J. Wallington, 5, Paper Buildings, Temple, E.C.	D.L.P.
Rochester, Chatham	Mrs. Mary Hamilton, 21, York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C.2.	I.L.P.
Rochester, Gillingham	Col. Maurice Spencer, The Old Rectory, Lower Hardres, Canterbury.	D.L.P.
Dover	Mr. Allan F. George, Lennox Towers, Lennox Road, Southsea, Hants.	D.L.P.
Faversham	Rev. Stanley Morgan, The Terrace, Greenhithe, Kent.	D.L.P.

Constituency.	*Candidate.*	*Financing Organisation.*
KENT—*contd.*		
Maidstone	... Mr. F. Seymour Cocks, Evenlode, Dornton Road, Balham, S.W.	I.L.P.
Tonbridge	... Mr. W. F. Toynbee, 45, Greenleaf Road, Walthamstow, E.	D.L.P.
LANCASHIRE :		
Ashton-under-Lyne	... Col. L'Estrange Malone, 6, Phene Street, Chelsea, S.W.3.	D.L.P.
Barrow-in-Furness	... Mr. John Bromley, 9, Arkwright Road, Hampstead, N.W.	A.S.L.E. & F.
Blackburn	... Mr. T. H. Gill, 77, Lindley Street, York.	R.C.A.
Bury	... Mr. H. W. Wallace, 43, Cromwell Road, S.W.7.	U.P.O.W.
Liverpool East Toxteth	... Mr. Chas. Burden, 94a, Selbourne Street, Liverpool.	P. & P.O.
Fairfield	... Councillor Mrs. Mercer, 339, Cleveland Street, Birkenhead, Cheshire.	I.L.P.
Kirkdale	... Councillor E. Sandham, The Nightingales, Heath Charnock, near Chorley.	I.L.P.
Wavertree	... Alderman Robinson, 13, St. Andrew Road, Anfield, Liverpool.	N.U.D.A.W.
Manchester Blackley	... Mr. W. A. Burke, 21, Francis Road, Irlam, near Manchester.	D.L.P.
Hulme	... Mr. A. McElwee, 3, Castle Square, Dalmuir, Dumbartonshire.	A.S.W.
Oldham	... Mr. J. Wilson, 40, Lynnwood Terrace, Newcastle-on-Tyne.	N.U.R.
Chorley	... Mr. Z. Hutchinson, 17, St. Paul's Road, Nelson, Lancs.	U.T.F.W.A.
Heywood and Radcliffe	.. Mr. A. G. Walkden, 25, Euston Road, N.W.1.	R.C.A.
Lancaster	... Mr. Harold Watkins, 6, Lon Isa, Rhiwbina, near Cardiff.	D.L.P.
Middleton and Prestwich	... Alderman M. B. Farr, 15, Market Place, Middleton.	U.T.F.W.A.
Mossley	... Mr. T. W. Mercer, c/o 123, Pall Mall, S.W.1.	Co-op.
Stretford	... Dr. Jos. Robinson, M.D., Sidney Street, Stretford, Lancs.	I.L.P.
Widnes	... Mr. J. Cotter, 82, Strathbourne Road, Balham, S.W.	A.M.W.U.
LEICESTER :		
Bosworth	... Councillor J. Minto, 58, Melbourne Road, Leicester.	D.L.P.
Harborough	... Mr. Joseph Hyder, 68, Dennison House, Vauxhall Bridge Road, S.W.1.	D.L.P.
Loughborough	... Mr. E. Winterton, Alexandra Cottage, near Warlingham, Surrey.	D.L.P.
LINCOLN :		
Grimsby	... Councillor Franklin, c/o Mr. S. Bonsell, 61, Kent Street, Grimsby.	D.L.P.

Constituency.	*Candidate.*	*Financing Organisation.*
LINCOLN—*contd.*		
Lincoln	... Mr. R. A. Taylor, Holmescroft, Boultham, Lincoln.	... D.L.P.
Kesteven, Grantham	... Mr. M. W. Moore, Claypole, Newark-on-Trent.	... D.L.P.
Lindsey, Gainsboro'	... Mr. F. Knowles, Holme's Cottage, The Turbary, Epworth, near Doncaster.	... D.L.P.
LONDON :		
Battersea, South	... Mr. Albert Winfield, 39, Morrison Street, Lavender Hill, Battersea, S.W.11.	... D.L.P.
Bermondsey, West	... Dr. A. Salter, 5, Storks Road, Bermondsey, S.E.	... I.L.P.
Bethnal Green, S.W.	... Mr. J. J. Vaughan, 123, Old Ford Road, Bethnal Green, E.2.	... D.L.P.
Camberwell, North-West	... Dr. H. B. Morgan, 128, Greenwich Road, S.E.10.	... D.L.P.
Peckham	... Mr. W. A. Chambers, 10, Alleyn Park, West Dulwich.	... D.L.P.
Fulham, East	... Alderman J. Palmer, 58, Langthorne Street, Fulham, S.W.	... D.L.P.
Fulham, West	... Mr. R. M. Gentry, 20, Harbord Street, S.W.6.	... A.U.Op. Bakers.
Hackney, Central	... Mr. E. E. Hunter, 14, Gt. George Street, S.W.1.	... I.L.P.
Hackney, North	... Mr. Harry Samuels, 1, Lawn Mansions, Gondar Gardens, N.W.	... D.L.P.
Hampstead	... Mr. C. Terry Hendin, 2, Marne Street, Queen's Park, W.	... D.L.P.
Holborn	... Mr. W. W. Messer, 10, Arthur Street, Stockwell, S.W.9.	... D.L.P.
Islington, East	... Dr. Ethel Bentham, 61, Lansdowne Road, W.11.	... D.L.P.
Islington, North	... Mr. E. C. Culpin, 27a, Bush Lane, Cannon Street, E.C.	... D.L.P.
Kensington, North	... Mr. F. R. West, 24, Hetley Road, Hammersmith, W.12.	... D.L.P.
Lambeth, Brixton	... Mr. J. Adams, 3, Park Hill, Clapham, S.W.14.	... D.L.P.
Lambeth, Norwood	... Mr. George Anstey, 333, Milkwood Road, Herne Hill, S.E.	... D.L.P.
Lewisham, East	... Mr. J. C. Wilmot, 14, Fordel Road, Catford, S.E.6.	... D.L.P.
Paddington, North	... Mr. J. W. Gordon, 43, Jesmond Avenue, Wembley, Middlesex.	... N.U.R.
St. Marylebone	... Mr. W. N. Ewer, 17, Acacia Road, N.W.8.	... D.L.P.
St. Pancras, S.W.	... Mr. E. N. Bennett, 12, Prince Arthur Road, Hampstead, N.W.3.	... D.L.P.
Southwark, Central	... Mr. Harry Day, Effingham House, Arundel Street, W.C.	... D.L.P.

Constituency.	*Candidate.*	*Financing Organisation.*
LONDON—*contd.*		
Wandsworth, Balham & Tooting	Mr. E. Archbold, 1, Alston Road, Tooting, S.W.17.	D.L.P.
Wandsworth, Central	Mr. Charles Latham, 30, Sunny Gardens, Hendon, N.W.4.	D.L.P.
Putney	Mr. J. M. Allen, 48, Yukon Road, Balham, S.W.	D.L.P.
MIDDLESEX :		
Ealing	Mr. A. H. Chilton, 119, Northcroft Road, West Ealing.	D.L.P.
Acton	Mr. H. A. Baldwin, "Chalcots," Lower Kingswood, Reigate, Surrey.	D.L.P.
Brentford & Chiswick	Mr. Wm. Haywood, 122, Elsenham Street, Southfields, S.W.	D.L.P.
Harrow	Mr. Kenneth Lindsay, Toynbee Hall, Commercial Street, E.1.	D.L.P.
Wood Green	Mr. H. Tudor Rhys, J.P., "Noddfa," 24, Harcourt Road, Alexandra Park, N.22.	D.L.P.
NORFOLK :		
King's Lynn	Capt. John Stevenson, 36, Eccleston Square, S.W.1.	D.L.P.
South West	Mr. W. B. Taylor, Old Brewery House, Watton, Norfolk.	D.L.P.
NORTHUMBERLAND :		
Newcastle, East	Mr. M. Connolly, 208, Hampstead Road, Newcastle-on-Tyne.	Boilermakers.
Newcastle, West	Alderman J. Palin, 121, Lower Rushton Road, Bradford, Yorks.	T. & G.W.U.
Tynemouth	Mr. J. Stuart Barr, 170, Bensham Road, Gateshead.	D.L.P.
Berwick-on-Tweed	Mr. Jas. Adams, 32, Osborne Road, Tweedmouth.	D.L.P.
Hexham	Mr. Chas. Flynn, 9, Derwent Gardens, Low Fell, Gateshead.	D.L.P.
NOTTINGHAM :		
Nottingham, Central	Mr. W. H. Coultate, 24, Shakespeare Villas, Shakespeare Street, Nottingham.	D.L.P.
Bassetlaw	Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, 10, Downing Street, S.W.1.	D.L.P.
Rushcliffe	Mr. J. O. Whitwham, 5, Emery's Road, Gedling, Notts.	D.L.P.
OXFORD :		
Banbury	Mr. A. E. Monks, Drayton, Banbury, Oxon.	D.L.P.
SOMERSETH		
Bath	Capt. Walter Scobell, Clutton, Somerset.	D.L.P.
STAFFORDSHIRE :		
Dudley	Mr. Oliver Baldwin, Farm House, Shirburn, Watlington, Oxon.	D.L.P.

Constituency.	*Candidate.*	*Financing Organisation.*
STAFFORDSHIRE—*contd.*		
Stoke-on-Trent, Burslem	Mr. Andrew MacLaren, 31, Ryfold Road, Wimbledon Park, S.W.19.	D.L.P.
Wolverhampton, Bilston	Mr. John Baker, 76-78, Swinton Street, Gray's Inn Road, W.C.1.	B.I.S. & K.T.A.
Burton	Mr. F. Thoresby, Kelmscott House, Upper Mall, Hammersmith, W.	D.L.P.
Stafford	Mr. W. T. Scott, 54, Parrin Lane, Monton, Eccles.	N.U.D.A.W.
SUFFOLK :		
Eye	Capt. C. Wye Kendall, 9, Halesworth Road, Lewisham.	D.L.P.
Lowestoft	Mr. R. Mellanby, 1, Chapel Street, Lowestoft.	D.L.P.
SURREY :		
Croydon, North	Councillor G. A. Foan, 41, Lower Addiscombe Road, Croydon.	D.L.P.
Croydon, South	Mr. H. T. Muggeridge, 17, Birdhurst Gardens, Croydon.	D.L.P.
Wimbledon, Merton & Morden	Mr. Mark Starr, 100, Grosvenor Road, S.W.1.	D.L.P.
Eastern	Mr. Robert O. Mennell, Woden Law, Kenley, Surrey.	D.L.P.
Epsom	Mr. J. Langdon-Davies, junr., "Sundial," Holmwood, near Dorking, Surrey.	D.L.P.
Farnham	Mrs. A. Corner, "Junipers," Milford, Surrey.	D.L.P.
Guildford	Mr. S. F. Markham, 26, Marloes Road, Kensington, W.8.	D.L.P.
Mitcham	Mr. J. Chuter Ede, Tamworth Farm House, London Road, Mitcham.	D.L.P.
Reigate	Mr. Wm. Graham, 21, Mincing Lane, E.C.3.	D.L.P.
SUSSEX :		
East Grinstead	Mr. J. Morgan, Elm Grove, Streat, Plumpton, Sussex.	D.L.P.
Lewes	Captain Basil Hall, R.N., 28, Cheyne Walk, S.W.3.	D.L.P.
Horsham & Worthing	Councillor E. Stanford, 55, Ifield Road, Crawley.	D.L.P.
WARWICKSHIRE :		
Birmingham, Erdington	Mr. C. J. Simmons, c/o D. Gledall, 3, Brockley Place, Eliot Street, Nechells, Birmingham.	I.L.P.
King's Norton	Mr. Robert Dennison, 76, Swinton Street, Gray's Inn Road, W.C.1.	B.I.S. & K.T.A.
Ladywood	Mr. Oswald Mosley, M.P. 8, Smith Square, S.W.	I.L.P.
Yardley	Mr. A. W. Gossling, 147, Buchanan Gardens, N.W.19.	A.S.W.
WILTSHIRE :		
Westbury	Mr. Geo. Ward, 21, Roundpond, Melksham, Wilts.	D.L.P.

Constituency.	*Candidate.*	*Financing Organisation.*
WORCESTER :		
Stourbridge	Mr. W. Wellock, 9, Terry Street, Nelson, Lancs.	D.L.P.
Worcester	Mr. P. Williams, 277, Broadfield Road, Abbeydell, Sheffield.	D.L.P.
YORKSHIRE :		
Bradford, North	Mr. E. F. Wise, 51, Clarendon Road, W.11.	D.L.P.
Bradford, South	Mr. W. Hirst, 13, Nurser Place, Little Horton, Bradford.	Co-op.
Leeds, North	Mr. S. C. Moore, 9, Calder Terrace, Mytholmroyd, Yorks.	D.L.P.
Middlesbrough, E.	Miss E. Wilkinson, M.A., 21, Mabfield Road, Fallowfield, Manchester.	N.U.D.A.W.
Sheffield, Central	Mr. Tom Snowden, J.P., Rosemont, Bingley, Yorks.	D.L.P.
Sheffield, Park	Mr. Geo. Lathan, 36, Kingsley Road, Palmer's Green, N.13.	R.C.A.
York	Mr. David Adams, Jesmond Cottage, Newcastle-on-Tyne.	A.E.U.
North Riding, Cleveland	Mrs. Coates Hansen, Red Cottage, Nunthorpe, S.O., Cleveland.	D.L.P.
West Riding, Elland	Mr. W. C. Robinson, Briar House, Berwick Avenue, Southshore, Blackpool.	U.T.F.W.A.
West Riding Penistone	Mr. Rennie Smith, Horsley House, Stockbridge, Sheffield.	D.L.P.
West Riding, Pudsey & Otley	Mr. Percival Myers, 11, Hamilton Terrace, Otley, Yorks.	D.L.P.
West Riding, Skipton	Mr. O. G. Willey, 39, St. John's Street, York.	D.L.P.
West Riding, Sowerby	Mr. Arthur Dawson, 31, Avenue Parade, Accrington.	N.U.T.W.
West Riding, Spen Valley	Mr. Tom Myers, Thornhill Lees, Dewsbury, Yorks.	N.U.D.A.W.
	WALES.	
CARMARTHEN :		
Carmarthen	Rev. E. T. Owen, Hafod Lon, Llangeler Llandyssul, Carmarthen.	D.L.P.
CARNARVON :		
Carnarvonshire	Mr. R. T. Jones, 17, Bridge Street, Carnarvon.	T. & G.W.U.
FLINT :		
Flint	Rev. D. Gwynfryn Jones, Gwylfa, Flint Mount, Flint.	D.L.P.
GLAMORGAN :		
Cardiff, Central	Major D. Graham Pole, 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.2.	D.L.P.
Llandaff & Barry	Mr. Ellis Lloyd, "Dryburgh," Cowbridge Road, Bridgend, Glam.	D.L.P.

SCOTLAND.

Constituency.	*Candidate.*	*Financing Organisation.*
ABERDEEN & KINCARDINE :		
Eastern	... Mr. W. S. Cormack, 20, Cartside Street, Langside, Glasgow. ...	I.L.P.
ARGYLLSHIRE :		
Argyll	... Dr. MacIver, Ballaculish, Argyllshire. ...	I.L.P.
AYR & BUTE :		
Ayr Burghs	... Mr. J. M. Airlie, 11, Bonnington Grove, Edinburgh. ...	D.L.P.
Bute and Northern	... Mr. Peter Stephen, 13, Ronald Street, Townhead, Glasgow. ...	I.L.P.
DUMFRIES :		
Dumfries	... Mrs. A. Dollan, 52, Albert Drive, Glasgow. ...	I.L.P.
FORFAR :		
Montrose Burghs	... Mr. John Carnegie, The Nook, Barry, Carnoustie, Scotland. ...	I.L.P.
Forfar	... Mr. C. N. Gallie, 177, West Regent Street, Glasgow. ...	R.C.A.
INVERNESS & ROSS :		
Inverness	... Mr. T. Henderson, 47, Moray Place, Edinburgh. ...	D.L.P.
LANARK :		
Glasgow, Cathcart	... Capt. J. P. Hay, 12, Miller Street, Shawlands, Glasgow. ...	I.L.P.
Glasgow, Hillhead	... Mr. J. L. Kinloch, Lethington, Kilcreggan, Dumbarton. ...	D.L.P.
Glasgow, Pollok	... Mr. John Rankin, M.A., 4, Auldhouse Avenue, Pollokshaws, Glasgow. ...	I.L.P.
MIDLOTHIAN & PEEBLES		
Edinburgh, West	... Mr. George Mathers, 10, Duke Street, Leith. ...	R.C.A.
PERTH & KINROSS :		
Perth	... Mr. Cameron Roberts, M.A., 88, Airth Drive, Mosspark, Glasgow. ...	I.L.P.
KINROSS & PERTH :		
Perth	... Mr. J. M. MacDiarmid, 10. Gillespie Crescent, Edinburgh ...	I.L.P.
ROXBURGH & SELKIRK :		
Roxburgh & Selkirk	... Mr. George Dallas, 15, Dartmouth Street, Tothill Street, S.W.1. ...	W.U.
STIRLING & CLACKMANNAN :		
Stirling & Falkirk	... Mr. Hugh Murnin, 1, Dean Crescent, Stirling. ...	Sc.M.W.A.

APPENDIX VII.

LABOUR PARTY AGENTS, OCTOBER, 1924

(Appointed under Conference Scheme).

Constituency.		*Name.*
BERKS—		
Reading	...	Mr. A. Lockwood, 56, Minster Street, Reading.
BUCKINGHAM—		
Buckingham	...	Mr. R. W. Turner, 7, Bletchley Road, Bletchley.
CAMBRIDGESHIRE—	...	Stanley Burgess, 58, Mayerbrook Road, Chadwell Heath, Essex.
CHESHIRE—		
Stockport	...	Mr. S. J. Donoghue, Central Hall, Hillgate, Stockport.
Northwich	...	Mr. F. Parker, The Labour Hall, 16, Applemarket Street, Northwich.
CUMBERLAND—		
Carlisle	...	Mr. J. Kelsall, Trades Hall, Scotch Street, Carlisle.
DERBY—		
Derby	...	Mr. John Cobb, 63, London Road, Derby.
High Peak	...	Mr. A. J. Heal, 13, Railway Street, Glossop.
DURHAM—		
Stockton-on-Tees	...	Mr. A. J. Thatcher, 103, High Street, Stockton-on Tees.
Consett	...	Mr. B. J. Burridge, 28, Smailes Street, Stanley, S.O.
Jarrow	...	Mr. J. Coutts, 47, Ellison Street, Jarrow.
ESSEX—		
East Ham, North	...	Mr. W. Stewart Rainbird, Labour Hall, Katherine Road, East Ham, E.6.
Walthamstow, West	...	Mr. W. H. Jacob, 342, Hoe Street, Walthamstow, E.17.
Colchester	...	Mr. P. F. Pollard, Labour Club, Eld Lane, Colchester.
Maldon	...	Mr. W. Burrows, 80, High Street, Witham, Essex.
South Eastern	...	Mr. R. H. R. Davey, Labour Hall, Orsett Road, Grays.
GLOUCESTER—		
Bristol (Borough)	...	Mr. E. Parker, 11, High Street, Bristol.
Bristol, East	...	Mr. H. E. Rogers, 84, Church Road, Redfield.
Gloucester	...	Mr. J. E. Curtis, Ruskin Hall, Eastgate Street, Gloucester.
HAMPSHIRE—		
Fareham	...	Mr. C. Wilkinson, Stranraer, Catisfield, Fareham.
KENT—		
Gravesend	...	Mr. W. H. Hunt, L.P. Offices, 29, Cutmore Street, Gravesend.
LANCASHIRE—		
Accrington	...	Mr. W. Howson, 19, Warner Street, Accrington.
Barrow-in-Furness	...	Mr. B. Longstaffe, The Old Municipal Offices, Market Street, Barrow-in-Furness.
Blackburn	...	Mr. G. B. Eddie, 52a, Victoria Street, Blackburn.
Bolton	...	Mr. H. Eastwood, Spinners' Hall, St. George's Road, Bolton.
Burnley	...	Mr. J. W. Gradwell, 1, Yorke Street, Burnley.
Bury	...	Mr. F. Edwards, Peter Street, Moorgate, Bury.
Eccles	...	Mr. W. M. Rogerson, 6, Mayfield Avenue, Walkden, Manchester.
Liverpool (Borough)	...	Mr. W. H. Barton, 7, Spekeland Buildings, Canning Place, Liverpool.
Liverpool, Edge Hill	...	Mr. A. Griffin, Hayes Hall, 70, Sheil Road, Liverpool.
Manchester (Borough)	...	Mr. T. M. Larrad, 3, Clarence Street, Albert Square, Manchester.
Gorton	...	Mr. W. H. Oldfield, 61, Wellington Street, Gorton.
Hulme	...	Mr. E. J. Alford, 295, Stretford Road, Hulme.
Platting	...	Mr. A. James, 2a, Enoch Street, Miles Platting.
Nelson and Colne	...	Mr. W. Throup, 56, Railway Street, Nelson.
Oldham	...	Mr. I. Crabtree, 151, Union Street, Oldham.

Constituency.		*Name.*
LANCASHIRE—*contd.*		
Preston	...	Mr. W. E. Morris, Labour Institute, Lancaster Road, Preston.
St. Helens	...	Mr. R. Waring, Windle Labour Club, Denton's Green Lane, St. Helens.
Clitheroe	...	Mr. F. Constantine, 36, Burnley Road, Padiham.
Heywood and Radcliffe	...	Mr. E. J. Hookway, 15-17, Stand Lane, Radcliffe.
Middleton and Prestwich	...	Mr. J. Graham, 15, Market Place, Middleton.
Newton	...	Mr. W. Speakman, Park Road, Newton-le-Willows.
Westhoughton	...	Mr. W. A. Spofforth, 9, Market Street, Westhoughton.
LEICESTER—		
Leicester (Borough)	...	Mr. W. Howard, 88, Rutland Street, Leicester.
LINCOLN—		
Holland with Boston	...	Mr. H. N. St. Dunstan White, Labour Agent's Office, Sheep Market, Spalding.
LONDON—		
Battersea (Borough)	...	Councillor C. E. Mason, 455, Battersea Park Road, S.W.11.
Bermondsey, West	...	Mr. J. A. W. Douglas, 57, Upper Grange Road, S.E.1.
Camberwell, North	...	Mr. C. A. G. Manning, 356, Old Kent Road, S.E.
Camberwell, North-West	...	Mr. W. W. Champness, 74, Church Street, S.E.5.
Deptford	...	Mr. W. H. Green, J.P., 435, New Cross Road, S.E.14.
Greenwich	...	Mr. J. H. Round, 10, Blackheath Hill, Greenwich, S.E.10.
Hackney, South	...	Mr. A. R. Palmer, 5, Pleasant Place, Bond Street, Vauxhall, S.W.8.
Hammersmith	...	Mr. Hamilton Cardwell, 154, Goldhawk Road, W.12.
Islington, East	...	Mr. W. Miles, 16, Highbury Grove, N.5.
Poplar, Bow and Bromley	...	Mr. T. J. Blacketer, 38, Campbell Road, E.3.
Poplar, South	...	Mr. G. J. Cressall, 15, Marquarie Way, Millwall, E.14.
St. Pancras, S.E.	...	Mr. H. Dawson-Large, Clarendon Hall, 65, Chalton Street, N.W.1.
Southwark, Central	...	Mr. Frank Roberts, 124, Walworth Road, S.E.17.
Southwark, S.E.	...	Mr. Chas. New, Gordon Villa, Godfrey Hill, Woolwich, S.E.18.
Stepney, Mile End	...	Mr. J. Price, 2 Room, Stepney Meeting Hall, Garden Street, Stepney, E.1.
Whitechapel	...	Mr. J. Sullivan, 1, New Tower Buildings, High Street, Wapping, E.1.
Woolwich, East	...	Miss M. Crout, 3, New Road, Woolwich, S.E.18.
Woolwich, West	...	W. Barefoot, 3, New Road, Woolwich.
MIDDLESEX—		
Edmonton	...	Mr. W. T. Harris, 344, Fore Street, Edmonton, N.9.
Willesden, West	...	Mr. A. E. Nunn, 375, High Road, N.W.10.
Enfield	...	Mr. G. H. Howgate, 66, Silver Street, Enfield.
NORFOLK—		
Norwich	...	Mr. J. Brooksbank, Hardie Memorial Hall, 9, St. Gregory's Alley, Norwich.
Northern	...	Mr. S. J. Gee, 37, Bernard Road, Cromer, Norfolk.
Southern	...	Mr. R. A. Watson, Labour Institute, Wymondham, Norfolk.
NORTHUMBERLAND—		
Newcastle, Central	...	Mr. W. C. Percival, I.L.P. Hall, 36, Diana Street, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
Newcastle, East	...	Mr. W. Locke, 199, Shields Road, Heaton, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
Newcastle, West	...	Mr. Wm. Taylor, 19, Ladykirk Road, Newcastle.
NOTTINGHAM—		
Nottingham (Borough)	...	Mr. R. Bury, Hardie House, 15, Hanley Street, Nottingham.
Nottingham West	...	Mr. Geo. Goodall, General Workers' Office, Newstead House, St. James Street, Nottingham.

Constituency.		*Name.*
SALOP—		
The Wrekin	...	Mr. Frank Organ, Labour Party Offices, Station Road, Wellington, Salop.
SOMERSET—		
Frome	...	Mr. Oliver Lewis, Gwynfa, Timsbury, Bath.
STAFFORD—		
Smethwick	...	Mr. R. A. Baker, 262, High Street, Smethwick.
Wednesbury	...	Mr. W. Darby, "Arundel House," Church Hill, Wednesbury.
West Bromwich	...	Mr. A. Guest, 319, High Street, West Bromwich.
Wolverhampton West	...	Mr. Dan Davis, 35, Queen's Square, Wolverhampton.
Leek	...	Mr. Ernest Rigby, 120, High Street, Newchapel, Stoke-on-Trent.
Lichfield	...	Mr. H. Riley, Daw End Road, Rushall, near Walsall.
SURREY—		
Croydon	...	Mr. H. S. Redgrove, Ruskin House, Wellesley Road, Croydon.
WARWICK—		
Birmingham (Borough)	...	Mr. F. W. Rudland, 262, Corporation Street, Birmingham.
King's Norton	...	Mr. G. Morris, 978, Pershore Road, Selly Park, Birmingham.
Ladywood	...	Mr. E. Bevan, 1, Enderley Buildings, Bellefield Road, Rotton Park, Birmingham.
West	...	Mr. E. Baldwyn, 265, Icknield Street, Hockley, Birmingham.
Yardley	...	Mr. S. Powell, 198, Banks Road, Small Heath, Birmingham.
Coventry	...	Mr. G. E. Hodgkinson, 28, Much Park Street, Coventry.
Nuneaton	...	Mr. Walter Lewis, Labour Club, Harefield Road, Nuneaton.
WILTSHIRE—		
Swindon	...	Mr. J. J. Stonier, 93, Commercial Road, Swindon.
YORKSHIRE—		
Bradford (Borough)	...	Mr. T. Ashworth, 1, Peckover Street, Church Bank, Bradford.
Huddersfield	...	Mr. W. Whiteley, 1, Imperial Arcade, Huddersfield.
Leeds, Central	...	Mr. W. Withey, 14, Upper Fountaine Street, Leeds.
Leeds, South	...	Mr. D. B. Foster, 9, Grove Hall Drive, Leeds.
Middlesbrough, East	...	Mr. J. Beilby, 233, Linthorpe Road, Middlesbrough.
Rotherham	...	Mr. G. E. Caine, 14, Norfolk Street, Rotherham.
Sheffield (Borough)	...	Mr. T. Garnett, 63, Blonk Street, Sheffield.
Sheffield, Park	...	Mr. E. G. Rowlinson, 69, Dorothy Road, Hillsboro', Sheffield.
Barkston Ash	...	Mr. W. Moore, Burleigh House, Cawood, near Selby.
Colne Valley	...	Mr. S. Eastwood, 53, Wood Top, Slaithwaite, near Huddersfield.
Elland	...	Mr. J. Lawson, 44, Bradford Road, Brighouse, Yorks.
Shipley	...	Mr. Walter Hill, Woolcombers' Hall, Dale Street, Shipley.
Skipton	...	Mr. Hindley Atkinson, Bleach House, Bentham, near Lancaster.
Sowerby	...	Mr. M. Crossley, Labour Party Offices, Bridge End, Halifax Road, Todmorden.
Spen Valley	...	Councillor J. Bryan, 1, Market Street, Cleckheaton.

WALES.

Constituency.	*Name.*
CARMARTHEN—	
Llanelly ...	Mr. J. Griffiths, Labour Offices, 30, Stepney Street, Llanelly.
GLAMORGAN—	
Aberavon ...	Councillor J. A. Brown, 7, Penrhyn Street, Taibach, Port Talbot.
MONMOUTH—	
Newport ...	Mr. W. B. Lewcock, 84, Stow Hill, Newport, Mon.
Pontypool ...	Mr. H. D. Bowden, 17, Osborne Road, Pontypool.

SCOTLAND.

ABERDEEN & KINCARDINE—	
Aberdeen, North (Borough) ...	Mr. J. Balfour, 47, Belmont Street, Aberdeen.
DUMBARTON—	
Dumbarton & Clydebank...	Mr. Andrew Campbell, Muse House, Dumbarton.
MIDLOTHIAN & PEEBLES—	
Edinburgh, West ...	Mr. John Welch, 73, West Park Street, Cowdenbeath.

SUPPLEMENTARY LIST OF AGENTS

Appointed by Affiliated Organisations

Constituency.	*Agent.*
DURHAM—	
South Shields and Houghton-le-Spring ...	H. Bainbridge, 34, Mount Road West, Sunderland
Blaydon and Chester-le-Street ...	J. Gilliland, Second Avenue, Chester-le-Street.
Durham and Sedgefield ...	J. Foster, Fern House, Ferryhill Station, Co. Durham.
Spennymoor ...	J. Cape, Avons House, Stanley Crook, Durham.
ESSEX—	
West Ham, Plaistow, and Silvertown ...	Bert Killip, 124, Barking Road, Canning Town.
GLOUCESTERSHIRE—	
Stroud ...	A. H. Williams, Whitminster Lane, Frampton-on-Severn, Stonehouse, Glos.
KENT—	
Hythe ...	W. F. Hobbs, c/o Mrs. Goldfinch, 16, Penfold Road, Folkestone, Kent.
LANCASHIRE—	
Leigh ...	J. L. Prescott, 112, Windermere Road, Leigh.
Manchester, Clayton ...	Ben Clare, 20, Epworth Street, Darwen, Lancs.
Salford, North ...	J. Edwards, 199, Trafford Road, Salford.
Salford, West ...	J. Openshaw, 207, Langworthy Road, Pendleton.
Wigan ...	R. Lewis, 29, King Street, Wigan.
Farnworth ...	Richard Matthews, 12, Barrett Avenue, Kearsley, Farnworth, S.O.
Ince ...	R. T. Phillips, 3, Church Street, Hindley.
LEICESTERSHIRE—	
Harborough ...	T. Rowland Hill, 14, Granby Street, Leicester.
LONDON—	
Lambeth, Kennington ...	F. F. Beechey, 145, Wandsworth Road, S.W.8.
MIDDLESEX—	
Tottenham, North ...	G. Ellis, 7, Bruce Grove, Tottenham, N.17.
NORTHAMPTONSHIRE—	
Northampton ...	F. Kershaw, Dilke House, Malet Street, W.C.
Daventry ...	G. N. Hughes, 3, Fife Street, St. James, Northampton.
NORTHUMBERLAND—	
Wallsend-on-Tyne ...	J. T. Scanlon, 70, Station Road, Wallsend-on-Tyne.
Hexham ...	J. Peel, 10, Tulip Street, Prudhoe, Hexham.
Wansbeck ...	J. Lees, 10, Gainsborough Grove, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
NOTTINGHAMSHIRE—	
Mansfield ...	Councillor A. Beck, 1, Princes Street, Mansfield.
STAFFORDSHIRE—	
Stoke-on-Trent, Hanley ...	F. J. Kettle, The Croft, Scholar Green, Stoke-on-Trent.
Cannock ...	Harry Bagley, 83, Burleigh Road, Wolverhampton.
YORKSHIRE—	
Sheffield, Hillsborough ...	W. Swift, 46, Harworth Street, Walkley, Sheffield.
Wakefield ...	Councillor Burley Johnson, 55, Hatfield Street, Wakefield.
WALES—	
Cardiff ...	E. Allan Robson, 49, Charles Street, Cardiff.
Gower, Neath and Ogmore ...	Meth Jones, 9, Gower Street, Port Talbot.
Pontypridd ...	T. I. Mardy Jones, M.P., 16, Llantwit Road, Pontypridd.
Abertillery, Bedwellty, Ebbw Vale and Monmouth ...	W. Harris, " Arfryn," Bryn Road, Pontllanfraith.
SCOTLAND—	
South, Ayr and Bute ...	D. Stitt, Wellwood Street, Muirkirk, Ayrshire.
Dunfermline and Western Fife ...	W. Watson, M.P., 341, Broad Street, Cowdenbeath, Fife.

Constituency.		*Agent.*
SCOTLAND—*contd.*		
Bothwell	...	J. Fotheringham, Orwell Bent Road, Hamilton, Lanark.
Hamilton	...	Jos. Waugh, Kenilworth Crescent, Cochrane Street, Bellshill, Lanark.
Northern Lanark	...	J. Fotheringham, Orwell Bent Road, Lanark.
North Midlothian and Peebles also Peebles and Southern	...	J. Westwood 56, Pottery Street, Gallatown, Kirkcaldy.

APPENDIX VIII.

LABOUR AND SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL

RESOLUTIONS Passed by the Executive Committee of the L.S.I. in its Meeting at Luxemburg, February 16 and 17, 1924.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION.

The International has from its outset always appealed to the moral forces of humanity as the basis of that new social order to which the working class aspires. It wishes all success to British comrades, inspired by these same ideals, in their efforts to infuse a new spirit into international policy, which till now has been the battlefield for the rapacious capitalist interests of the various nations.

In the present situation the Executive Committee of the International does not consider it necessary to repeat the declarations it has so often made on the fundamental conditions of a policy of peace and reconciliation after that world war which was the outcome of the old capitalist and anti-democratic régime. It is sufficient to state that events have completely justified us. We have always emphasised the uselessness and the dangers of a policy of violence and of force. It is a disgrace to humanity that nearly five years after the formal conclusion of the Peace Treaty the populations of large territories are still under the arbitrary domination of the militarism of the victors. We maintain more strongly than ever the repeated demand of the International for the evacuation of occupied territories at the earliest possible moment.

At the same time we repeat that the restoration of districts devastated by the horrors of war must be carried out without delay or subterfuge.

Admittedly it is a step in advance that, since the Labour Party came into power, capitalist Governments have been themselves compelled to aim at a peaceful economic settlement of the Reparations problem, but, at the same time, the Executive desires to draw attention to the fact that even a peaceful economic solution of this problem, such as capitalist Governments are now endeavouring to find, may become a serious menace to the international proletariat.

If, for instance, this settlement were to impose upon the German working class burdens which could only be borne by an extension of the eight-hour day in Germany, and by a distinct reduction in the actual wages of the German workers, the mechanism of capitalist competition would compel other countries to lengthen their working day and reduce wages. Reparations would then actually be paid, not by the capitalist classes of Germany, who were responsible for the war, and who had been enriched by the consequences of the war, but by the working classes of all countries.

The Executive, therefore, warns the workers of all countries against a serious danger. Capitalist Governments, which have already reduced the standard of living of the workers by disputes over the Reparations question, may try to reduce this standard still further by an agreement as to the settlement of the Reparations problem by purely capitalist methods.

In view of these dangers, the Executive declares that the agreement of the Reparations problem should not only render possible the evacuation of the occupied territories, and bring about an adjustment between the claims of France and Belgium, and the necessity of stabilising the currencies and restoring the economic balance of Europe, but should also protect the international working classes against a too extreme German competition by re-establishing the eight-hour day in Germany and maintaining it all over the world. In this way the burden of Reparations would be placed on German capital rather than on German labour.

We therefore insist that this serious question of Reparations, which is to-day the foremost question of the world, should be considered, not only from a purely economic and financial point of view, but from a social standpoint as well. We insist also on the absolute necessity of breaking away from out-of-date methods, substituting for them that policy of sincerity and confidence which has always been the policy in the international relations of Labour Parties. Otherwise we shall never attain to that feeling of mutual security which is as important to the peaceful development of the world as is the solution of the Reparation problem. By goodwill and by making the League of Nations, which is still imperfect, more universal and more democratic, it will surely be possible to draw nearer to this feeling of security which is a necessary condition to checking the increase of armaments. Thus the way will be prepared for the general disarmament and compulsory arbitration between States which the International demands, just as it also demands the demilitarisation and neutralisation of certain frontier areas. We hope that there will be thorough investigation of these questions, for on them may depend the future of the human race, now in a state of chaos through the war.

At a moment when, in spite of all, there are certain hopeful aspects, the International appeals once more to the working class and to all those who realise that the working-class is to-day the greatest factor in progress, to redouble their efforts in order to obtain a solution of those problems which have so long darkened the horizon.

THE EIGHT-HOUR DAY.

Considering:

That the offensive launched against the eight-hour day in Germany—one of the most fatal consequences of the Ruhr conflict—has encouraged employers in many countries to make violent attacks on the eight-hour day;

That any violation of the eight-hour day in one country immediately leads to vigorous attacks by the capitalist class upon the eight-hour day in other countries;

The Executive calls upon the workers of all countries vigorously to oppose any attacks by employers upon the eight-hour day;

Notes with satisfaction the initiative taken by the Labour Government in England for the ratification of the Washington Convention on the eight-hour day;

Invites the parties affiliated to the L.S.I. to support the efforts of the British Labour Government by endeavouring to obtain, each in their respective countries, the ratification of the Washington Convention;

And instructs the Bureau, in co-operation with the International Federation of Trade Unions, to organise, at an expedient moment, international mass action for the ratification of the Washington Convention.

RUSSIA.

The Executive of the L.S.I. declares with satisfaction that, following the *de jure* recognition of Soviet Russia by the Governments of England and of Italy, the complete recognition of Soviet Russia by all the other Powers, and the resumption of normal relations between Russia and Europe, will soon be a *fait accompli*. In their view, this is the best means for putting an end to any policy of boycott and blockade, and for the promotion of democracy in Russia.

The Executive, in complete agreement with the resolutions of the Hamburg Congress, supports the efforts made by the Socialist and Labour Parties in different countries with a view to the recognition of Soviet Russia. It requests the affiliated Parties to increase their efforts in those countries where the capitalist classes are resisting the *de jure* recognition of Russia. Special care is necessary lest capitalist Governments impose conditions on the Russian people which would resemble a state of economic slavery. For these reasons the Executive considers it the bounden duty of Socialist and Labour Parties in all countries to support the Russian Socialists in their struggle against the régime of political oppression in Russia.

The Executive greets those comrades in prisons and places of banishment in Russia, who, in spite of grave persecutions, still hold fast to their Socialist convictions. The Executive recommends the parties affiliated to the L.S.I. to agitate in favour of *complete amnesty* for all political prisoners in Russia and the cessation of persecution of all non-Communist Labour and Peasant organisations.

GEORGIA.

In view of the *de jure* recognition of the Soviet Government being under the consideration of every European Government, the Executive Committee reminds the affiliated parties that, in conformity with the decisions of the Hamburg Congress, Socialist Parties, whilst demanding from the Governments of their respective countries the recognition of the Soviet Government, should see to it that this act does not prevent negotiations with a view to the withdrawal of the military occupation of Georgia.

The Executive Committee invites the affiliated Parties to spread propaganda in favour of the evacuation of Georgia by the Soviet troops now in occupation, in conformity with the resolutions passed at Hamburg.

HUNGARY.

The Executive draws attention to the resolution of the Hamburg Congress on the Hungarian question, and again raises a strong protest against those Governments which are still supporting and protecting the ruling powers in Hungary, where, four and a half years after the overthrow of the Hungarian Soviet Government, the terrorist régime of the Counter-Revolution is still in full sway.

At a time when international finance is about to support the counter-revolutionary régime in Hungary by means of credits, the Executive appeals to all affiliated Parties to increase their efforts for the protection of the working classes in Hungary.

ARMENIA.

I.

With reference to the decision of the Hamburg Congress concerning Armenia, the Executive of the L.S.I. requests that Governments granting recognition to Soviet Russia should safeguard the right of the Armenian people to independence.

II.

Considering:

That the Allied Powers, disregarding their former pledges, are exposing Armenia to the Kemalist Turks;

That nearly one million Armenian refugees, who escaped from the hecatombs in 1915, are still living in foreign countries in great distress, and are unable to return to their homes;

That discussions will shortly take place in the British, French and Italian Parliaments concerning the ratification of the Treaty of Lausanne;

The Executive of the L.S.I., referring to the resolution of the Hamburg Congress, recommends the Parliamentary Parties of the Socialist Parties of these three countries to ask, during this debate on the Treaty of Lausanne, for the realisation of a national Armenian home in Turkish Armenia, such a proposal having been put forward by the League of Nations and by the Powers themselves.

OFFICIAL TELEGRAMS FROM THE SECRETARIAT.

THE MURDER OF MATTEOTTI.

The following letter, expressing horror at the cruel murder of the Secretary of the Italian Socialist Party, Comrade Matteotti, at the hands of the Fascists, has been addressed by the Secretariat to the Italian comrades:—

"To the Socialist Party of Italy.

"Dear Comrades,

"We kept up hope till the last moment, but now it is only too true that Matteotti is dead. Our pain is all the keener because only a little while ago he was here in London amongst us. We discussed with him the work of the proletarian campaign in Italy, and the better we knew him the more we felt that he was not only a brave worker, but a man, through and through, ready to offer any sacrifice for the cause to which he had consecrated his life.

"In Matteotti lay one of the greatest hopes for the reconstruction of the Socialist Movement in Italy, for courageous and unbending resistance to the dreadful terrorism of Fascism to which you are a prey. We have been looking forward to seeing him again at the meeting of the Labour and Socialist International Executive in Vienna. He was refused a passport by Mussolini and compelled to remain within the grip of Fascists, and still they did not hesitate to add the worst to their string of misdeeds.

"With the strict impartiality and critical exactitude of a scientist Matteotti had collected accounts of Fascist crimes, grouped them under towns and months, and published them without comment. This calm collection of Fascist doings, however, contained in his book, 'A Year of Fascism,' constituted a flaming attack on Mussolini's tyrannical government. He was in the midst of his work for the publication of a second edition, extended to the second year of Fascist Government. Through his death he himself is now a victim to this second year of Fascism. The historian has now become part of history.

"His life and his death will not have been in vain. Matteotti's fate will again make proletarians of all countries aware that Fascism, the most bestial form of capitalist 'Order,' is threatening them from all sides, and that they must unite forces in a tenacious and decisive fight against this most treacherous enemy of the Working Class.

"In love and gratitude we mourn our dear Comrade with the Italian Socialists, and we know that at the grave of their friend they will promise: We shall let nothing daunt us—at whatever cost!

"The Secretariat of the
Labour and Socialist International.

"London, June, 1924."

DEATH OF LENIN.

On the occasion of Lenin's death the Secretary of the L.S.I. sent the following telegram to the Communist International:—

"Deeply touched by the sudden death of Lenin, we feel bound to express to the workers adhering to the Communist International, at this tragic moment, that, however strong are the dissensions about the road to be followed by the working classes, we always believed Lenin to go his way true in his faith, honest in his heart, and deeply devoted to the cause of the workers of all countries.

"On behalf of the Secretariat of the L.S.I.,

"FRIEDRICH ADLER."

EIGHT-HOUR DAY.

After the great victory won by the Swiss working class in the referendum on the eight-hour day, the Secretary sent the following telegram of congratulation:—

"At its meeting in Luxemburg, the Executive of the Labour and Socialist International declared the organisation of an international struggle against reactionary attempts to abolish the eight-hour day to be its main task in the present moment, and took the necessary decisions. On that very same day the Swiss working class gained a great victory in this struggle, which deeply strengthens the confidence and the courage of the proletariat all over the world. We congratulate the Swiss Social-Democratic Party on this success, which will be to the benefit of the working classes the world over.

"On behalf of the Secretariat of the L.S.I.,

"FRIEDRICH ADLER."

MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE ON JUNE 5, 6, AND 7, AT VIENNA.

I.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION.

The result of the discussions is comprised in the following *communiqué*:—

The Executive examined in the International situation created by the Experts' Report. It declared that all Labour and Socialist Parties directly concerned with the Experts' Report are completely of the same opinion, and confirm the resolutions already passed at Luxemburg.

The Executive then dealt with the forthcoming meeting of the League of Nations and unanimously endorsed a report from the Austrian delegates on the handling of the Austrian problem in the League of Nations.

The Executive had a report from the Russian and Georgian delegates on the situation in Soviet Russia. It confirmed the Luxemburg resolutions on the Russian question and the military occupation of Georgia. It stated that, in spite of the International fight against any capitalist or counter-revolutionary policy of intervention of capitalist Governments against Soviet Russia, it is the duty of all Socialist and Labour Parties to support the Socialist Parties in Russia and Georgia, and to bring before public opinion in their Press and literature full knowledge of the ever-increasing terrorism which reigns against peasants and workers.

Contrary to widely circulated propaganda, the Conference pronounced, after a report of the British delegate, Cramp, that the counter-revolutionary régime of terror in Hungary still persists, and that it is, therefore, the further duty of all Socialist and Labour Parties to give moral support to the cruelly-treated Hungarian proletariat. The Executive finally examined the conditions in the Balkans and passed the following resolution:—On leaving the Zankoff Government the Social Democratic Party of Bulgaria entered into the strongest opposition to that system of government, and is now fighting for the complete democratisation of the country, for the abolition of the "exceptional measures," and for amnesty for political offenders. The L.S.I. is convinced that the Party will uphold this policy, and therefore it considers the point of discussion concerning the participation of the Bulgarian Party in the Bulgarian Government as settled.

The L.S.I. urges all affiliated Parties in the Balkan countries and Eastern Europe to discuss, in further conferences, the political questions which are common to their countries on the basis of the decisions of the International Congress in Hamburg, and the principles laid down at the Conference of Socialist Parties at Bucharest, in order to prepare the decisions of the International in these questions, which might become of the greatest importance for the peace of the world.

II.

THE EIGHT-HOUR DAY.

The Executive of the Labour and Socialist International endorses the resolution passed at its Luxemburg Conference on the Eight-Hour Day.

The Executive considers it necessary to denounce before the whole world the ceaseless activity amongst capitalists of all countries to wrest from the working classes that which they won through bitter sacrifices.

It is especially important that Labour should be informed about the hypocritical manœuvres of international capitalism, in which more particularly German, Belgian, and French Capitalism are uniting to impose considerably increased working hours upon the proletariat of the Ruhr district. These capitalists wish to profit from this so that the workers of their own respective countries will be compelled to adopt longer working-hours under the pretext of patriotic interests.

The parties of all countries represented on the Executive are firmly resolved to fight for the preservation of the workers' leisure, which they regard as one of the basic conditions of proletarian culture. They assure the German workers of their complete solidarity, and shall use all efforts to give practical help in their struggle.

The Executive reminds affiliated parties of all countries of the absolute necessity of objective action to force the Governments of their countries to assure the speediest possible ratification of the Washington Convention.

MANIFESTO, MAY DAY, 1924.

MEN AND WOMEN WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES!

Thirty-five years ago the International Socialist Congress in Paris established May Day for the purpose of demonstrating in favour of the Eight-Hour Day. For a lifetime we have fought a hard and obstinate fight, step by step, towards our goal. We continue the struggle to-day so as to defend our conquest and to legalise internationally the Eight-Hour Day. Within the next few months decisions will have been arrived at in many countries. Therefore this particular First of May is consecrated, in a greater degree than ever before, to an *Eight-Hour Day Demonstration.*

Ten years have passed since the disastrous world-war broke out. Ten years —and we are still without peace. Wounds caused by the war are still bleeding, devastated towns remain unbuilt, production has not yet regained its full activity. The world is still suffering not only from the loss of twelve million lives, offered as a sacrifice to war, but through millions of cripples, millions of hungry and starving people, millions of workless—all living witnesses of the folly of war. And, despite all this, the idea of a new war obtrudes itself. The occupation of the Ruhr by Poincaré and Ludendorff's dreams of revenge show how little has been learnt by Imperialists on both sides. The possibility of war in the Balkans, once before the prelude to a world-catastrophe, is still more openly discussed. The world problems were not solved by the peace dictates of the Imperialist victors. Democratic methods and the right of nations to self-determination played their part as means of propaganda during the war, and have now been discarded like scrap-iron. In opposition to the incurable fascination of the Imperialists the working classes must, in this year of commemoration, raise ever again their cry: *No more war!*

Sixty years ago the World Proletariat International was founded in London. Twice it was broken up, first by the Franco-German War of 1870 and the second time by the World-War. The necessity for international working-class co-operation is for ever revealing itself anew and with irresistible force. In the year which has elapsed since its foundation at Hamburg the Labour and Socialist International has succeeded in bringing within its organisation the masses of the Socialist working class and has prepared the ground for *joint international action by the World Proletariat.* As the first big display of the reunited World Proletariat we call upon you for a vigorous First of May Demonstration.

FOR INTERNATIONAL LEGALISING OF THE EIGHT-HOUR DAY!

AGAINST WAR AND THE DANGERS OF WAR!

FOR INTERNATIONAL ACTION OF THE SOCIALIST WORLD PROLETARIAT!

On behalf of the Administrative Committee of the Labour and Socialist International:

FRIEDRICH ADLER.

MANIFESTO, JULY-AUGUST, 1924.

MEN AND WOMEN WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES!

Go back in memory to the time when the World War began. Go back ten years. Think, first of all, of the early days and weeks when you were still in ignorance of what you afterwards learnt through trial and agony. Remember how the war spirit in those days gripped the minds of the masses, and remember with what art the Press of every country succeeded in fostering it.

After a generation of peace the masses (of North and West and Central Europe) were, at first, totally incapable of understanding the dangers which threatened them. Everywhere they believed what the newspapers told them—that theirs was the country attacked, everywhere the General Staffs succeeded in inflaming the national spirit of solidarity for the purpose of defence. But, above all, the war appeared as a great new experience, and people were only too ready to believe the lie that it would help them in their troubles. Peace and well-being were to spring from the war; people went even so far as to prophesy diminished unemployment.

Think of your brother workers who were then carried along on the wave of jingoism, and examine your conscience to see if you were not also amongst those who surrendered to the intoxication of the war spirit.

It is neither to blame nor to hurt you that we remind you of the war enthusiasm of those days. It is because we would ask you whether such a disastrous failure to understand what war means ought ever to occur again.

Men's eyes were soon opened by the realities of war. Wherever the blood-thirsty Moloch set his foot, enthusiasm died down, terror struck the people, lamentations arose on every side and men felt such sufferings and privations as they had never known before. The first victim was unhappy Belgium. From the beginning Belgium experienced the barbarities of war in all their horror. Some days later war showed its horrible face also in the East, when thousands and thousands of women, children and the aged fled in terror from the Russo-Austrian frontiers to the interior of the country. One district after another was given up to graves and ruins. Northern France, Serbia, and the Eastern border of Poland became wildernesses. Paris shook with the thunder of the guns. Irreplaceable treasures of art were hidden in London in the deepest cellars for fear of bombs, the celebrated cathedral of Rheims was shattered, and Königsberg, the home of the philosopher Kant, was devastated. Destruction raged at sea as well as upon land. Death took its harvest amongst non-combatants as impartially as amongst the soldiers in the field. Hundreds of thousands lay on the battlefield and at the bottom of the sea, and pestilence came ever nearer with its menace. All Europe was hungry, and the organised blockade worked havoc in Germany and Austria. Those countries which escaped the terror of the battlefield watched the horrors of war in the bodies of enfeebled men, ailing women and dying children. From land to land strode the fury of war. Asia, Africa, and America became more and more deeply entangled. Yet still the glorification of war went on in places far from the noise of the guns. This contrast between enthusiasm and misery lasted the whole length of the war, though the domain of misery was ever growing and the domain of glory shrank.

Recall the past and answer the question: Is such criminal madness again to be repeated?

Millions now rest in their graves, whilst millions of cripples are still amongst us, and millions of children bear on their bodies the lifelong imprint of "the great time." There are millions of unemployed, millions are needy and starving. The ruins are not yet restored, trade is still stagnant; for all who have eyes to see the devastation of war still lies around us. But already war agitators, speculating upon the forgetfulness of mankind, are again busy. Ludendorff and Poincaré have been defeated in the elections of this year. But let us not deceive ourselves; as time goes by it will become all the easier to generate again the spirit of war. And therefore we call upon you to make this anniversary of the outbreak of war a reminder of all the abominations through which you have lived, so as to strengthen yourself in the resolve that there shall be no more war.

Yet, to feel abhorrence for war is not enough. In order to abolish war, people must understand its causes.

All the world knows to-day how, at the beginning of July, 1914, the Crown Council of Vienna resolved to go to war, how the Kaiser Wilhelm lent himself to the purposes of this band of criminals and became their leader as they applied the match to the powder barrel. All this was the inevitable outcome of the imperialist policy which all the great capitalist States had followed for a generation. There is no doubt that the Tsar of Russia (whose staff was the first to declare a general mobilisation), M. Poincaré, and only too many other "statesmen" would have shown themselves capable of the same crime had they only

thought that the favourable moment had arrived. Therefore it is not enough that we should condemn the criminals whose crimes are indisputably proved by their own official documents. We must do away with an order of society which will always beget war-makers, and for ever threatens us with all the curses of barbarism.

The prolongation of the war was just as much a crime as the making of it. Sooner or later all the belligerents abandoned the idea of defence. They began with the aim of repelling aggression; they went on to demand the knock-out blow. The war must go on till they had made sure of the booty. They spoke of the self-determination of peoples whilst they were thinking of annexation and the conquest of colonies. In this big job the Central Empires failed; the Allies succeeded.

During the war we were told that it was a war to end war. To-day we find militarism still adding to its power. Competition in armaments is forbidden to the conquered, but it flourishes more than ever amongst the allied victors. Thus the danger of an armed explosion is as great as ever.

During the war we were told that it would result in a League of Nations, which would render future wars impossible. But how remote from the realisation of the great ideal of a peacefully organised world is the body which to-day bears this name! We therefore claim that the League of Nations should include all countries, that it should become an instrument of peoples rather than of Governments. We do not want to miss any means of reconciliation, but we know that the interests of capitalism must clash with the peaceful organisation of the world. Therefore the danger of war will endure as long as capitalism itself endures.

We must work against the spirit of war, against secret diplomacy, for general disarmament, for peaceful understanding and for international arbitration. We must organise all forces in our Trade Unions, in our Co-operatives, in our political organisations, in Parliaments, inside the League of Nations, and everywhere where we may become influential. We must unite internationally in order to prepare every form of international defence against war, including the general strike. But we know that by all these means we shall only diminish the danger of war, not abolish it.

As long as militarism retains its tremendous machinery of power, as long as the capitalist forces are able to set this machine in motion, so long will working men and women remain the victims of war. Physical force, economic pressure and, last but not least, effective war propaganda may again put weapons in their hands and make them—even against their own wills—the blind instruments of war-mongers. Against this personal conscientious objection will always prove an impressive demonstration, but cannot work on a scale which would really avail to check the evil.

Therefore there is no other way than to uproot the possibility of war—to abolish the capitalist order of society. Labour ruling in all countries will not only mean the end of exploitation, but also the end of war.

We therefore appeal to you to remind the world, through huge demonstrations, that mankind is still on the verge of the same abyss of folly and crime as it was in 1914.

Remember that great champion of world peace and Socialism, remember Jean Jaurès, the first victim of the World War.

Remember the many thousands of true comrades whom we have lost, remember the thousands of cripples who yearn for the ability to work, remember the cruel sufferings of women and children.

Think, Workers, and above all Young Workers, of your great historical duty, and swear that you will never swerve in the war against war.

THE INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS (Amsterdam).
THE LABOUR AND SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL (London).
THE SOCIALIST YOUTHS' INTERNATIONAL (Berlin).

List of Societies affiliated to the Labour Party, Number of Members, and Amounts paid for 1923, with Names and Addresses of Secretaries and of Delegates to the LONDON CONFERENCE, 1924.

TRADE UNIONS.

Names of Societies.	*No. of Members.*	*No. of Votes.*	*Affiliation Fees.* £ s. d.	*Secretaries and Addresses.*	*Delegates and Addresses.*
Admiralty and Royal Dockyards Draughtsmen's Association	980	1	12 5 0	G. Chase, 7, Cromwell Road, Wimbledon, London, S.W.19.	G. Hutchings, Beechwood, Chalky Road, Purbrook, Cosham, Hants.
Agricultural Workers, National Union of	30000	30	375 0 0	R. B. Walker, Headland House, 308, Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C.1.	R. J. Andrews, Fernhill, Worcester Road, Bromyard, via Worcester. G. Edwards, M.P., Wynstay House, Queen's Road, Fakenham, Norfolk. W. Holmes, 15, Somerset Road, Tottenham. London, N. Mrs. R. Uzzell, Vine Cottage, East Street, Didcot, Berks. R. B. Walker, Secretary.
Army Clothing Employees' Union, Royal	1050		13 2 6	J. G. Butler, L.C.C., 2, Ebury Bridge Road, Pimlico, London S.W.1.	Mrs. Robinson, 39, Ebury Bridge Road, London, S.W.1. J. G. Butler, Secretary.
Assurance Workers, National Amalgamated Union of Life	10000	10	125 0 0	Bernard Brooke, 316, Oxford Road, Manchester.	Councillor P. Graham, 45, Calder Street, Motherwell. Councillor H. Hartland, 3, Elms Road, Worksop. Bernard Brooke, Secretary.
Asylum Workers' Union, National	3000	3	37 10 0	G. Gibson, 1, Rushford Avenue, Levenshulme, Manchester.	S. Morgan, "Craig House," Westwood Park, Forest Hill, London, S.E.23. Geo. Gibson, Secretary.
Bakers and Confectioners, Amalgamated Union of Operative	6000	6	75 0 0	W. Banfield, 57, Sydney Street, Chelsea, London, S.W.3.	Alderman J. H. Brown, J.P., 87, Halker Street, Barrow-in-Furness. W. Banfield, Secretary.
Bakers and Confectioners, Scottish Union of	4000	4	50 0 0	W. G. Hunter, 58, West Regent Street, Glasgow.	Alexander Barclay, 74, North Park Street, Glasgow. David A. Douglas, 6, Smith Street, Dundee. W. G. Hunter, Secretary.
Blacksmiths' and Ironworkers' Society of Great Britain and Ireland, Associated	4000	4	50 0 0	W. Lorimer, 177, Hill Street, Charing Cross, Glasgow.	George W. Singleton, 99, Desborough Road, Eastleigh, Hants. W. Lorimer, Secretary.

Names of Societies.	No. of Members.	No. of Votes.	Affiliation Fees. £ s. d.	Secretaries and Addresses.	Delegates and Addresses.
Blastfurnacemen, Ore Miners, Coke Workers and Kindred Trades, National Federation of	18000	18	225 0 0	T. McKenna, 229a, Linthorpe Road, Middlesbrough	H. Nixon, 9, Frodingham Road, Scunthorpe, Lincs. Councillor A. Callighan, 39, Brow Top, Workington, Cumberland. G. W. Allison, 20, Station Road, Kettering, Northants. J. Doyle, 167, Grange Road East, Middlesbrough. H. France, 52, Berkeley Street, Scunthorpe, Lincs. J. Brown, 38, Withy Lane, Ladymoor, Bilston, Staffs. Councillor Thomas McKenna, Secretary.
Blind, National League of the	600		7 10 0	J. E. Gregory, Club Union Buildings, Clerkenwell, London, E.C.1.	—
Boilermakers, Iron and Steel Shipbuilders, United Society of	50450	51	630 12 6	John Hill, J.P., Lifton House, Eslington Road, Newcastle-on-Tyne.	Alfred Cooper, 6, Fulford Place, Darlington. Harry Pollitt, 85, Central Park Road, East Ham, London. John Hill, Secretary.
Bookbinders and Machine Rulers, National Union of	7000	7	87 10 0	James Kelly, 220, Blackfriars Road, London, S.E.1.	H. Chalk, 51, Waterloo Street, Camberwell, London, S.E.1. G. Harraway, 44, Blackfriars Road, London, S.E.1. T. G. Newland, 44, Blackfriars Road, London, S.E.1. H. Rosenberg, 8, Maple Street, Hightown, Manchester. E. W. Spackman, 44, Blackfriars Road, London, S.E.1. James Kelly, Secretary.
Boot and Shoe Operatives, National Union of	67654	68	845 13 6	E. L. Poulton, J.P., 34, Guilford Street, London, W.C.1.	T. F. Richards, 34, Guilford Street, London, W.C.1. Mrs. M. J. Bell-Richards, 22, Imperial Avenue, Leicester. J. Buckle, J.P., M.P., 13, Eighteenth Avenue, New Wortley, Leeds. W. R. Smith, J.P., M.P., Belle Vue, Old Catton, Norwich. D. McCarthy, 23, Avenue Road Exten-

										P. Marshall, 84, John Street, Lane Head, Brighouse. J. Payne, 6, Loudon Mews Road, Hampstead, London, N.W.8. H. Smith, 166, Frederick Road, Aston, Birmingham.
Brassmoulders' Union, Scottish	600	..	...	5	0	0	...	J. Prentice, 17, Oswald Street, City, Glasgow.	...	—
Carpet Weavers', Power Loom and Textile Workers' Association	4250	... 5	...	53	2	6	...	Councillor A. Smith, 8, Church Street, Kidderminster.	...	Councillor A. Smith, Secretary.
Chainmakers' and Strikers' Association	1800	...	...	22	10	0	...	C. H. Sitch, J.P., M.P., Unity Villa, Sydney Road, Cradley Heath, Staffs.	...	—
Cigarmakers and Tobacco Workers, National Union of	2500	... 3	...	31	5	0	...	A. Santen, 19, Great Prescott Street, Leman Street, London, E.1.	...	A. Santen, Secretary.
Civil Service Sorting Assistants, Association of	600	... 1	...	7	10	0	...	Miss Rose Smith Rose, 1. Tottenham Court Road, London, W.1.	...	Miss Rose Smith Rose, Secretary.
Clerical Association, Civil Service	13365	... 14	...	167	1	3	...	W. J. Brown, 38a, St. George's Road, London, S.W.1.	...	S. Slocombe, 38a, St. George's Road, London, S.W.1. H. Broadhead, 13, Bristol Street, Higher Broughton, Manchester. J. R. Neilson, 67, Gainsborough Road, Richmond, Surrey. Miss T. Coupe, 95, Barrowgate Road, Chiswick, London, W.4. A. W. Huthwaite, Registry Branch, Secretary's Office, General Post Office, London, E.C.1. G. C. Holyoake, Accountant General's Department, G.P.O., Telephone House, Victoria Embankment, London, E.C. Miss M. D. Moffat, Money Order Department, Holloway, London, N.7. W. J. Brown, Secretary.
Clerks and Administrative Workers, National Union of	5000	... 5	...	62	10	0	...	Herbert H. Elvin, 14-19, Holborn Hall, Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C.1.	...	Fred Hughes, 14-19, Holborn Hall, Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C.1. Herbert H. Elvin, Secretary.
Coal Trimmers' Union (Cardiff, Penarth and Barry)	1700	... 2	...	21	5	0	...	S. Fisher, J.P., 13, Bute Crescent, Cardiff.	...	J. T. Clatworthy, 13, Bute Crescent, Cardiff. J. C. Wiggins, 1, Arcot Street, Penarth.
Compositors, London Society of	11610	... 12	...	145	2	6	...	T. E. Naylor, J.P., M.P., 7-9, St. Bride Street, London, E.C.4.	...	W. Cluse, M.P., 43, Addington Mansions, Islington, London, N.5. Rt. Hon. C. W. Bowerman, J.P., M.P., 4, Battledean Road, Highbury, London, N.5 C. G. West, 66, Rectory Road, Stoke Newington, London, N.16.

Names of Societies.	No. of Members.	No. of Votes.	Affiliation Fees. £ s. d.	Secretaries and Addresses.	Delegates and Addresses.
Compositors, London Society of —(*continued*).	—	—	—	—	T. Timberlake, 41, Trevelyan Road, Tooting, London, S.W.17. T. E. Naylor, J.P., M.P., Secretary.
Coopers, Amalgamated Society of	3060	4	38 5 0	R. W. Mann, 37, Outwoods Street, Burton-on-Trent.	R. W. Mann, Secretary.
Distributive and Allied Workers, National Union of	80000	80	1000 0 0	J. Hallsworth and W. A. Robinson, "Oakley," Wilmslow Road, Fallowfield, Manchester.	J. Jagger, "Oakley," Wilmslow Road, Fallowfield, Manchester. J. S. Simpson, 156, St. Vincent Street, Glasgow. J. T. Cairns, 160½, Brandon Street, Motherwell, Scotland. E. McLean, 19, Lowerfields, Oldham, Lancs. R. J. Wilson, M.P., House of Commons, Westminster, London, S.W.1. W. Mackinder, M.P., House of Commons, Westminster, London, S.W.1. R. J. Davies, M.P., House of Commons, Westminster, London, S.W.1. J. Hallsworth, Secretary. W. A. Robinson, Secretary.
Dyers, Bleachers, Finishers and Kindred Trades, Amalgamated Society of	12000	12	150 0 0	William Rushworth, 90, Sunbridge Road, Bradford.	Fred. Sharpe, 61, New Bank, Halifax. Harold Child, 19, Charnwood Road, Undercliffe, Bradford. James Gradwell, 10, Knowles Street, Radcliffe, near Manchester. William Rushworth, Secretary.
Edge Tool Trade Society	560	—	7 0 0	L. E. Thomas, 284, Nechells Park Road, Birmingham.	—
Electrical Trades Union	12000	12	150 0 0	J. Rowan, 12a, Withy Grove, Manchester.	Robert Prain, 12a, Withy Grove, Manchester. J. Kinniburgh, 38, Great Percy Street, London, W.C.1.
Electrotypers and Stereotypers, National Society of	2613	3	32 13 3	W. C. Warren, 80, Blackfriars Road, London, S.E.1.	T. H. Middleton, 80, Blackfriars Road, London, S.E.1. W. C. Warren, Secretary
Engineering Union, Amalgamated	134532	135	1681 13 0	A. H. Smethurst, 110, Peckham Road, London, S.E.15.	J. T. Brownlie, 110, Peckham Road, London, S.E.15. D. W. Hubbard, 114, Shrewsbury Road, Forest Gate, London, E.7. W. H. Hutchinson, 110, Peckham Road, London, S.E.15.

Ireland.

D. O'Leary, Dun Beaz, Victoria Avenue, Cork, Ireland.

A. Steven, 19, Union Place, Perth Road, Dundee, Scotland.

T. G. Edgar, 89, Ferry Road, Leith, Edinburgh, Scotland.

W. Kerr, 16, Ardock Street, Possilpark, Glasgow.

W. Ferguson, 49, Causeyside Street, Paisley, Scotland.

J. Gibson, 62, Morley Street, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

J. W. Wearmouth, 9, Blackett Terrace, Sunderland, Durham.

H. Leeming, 95, Lowndes Street, Preston, Lancs.

W. McL. Couper, 53, Stratford Street, Dewsbury Road, Leeds.

T. Blackburn, 4, Huntroyd Avenue, Bolton, Lancs.

G. W. Needham, 68, Leicester Road, Queen's Road, Manchester.

C. E. Brown, 10, Carew Street, Hull, Yorks.

F. C. Fitzpatrick, 857, Abbeydale Road, Sheffield, Yorks.

G. Wilkinson, 56, Samuel Street, Crewe, Cheshire.

R. A. Rockcliff, 11, Roxburgh Street, Walton, Liverpool.

J. W. Barraclough, 34, Naseby Road, Alum Rock, Birmingham.

M. R. Metcalf, 28, Severn Road, Stoke, Coventry.

W. F. Lewis, 34, Cambria Street, Griffithstown, Mon.

G. W. Brunger, 40, Kingshill Road, Swindon, Wilts.

C. S. Simpson, 26, York Road, Ipswich, Suffolk.

S. Andrews, 8, Florence Street, St. Budeaux, Devonport.

Names of Societies.	No. of Members.	No. of Votes.	Affiliation Fees. £ s. d.	Secretaries and Addresses.	Delegates and Addresses.
Engineering Union, Amalgamated —(*continued*).	—	—	—	—	C. Britton, 6, Lower Derby Road, North End, Portsmouth. E. Bold, 6, Barnsole Road, Gillingham, Kent. J. A. F. Dyer, 2, Congo Road, Plumstead, London, S.E.18. H. E. Hisee, 44, Galbraith Street, Poplar, London, E.14.
Enginemen's and Firemen's Union (Bolton)	120		1 10 0	M. Coolaghan, 36, Kestor Street, Bolton.	A. H. Smethurst, Secretary.
Enginemen, Firemen, Mechanics, Motormen and Electrical Workers, National Amalgamated Union of	20000	20	250 0 0	G. Parker, 228, Wellgate, Rotherham.	E. Simpson, 6, Boyce Street, Upperthorpe, Sheffield. T. Watt, 33, Horsfield Road, Eltham, London, S.E.9. I. J. Hayward, 76, Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C.1. G. Parker, Secretary.
Enginemen, Boilermen and Brakesmen's Federation, Lancashire, Cheshire and North Wales Colliery	2000	2	25 0 0	William Forshaw, J.P., 93, Hardshaw Street, St. Helens.	William Forshaw, J.P., Secretary.
Farm Servants' Union, Scottish	10000		125 0 0	Jos. F. Duncan, Queensgate, Stirling, Scotland.	—
Farriers and Blacksmiths, Amalgamated Society of	1757	2	21 19 3	W. H. Briggs, Cathedral House, 40, Fennel Street, Manchester.	G. Holleyman, 94, Portland Road, Notting Hill, London, W.11.
French Polishers, London Society of United	1200	2	15 0 0	E. Rudd, 95, Farringdon Road, London, E.C.1.	E. Richardson, 473, Kingsland Road, Dalston, London, E.8.
Furnishing Trades Association, National Amalgamated	7113	8	88 18 3	Alex Gossip, Bedford Row House, 58, Theobalds Road, London, W.C.1.	Alex. Gossip, Secretary.
Grinders' and Glaziers' Society	800		10 0 0	J. Asquith, 14, Nelson Street, Rochdale.	—
Hairdressers' Federation, South Wales and Monmouthshire	120		1 10 0	Councillor L. M. Francis, Barber's Shop, Penydarren, Merthyr Tydfil.	—
Hatters, Amalgamated Society of Journeymen Felt	3814	4	47 13 6	T. Mallalieu, 43, Peel Street, Denton, Manchester.	Councillor T. Mallalieu, Secretary.
Healders' and Twisters' Trade Union, Huddersfield and District	160		2 0 0	G. A. Boothroyd, 52, Taylor Hill Road, Huddersfield.	—
Horse and Motormen's Association, Scottish	6000	6	75 0 0	H. Lyon, 108, West Regent Street, Glasgow.	Jas. Campbell, 109, Mill Road, Motherwell. Peter McGinty, 20, Anderson Street, Kinning Park, Glasgow.

Hosiery Union, Ilkeston and District	4650	...	5	...	58	2	6	..	H. Bassford, 15, Midland Road, Heanor.	...	J. Brewin, Ray Street, Heanor. H. Bassford, Secretary.
Iron Fitters' Association, General	2000	...	2	...	25	0	0	...	Jas. Fraser, 30, New Market Street, Falkirk.	...	Nicholis Currie, Hamilton Street, Camelon, Falkirk. Jas. Fraser, Secretary.
Ironmoulders' Association, Central	5879	...	6	...	73	9	9	...	H. Murdoch, 11, Grahams Road, Falkirk.	...	George McLaren, 14, James Street, Stenhousemuir, Larbert. John Wright, 4, Steps Street, Stenhousemuir, Larbert. R. M. McLellan, 24, Lichfield Street, Burton-on-Trent.
Cumberland Iron Ore Miners and Kindred Trades Association	2500	...	3	...	31	5	0	...	T. Gavan Duffy, M.P., Miners' Hall, Cleator Moor, Cumberland.	...	Hugh Doran, 7, Nelson Square, Egremont, Cumberland. Charles Eldon, 12, Old Hall, Cleator, Cumberland. T. Gavan Duffy, M.P., Secretary.
Iron, Steel, and Kindred Trades Association, British	85000	...	85	..	1062	10	0	...	Arthur Pugh, J.P., 76-78, Swinton Street, Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C.1.	...	James Smith, 4, Bankhall Street, Govanhill, Glasgow. G. Gethin, 30, Vernon Street, Briton Ferry. W. H. Groves, 34, John Street, Brierley Hill, Staffs. J. McWhinney, Auburn, Wilson Street, Motherwell. H. Lake, Lea Rig, Broom Road, Rotherham. T. Freeman, Stafford House, Ketley Bank, Oakengates, Salop. D. E. Jones, Kerman House, Devonshire Place, Port Talbot. J. Young, 21, Bluevale Street, Dennistoun, Glasgow. W. Evans, 4, Lower Lime Street, Gorseinon, Glam. L. Evans, Pen-y-Graig Road, Town Hill, Swansea. A. Hewlett, Hendre, Old Road, Briton Ferry, Glam. A. Price, 41, Quarry Street, Coatbridge, Motherwell. T. Crowther, 5, Handsworth Street, Newport, Mon. T. Ketland, Groveland, Queen Street, Queensferry, near Chester.

Names of Societies.	No. of Members.	No. of Votes.	Affiliation Fees. £ s. d.	Secretaries and Addresses.	Delegates and Addresses.
Iron, Steel and Kindred Trades Association, British—(*continued*).	—	... — ...	— ...	—	Geo. Hughes, 101, Aberdyberthi Street, Swansea. Geo. Shaw, 11, St. Barnabas Place, Warrington. D. L. Mort, 6, Brynhyfryd Road, Briton Ferry. R. Purcell, 74, Worcester Street, Barrow-in-Furness. W. Smart, 91c, Catherine Street, Motherwell. S. Davies, 3, Nathan Street, Llanelly. J. R. Hughes, Arfryn, Hedley Terrace, Llanelly. A. Simpson, 52a, Bell Street, Airdrie. W. Jones, 10, Alexandra Road, Grangetown, Yorks. E. Baggott, 37, Rose Bank Grove, Burley, Leeds. J. Mark, 39, Holyhead Road, Wednesbury, Staffs. T. Jarman, 10, Fronwen Terrace, Penydarren, Merthyr, Glam. W. Evans, Mansel Street, Gowerton, Glam. J. Fisher, Maelor View, Brymbo, near Wrexham. Ivor H. Gwynne, Alcan, Bryn Road, Swansea. J. Walker, 90, Mitchell Street, Glasgow. Right Hon. John Hodge, 76-78, Swinton Street, London, W.C.1. T. Griffiths, M.P., ,, ,, John Baker, ,, ,, R. Dennison, ,, ,,
Labour, National Union of	Amalgamated ...	40377 ...	41 ...254 12 10*..	R Spence, 4, Higham Place, New Bridge Street, Newcastle-on-Tyne.	B. Smith, 69, Ingram Street, Glasgow. R. H. Smith, 413, East India Dock Road, Poplar, London, E.14. W. Cooke, Foresters Hall, Trippett Lane, Sheffield.

* Part payment.

								H. Sands, Burke House, Wouldham, Kent. J. Timlin, 4, Northumberland Terrace, Willington Quay. Mrs. F. H. Bell, 60, Lady Somerset Road, London, N.W.5. R. Spence, Secretary.
Lace Makers, Amalgamated Society of Operative	1490	2	18 12 6	C. Wardle, 16, Pembridge Place, Mount Street, Nottingham.	—
Lithographic Artists, Designers, Engravers and Process Workers, Amalgamated Society of	4216	5	52 14 0	R. Kneale, 54, Doughty Street, London, W.C.1.	—
Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, Associated Society of	23000	23	287 10 0	J. Bromley, 9, Arkwright Road, Hampstead, London, N.W.3.	D. G. Smith, 43, Hall Road, Crownfield Road, Stratford, London, E.15. T. H. Adams, 10, Gordon Street, Abbey Hey, Gorton, Manchester. F. Jeans, 8, Cardigan Road, Bournemouth. W. J. Crooks, 91, Childers Street, Doncaster. C. B. Andrews, 30, Scarborough Terrace, York. P. H. Collick, 11, Nightingale Road, Guildford. J. Bromley, Secretary.
Machine Rulers, Society of	320	1	4 0 0	E. C. Hooker, 44, Blackfriars Road, London, S.E.1.	Edgar Allgood, 17, Harpur Street, Theobald's Road, Bloomsbury, London, W.C.
Managers' and Overlookers' Society	3137	4	39 4 3	William J. Riley, Textile Hall, Westgate, Bradford.	Edward Clough, 25, Rothesay Terrace, Bradford. Henry Banham. 9, Fryer Gate, New Scarborough, Wakefield.
Marine Workers' Union, Amalgamated	8000	8	100 0 0	James McKinlay and A. Cannon, 41, Gower Street, London, W.C.1.	Joseph Cotter, 41, Gower Street, London, W.C.1. Thomas Lewis, J.P., 22, St. Mary's Street, Southampton. E. Shinwell, M.P., 41, Gower Street, London, W.C.1. A. Warner, 113, East India Dock Road, Poplar, London, E.14. W. Smailes, 113, East India Dock Road, Poplar, London, E.14. Robert Williams, 8, St. Martin's Place, London, W.C.2. A. Cannon, Joint Secretary. James McKinlay, Joint Secretary.

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Miners' Federation of Great Britain	800000	800 10000	0 0	A. J. Cook, 55, Russell Square, London, W.C.1.	Herbert Smith, J.P., Miners' Offices, 55, Russell Square, London, W.C.1. Rt. Hon. T. Richards, J.P., 2, St. Andrew's Crescent, Cardiff, S. Wales. W. P. Richardson, Miners' Offices, Red Hill, Durham. T. Greenall, M.P., 25, Charles Street, Swinton, Manchester. J. E. Swann, Miners' Offices, Red Hill, Durham. J. Carey ,, ,, ,, ,, W. A. Hipwood, c.o. Annable, Clipstone Avenue, Mansfield, Notts. John Spencer, Miners' Offices, Saltergate, Chesterfield. S. Finney, Miners' Offices, Burslem. Alf. Smith, 29, Church Lane, Normanton, Yorks. E. Hough, Miners' Offices, Barnsley, Yorks. C. Bunfield, Miners' Offices, 6, Old Basford, Notts. R. Allen, Miners' Offices, Burt Hall, Newcastle-on-Tyne. John Robertson, M.P., Cadzowburn House, Hamilton, Scotland. O. Powell, 2, St. Andrew's Crescent, Cardiff, S. Wales. W. J. Saddler ,, ,, ,, ,, J. Barker, Miners' Offices, John Street, Workington. Chas. Gill, Miners' Offices, 6, Aubrey Road, Bedminster, Bristol. Robert Smillie, M.P., Millar Street, Larkhall, Lanark. Hugh Murnin, 1, Dean Crescent, Stirling. Andrew Davidson, Miners' Offices, Crichton Park, Falkirk. Malcolm Turner, Miners' Offices, Crichton Park, Falkirk. George Snedden, 62, Campie Road, Mus-

Peter Chambers, 62, Campie Road, Musselburgh, Midlothian.
James Doonan, Violet Bank, Bathgate.
J. Graham „ „ „ „
Martin Connelly, Miners' Offices, Dunfermline.
James Cook „ „ „ „
James Hood, Miners' Offices, Annbank-by-Ayr.
James Brown, M.P., 56, Annbank-by-Ayr, Scotland.
James McEwan, Miners' Offices, Annbank-by-Ayr.
John Carruthers „ „ „ „
John Colhart, „ „ „ „
Edward Hawke, Miners' Offices, Hamilton, Lanark.
Robert Smith, Garnock View, Kilwinning, Scotland.
Joe Waugh, Kenilworth Crescent, Cochrane Street, Bellshill, Lanarkshire.
John Fotheringham, Miners' Offices, Hamilton, Lanark.
David Stitt, Miners' Offices, Annbank-by-Ayr, Ayshire.
Joe Westwood, M.P., Haig Avenue, Kirkcaldy, Fifeshire.
William Watson, M.P., 34, Broad Street, Cowdenbeath, Fifeshire.
Andrew Clarke, M.P., 64, Campie Road, Musselburgh.
Duncan Graham, M.P., Gowrie House, Bothwell Road, Hamilton.
Joe Sullivan, M.P., 523, Main Street, Mossend, Lanark.
James Welsh, M.P., Stanley Cottage, Low Waters, Hamilton.
Rt. Hon. William Adamson, M.P., 6, Victoria Street, Dunfermline.
Andrew McAnulty, Miners' Offices, Hamilton.
William B. Small „ „ „ „
William Crawford „ „ „ „
James Murdoch „ „ „ „

Names of Societies.	*No. of Members*	*No. of Votes.*	*Affiliation Fees.* £ s. d.	*Secretaries and Addresses.*	*Delegates and Addresses.*
Miners' Federation of Great Britain —(*continued*)	—	—	—	—	William Campbell, Miners' Offices, Hamilton. Francis Branhan ,, ,, ,, ,, George Round, Miners' Offices, Hednesford, Staffs. William Johnson, J.P., Miners' Offices, Bedworth, near Nuneaton. John Baker, J.P., Miners' Offices, Hednesford, Staffs. John Blakemore, J.P., Miners' Offices, Lloyds Chambers, Walsall. William Latham, C.C., Miners' Offices, 10, Trench Road, Wellington, Salop. H. Whitehouse, Miners' Hall, Great Bridge, Tipton, Staffs. Samuel Edwards, J.P., Workers' Institute, Cradley Heath, Staffs. W. J. French, Miners' Offices, Bedworth, near Nuneaton. J. Stevenson, Miners' Offices, Bedworth, near Nuneaton. G. J. Jones, Miners' Offices, Bedworth, near Nuneaton. F. J. Hancock, Miners' Offices, Burslem, Stoke-on-Trent. E. Hartley Ellis, Miners' Offices, High Street, Mow Cop, Stoke-on-Trent. T. Stewart, Miners' Offices, 6, Aubrey Road, Bedminster, Bristol. J. Smith, J.P., Bradley Street, Castleford, Yorks. W. Jackson, 3, Tenter Terrace, Durham. W. S. Hall, 3, Tenter Terrace, Durham. J. E. Sutton, M.P., 109, North Road, Clayton, Manchester. G. Macdonald, Miners' Offices, Bolton, Lancs. S. Blackledge ,, ,, ,, ,, J. McGurk ,, ,, ,, ,, Rt. Hon. T. Ashton ,, ,, ,, ,, L. Shaw ,, ,, ,, ,, R. T. Phillips ,, ,, ,, ,, R. Hill ,, ,, ,, ,,

J. Sharples ,, ,, ,, ,,
J. Ellison ,, ,, ,, ,,
W. Thompson ,, ,, ,, ,,
E. Kerfoot ,, ,, ,, ,,
A. Worthington ,, ,, ,, ,,
C. Lewis ,, ,, ,, ,,

J. Tinker, M.P., 30, Wolseley Road, St. Helens, Lancs.

Fred Swift, Somerset Miners' Association, Radstock, near Bath.

G. Hillman, Somerset Miners' Association, Radstock, near Bath.

J. Jones, Miners' Offices, Barnsley, Yorks.

S. Wilkinson, West Park Terrace, Healey, Batley.

J. Brannan, 7, Coach Lane, Leeds Road, Birstall, near Leeds.

A. Hall, 118, Keresforth Road, Dodworth, Barnsley.

A. Atkinson, 8, Hill Street, Darfield, Barnsley.

G. W. B. Tallent, 14, Cross Flatts Parade, Beeston Common, Leeds.

J. Saddler, 12, Lower Shaw Hill, Halifax.

Fred Hall, M.P., 26, Victoria Road, Barnsley.

John Guest, M.P., The Elders, South Hiendley, Barnsley.

T. W. Grundy, M.P., 15, Godstone Road, Rotherham.

W. Lunn, M.P., Westleigh, Rothwell, Leeds.

G. H. Hirst, M.P., Church Street, Darfield, Barnsley.

J. Potts, M.P., 13, Victoria Road, Barnsley.

W. Paling, M.P., 36, Askern Road, Bentley, Doncaster.

T. Smith, M.P., 19, Harrogate Road, Darnall, Sheffield.

T. Williams, M.P., 11, Lincoln Gardens, Goldthorpe, near Rotherham.

Names of Societies.	*No. of Members.*	*No. of Votes.*	*Affiliation Fees.* £ s. d.	*Secretaries and Addresses.*	*Delegates and Addresses.*
Miners' Federation of Great Britain —(*continued*).	—	—	—	—	Thos. Gowdridge, Miners' Offices, 10, Hotel Street, Coalville. William Blower, J.P. ,, ,, ,, Samuel White ,, ,, ,, Edward Hughes, J.P., Miners' Offices, Bradley Road, Wrexham, N. Wales. Eli Tilston, 12, Llay Hall Lane, Llay Park, Gresford, Wrexham. R. J. Williams, The Squares, Glanydon, Mostyn, Cheshire. W. Lawther, 15, South View, Highfield, Rowlands Gill, Durham. J. Robson, Durham Miners' Assoc., Red Hill, Durham. T. Trotter ,, ,, ,, ,, P. Lee ,, ,, ,, ,, J. Herriotts ,, ,, ,, ,, J. Hobbs ,, ,, ,, ,, Jas. Gilliland ,, ,, ,, ,, M. Handy, ,, ,, ,, ,, John Gilliland ,, ,, ,, ,, J. W. Foster ,, ,, ,, ,, J. M. Cape ,, ,, ,, ,, H. Bainbridge ,, ,, ,, ,, John Williams, Miners' Offices, Cinderford, Glos. T. H. Etheridge ,, ,, ,, ,, William Stephens, 17, Ruby Street, Saltburn-by-the-Sea. Matthew Lee, Rock Vale, Fosterley, Co. Durham. Wm. Weir, Miners' Offices, Burt Hall, Newcastle-on-Tyne. E. Edwards ,, ,, ,, ,, G. W. Shield ,, ,, ,, ,, A. Kinghorn ,, ,, ,, ,, D. Dawson ,, ,, ,, ,, W. McLean ,, ,, ,, ,, V. Coleman, Miners' Offices, Old Basford, Nottingham. W. Freeman ,, ,, ,, ,, T. Martin ,, ,, ,, ,,

Wm. Bayliss, Miners' Offices, Old Basford, Nottingham.
Jas. Wilson ,, ,, ,, ,,
Wm. Carter ,, ,, ,, ,,
F. B. Varley, M.P., 4, Caledon Road, Nottingham.
George A. Spencer, M.P., 39, Langtry Grove, Nottingham.
W. K. Smith, 31, Castle Road, Castle Gresley, Burton-on-Trent.
G. Clamp ,, ,, ,, ,,
G. Windle, Mansfield Road, Clown, Chesterfield.
W. Burbeck, Queen Street, Ilkeston.
J. Parkin, 30, Gordon Street, Ilkeston.
E. Overton, J.P., Oxcroft Road, Bolsover, Chesterfield.
F. Hall, J.P., Miners' Offices, Saltgate, Chesterfield.
J. Macdonald, Miners' Offices, 2, St. Andrew's Crescent, Cardiff.
H. J. Finch ,, ,, ,, ,,
Wm. Harris ,, ,, ,, ,,
Meth Jones ,, ,, ,, ,,
E. Morrell ,, ,, ,, ,,
S. O. Davies ,, ,, ,, ,,
Oliver Harris ,, ,, ,, ,,
T. Richards ,, ,, ,, ,,
Evan Thomas ,, ,, ,, ,,
John Thomas ,, ,, ,, ,,
John James ,, ,, ,, ,,
D. J. Williams ,, ,, ,, ,,
Thomas Lucas ,, ,, ,, ,,
Robert Jenkins ,, ,, ,, ,,
W. Hopkins ,, ,, ,, ,,
J. W. Grant ,, ,, ,, ,,
Ted Williams ,, ,, ,, ,,
Evan Williams ,, ,, ,, ,,
D. L. Davies ,, ,, ,, ,,
Opton Purnell ,, ,, ,, ,,
W. Potter ,, ,, ,, ,,
W. H. Mainwaring ,, ,, ,, ,,
David Lewis ,, ,, ,, ,,
George Davies ,, ,, ,, ,,
Arthur Jenkins ,, ,, ,, ,,

Names of Societies.	No of Members.	No. of Votes.	Affiliation Fees. £ s. d.	Secretaries and Addresses.	Delegates and Addresses.
Miners' Federation of Great Britain —(*continued*).	—	—	—	—	J. Griffiths, Miners' Offices, 2, St. Andrew's Crescent, Cardiff. Percy Clarke ,, ,, ,, ,, Jack Thomas ,, ,, ,, ,, Walter Lewis ,, ,, ,, ,, Albert Thomas ,, ,, ,, ,, D. R. Grenfell, M.P. ,, ,, ,, G. H. Hall, M.P. ,, ,, ,, George Barker, M.P. ,, ,, ,, Evan Davies, M.P. ,, ,, ,, W. Jenkins, M.P. ,, ,, ,, D. Watts Morgan, M.P. ,, ,, ,, W. J. Saddler ,, ,, ,, Wm. Thomas ,, ,, ,, George Evans ,, ,, ,, Thomas Hughes ,, ,, ,, John Williams ,, ,, ,, A. J. Cook, Secretary.
Moulders, Associated Society of	421	—	5 5 3	Tom Charles, 17, Coldstream Street, Llanelly.	—
Municipal Employees' Association	40000	40	500 0 0	P. J. Tevenan, 24, Fitzjohn's Avenue, Hampstead, London, N.W.3.	P. Campbell, 69, Ingram Street, Glasgow. T. Cochrane, 45, Stanley Road, Brighton. J. M. Gibson, 13, Windsor Road, Middlesbrough. G. Mawdesley, 2a, Hampton Road, Southport. W. H. Girling, 15, Newton Street, Hoxton, London, N.1. P. J. Tevenan, Secretary.
Paper Makers, Amalgamated Society of	2100	—	26 5 0	A. Fowler, Oddfellows Institute, Chestergate, Stockport.	—
Patternmakers' Association, United	10463	11	130 15 9	A. A. H. Findlay, 58, Theobald's Road, London, W.C.1.	Joseph S. Brown, 7, Clavering Street, Willington Quay-on-Tyne. A. A. H. Findlay, Secretary.
Pen and Pocket Blade Forgers' Protection Society	80	—	1 10 0	G. H. Shaw, 46, Sydney Road, Crookesmoor, Sheffield.	—
Plasterers, Granolithic and Cement Workers, National Association of	11000	11	137 10 0	A. H. Telling, 37, Albert Street, Mornington Crescent, London, N.W.1.	W. Bennett, 29, Hormead Road, Paddington, London, W.9.
Post Office Engineering Union	15908	16	198 17 0	C. H. Smith, 14, John Street, Bedford Row, London, W.C.1.	H. A. Barclay, 139, Constantine Road, Hampstead, London, N.W.3. T. Macleod, 340, Wavertree Nook Road, Garden Suburb, Liverpool.

									Kensington, London, S.W.7.	J. D. Canavan, 24, Gillford Avenue, Blackley, Manchester. Miss Edith Howse, 43, Cromwell Road, South Kensington, London, S.W.7. C. G. Ammon, M.P., 43, Cromwell Road, South Kensington, London, S.W.7. A. G. Winyard, Parliament Mansions, Victoria Street, London, S.W.1. J. W. Bowen, Secretary.
Pottery Workers, National Amalgamated Society of	...	19485	... 20	...243	11	3	...	S. Clowes, J.P., 5a, Hill Street, Hanley, Stoke-on-Trent.	...	Miss D. A. Mycock, 9, George Street, Sandford Hill, Longton, Stoke-on-Trent Councillor S. Clowes, J.P., Secretary.
Press Telegraphists, National Union of		220	...	... 2	15	0	...	S. Cox, 21, St. Stephen's Road, Bayswater, London, W.2.	...	—
Preventive Staff Association (Customs and Excise)	...	1100	...	.. 13	15	0	...	J. Merron, 28, Granville Road, Wavertree, Liverpool.	...	W. H. Powell, "Harpy," Custom House, London, E.C.3.
Printers and Assistants, National Society of Operative	...	17180	... 18	...214	15	0	...	G. A. Isaacs, M.P., 26, Blackfriars Road, London, S.E.1.	...	G. T. Bevan, 16, Napier Road, Gravesend. Richard Lundy, 2, Wellington Chambers, 2, Victoria Street, Manchester. James Keep, 26, Blackfriars Road, London, S.E.1. George A. Isaacs, M.P., Secretary.
Prudential Staff Union	... ...	5000	... 5	... 62	10	0	...	E. T. Palmer, M.P., and W. T. Brown, 30-31, Holborn Hall, Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C.1.	...	F. W. Harris, 58, St. John's Road, London, N.19. F. Rasor, 48, Vicarage Road, Stratford, London, E.15. E. T. Palmer, M.P., Joint Secretary. W. T. Brown, Joint Secretary.
Quarrymen's Association (Cumberland Limestone), North-Western Counties	...	250	... 1	... 3	2	6	...	Thomas Stewart, 21, The Crescent, Cleator Moor, Cumberland.	...	Thomas Stewart, Secretary.
Railway Clerks' Association	...	60000	... 60	...750	0	0	...	A. G. Walkden, 25, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.	...	T. H. Gill, J.P., 77, Lindley Street, York. F. Anderson, 4, Edgewell Villas, Church Road, Flixton, Lancs. T. W. Burden, 3, Boston Road, East Ham, London, E.6. G. Ridley, 25, Euston Road, London, N.W.1. C. N. Gallie, 3, Blythswood Square, Glasgow.

Names of Societies.	No. of Members	No. of Votes.	Affiliation Fees. £ s. d.	Secretaries and Addresses.	Delegates and Addresses.
Railway Clerks' Association —(*continued*).	—	—	—	—	W.R.Robins,38,Florence Street,Swindon. G. Mathers, 10, Duke Street, Leith. G. Lathan, 25, Euston Road, London, N.W.1. A. E. Townend, 8, Meadowcroft, Dane Road, Sale, near Manchester. H. G. Romeril, M.P., 16, Victoria Terrace, Brunswick Park, New Southgate, London, N.11. H. H. Oatts, 103, Cartvale Road, Langside, Glasgow. R. H. Rowlands, "Kelmscott," Martin Grove, Kearsley, near Bolton. A. G. Walkden, Secretary.
Railwaymen, National Union of	291445	292	3643 1 3	C. T. Cramp, Unity House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.	J. Marchbank, Unity House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1. T. Paterson, 3, Whitehill Street, Ayr. Ald. W. Dobbie, c.o. York Co-operative Society, York. H. Edwards, 4, Osborn Grove, Mold Road, Wrexham. C. W. Beardsley, 393, Earl Marshall Road, Sheffield. D. Thomas, 24, Broomfield Street, Caerphilly. M. J. Stapleton, 30, Millbrook Road, Bedford. Rt. Hon. J. H. Thomas, M.P., Unity House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1. S. E. Jackson, J.P., Unity House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1. C. T. Cramp, Secretary.
Royal Parks Employees	250	1	3 2 6	W. B. Cheeseman, 16, Highbury Quadrant, London, N.5.	W. B. Cheeseman, Secretary.
Sailors and Firemen's Union of Great Britain and Ireland, National	19172	20	239 13 0	E. Cathery, St. George's Hall, Westminster Bridge Road, London, S.E.1.	T. M. Walsh, 42, Coronation Street, South Shields. W. Jones, Catering Department, 3, Bute Place, Cardiff. C. Toomey, 7, Prooms Entry, Postern-gate, Hull. J. Ash, 13, Albion Buildings, Albion Row, Byker, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

Shale Miners and Oil Workers, National Union	...	4000	...	4	...	80	0	0	...	Walter Nellies, 12, Cluny Place, Edinburgh ...	Sam. Foster, Graham Place, Winchburgh, West Lothian. Charles Atkinson, Atkinson Place, Uphall Station, West Lothian.
Shipconstructors' and Shipwrights' Association	...	30000	...	30	...	375	0	0	...	Alderman A. Wilkie, C.H., J.P., 8, Eldon Square, Newcastle-on-Tyne.	Ald. A. R. Tapp, J.P., 104, Windmill Road, Gillingham, Kent. W. Westwood, O.B.E., J.P., 65, West Regent Street, Glasgow. J. Cameron, 18, Fairfax Road, Tranmere, Birkenhead. Ald. J. J. H. Moses, J.P., 95, Alexandra Road, Devonport. S. Mason, 325, East India Dock Road, Poplar, E.14. H. E. Tree, 3, Franklin Road, Gillingham, Kent. W. E. Nimmo, 34, Main Street, Milngavie, Glasgow. A. McKerrell, 4, Hill Street, Greenock. J. McWhirter, 1, Ruby Villas, 124, Larkfield Road, Sydenham, Belfast. F. Ellis, 74, Earle Road, Edgehill, Liverpool. R. B. Webster, 344, Station Road North, Wallsend-on-Tyne. H. Crawforth, 8, Eldon Square, Newcastle-on-Tyne. W. F. Purdy, 8, Eldon Square, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
Shop Assistants, Warehousemen and Clerks, National Union of	...	33000	...	33	...	412	10	0	...	J. R. Leslie, Dilke House, Malet Street, London, W.C.1.	Ald. Alex. Wilkie, C.H., J.P., Secretary. T. Wilson, 27, Oswald Street, Glasgow. Neil S. Beaton, 243, Dalkeith Road, Edinburgh. W. Fraser, 12a, Synod Hall, Castle Terrace, Edinburgh. J. R. Leslie, Secretary.
Shuttlemakers, Amalgamated Society of	..	550	..		..	6	17	6	...	T. Hurley, 24, William Henry Street, Blackburn.	—
Spindle and Flyer Makers' Trade and Friendly Society	...	1000	..		...	12	10	0	...	A. Scott, 15, Osborne Street, Gorton, Manchester.	—
Stove Grate, Fender and General Light Metal Workers, National Union of	...	2500	...	3	...	31	5	0	...	A. Hutchison, J.P., Stove Grate Union Offices, Effingham Street, Rotherham	J. W. Day, 19, Portland Street, Sheffield. A. Hutchison, J.P., Secretary.

* Payment for 1924.

Names of Societies.	*No. of Members.*	*No. of Votes.*	*Affiliation Fees.* £	s.	d.	*Secretaries and Addresses.*	*Delegates and Addresses.*
Tailors and Garment Workers, Amalgamated Union of	36000	36	450	0	0	A. Conley, 20, Park Place, Leeds.	Councillor S. Elsbury, 54a, Bedford Street, Commercial Road, London, E.1. H. J. Stearne, 47, Magpie Hall Road, Chatham. B. Sullivan, 22, White Lion Street, Norton Folgate, London, E.1. A. Conley, Secretary.
Tailors, Tailoresses and Kindred Workers, Amalgamated Society of	5000	5	62	10	0	Terence A. Flynn, 415, Oxford Road, Manchester.	Ernest Machin, 68, Erdington Road, Blackpool. Terence A. Flynn, Secretary.
Tape Sizers, Amalgamated Protective Society (Haslingden and Rossendale District)	108	..	1	10	0	W. Wallwork, 20, Rudd Street, Haslingden, Lancs.	—
Textile Factory Workers' Association, United	317195	318	3964	18	9	J. Cross, J.P., Ewbank Chambers, 19, St. James Street, Accrington.	James Bell, J.P., Weavers' Office, Bartlam Place, Oldham. S. T. Goggins, J.P., Weavers' Office, Old Street, Ashton-under-Lyne. Henry Holden, Weavers' Office, Charlotte Street, Burnley. Chas. Trotter, Weavers' Office, Charlotte Street, Burnley. F. W. Birchenough, J.P., 274, Copsler Hill Road, Oldham. Thomas Dixon, 67, Trafalgar Street, Ashton-under-Lyne. Ald. M. B. Farr, J.P., C.C., 110, Breeze Hill, Mossley. Ernest Greenwood, 71, Crown Street, Rochdale. G. W. Jones, 19, Wood Street, Bolton.
Beamers, Twisters and Drawers, Amalgamated Association of Hand and Machine	—	—	—			W. C. Robinson, M.P., 29, Horn Street, Bury.	Walter Clegg, 3, Ferney Street, Todmorden. W. C. Robinson, M.P., Secretary.
Bleachers, Dyers and Finishers, Operative Association (Bolton Amalgamated)	—	—	—			Gilbert W. Jones, 19, Wood Street, Bolton.	George Kershaw, 24, Queen Street, Littlebough. Gilbert W. Jones, Secretary.
Card and Blowing Room Operatives, Amalgamated Association of	—	—	—			Wm. Thomasson, 2a, Hodson's Court, Corporation Street, Manchester.	James Crinion, J.P., 108, Union Street, Oldham. Joseph Edge, J.P., 77, St. George's Road, Bolton.

					George Gleeson, 42, Mustard Street, Oldham. Joseph Binns, 5, Baillie Street, Rochdale. Wm. Thomasson, Secretary.
Card Blowing and Ring Spinners' Association, Bury	—	—	John Duckworth, Textile Hall, Bury		Thomas Mannion, 6, Hinds Street, Elten, Bury. John Duckworth, Secretary.
Card and Ring Room Operatives' Provincial Association, Bolton and District	—	—	Joseph Edge, 77, St. George's Road, Bolton, Lancs.		Joseph Knight, 77, St. George's Road, Bolton, Lancs. George Monks, 77, St. George's Road, Bolton, Lancs. David Lamb, 77, St. George's Road, Bolton, Lancs.
Cardroom Association, Heywood	—	—	William Schofield, Trades Hall, Heywood, Lancs.		William Schofield, Secretary.
Card and Blowing Room Operatives' Association, South-East Lancashire	—	—	W. H. Carr, Old Street, Ashton-under-Lyne.		W. H. Carr, Secretary.
Card and Blowing Room and Ring Frame Operatives' Association, Oldham Provincial	—	—	A. C. C. Robertson, 108, Union Street, Oldham.		S. Clay, 24, Stonefield Street, Newhey, near Rochdale. C. Jordan, 387, Oldham Road, Failsworth, Manchester. J. McKenny, 19, Snowden Street, Oldham.
Card and Blowing Room Operatives, Stockport	—	—	Joseph Frayne, Textile Hall, Stockport.		Joseph Frayne, Secretary.
Card Blowing and Ring Spinners' Association, Wigan and District	—	—	Joseph Hargreaves, 2, Heskith Street, Scott Lane, Newtown, Wigan.		Joseph Hargreaves, Secretary.
Cop Packers' Association, Oldham and District	—	—	T. Ashworth, 85, Union Street, Oldham.		T. Ashworth, Secretary.
Loom Overlookers, General Union of	—	—	Edward Duxbury, Derby Chambers, 6, Fleet Street, Bury.		Captain Albert Smith, J.P., Jude Street, Nelson. Councillor J. Proctor, J.P., 62, Lindsey Street, Burnley. Richard Harrison, J.P., 263, Walkden Road, Worsley, near Manchester. Thomas Walmsley, J.P., 8, Pullman Street, Rochdale. W. T. Hinde, 12, Milton Street, Clayton-le-Moors. Philip Lord, Pleck Gate, Blackburn. Edward Duxbury, Secretary.
Power Loom Overlookers' Association, Blackburn and District Amalgamated	—	—	Harry Beardwood, Overlookers' Office, High Street, Blackburn.		William T. Hindle, 12, Milton Street, Clayton-le-Moors, Accrington.

Names of Societies.	*No. of Members.*	*No. of Votes.*	*Affiliation Fees* £ s. d.	*Secretaries and Addresses.*	*Delegates and Addresses.*
Spinners and Twiners, Amalgamated Association of Operative Cotton	—	—	—	Henry Boothman, 115, Newton Street, Manchester.	Edward Judson, J.P., 116, Burlington Street, Ashton-under-Lyne. Ernest Mort, 565, Oldham Road, Middleton, near Manchester. W. H. Grime, 8, South View Street, Bolton. James Clayton, 32, Old Cross Street, Ashton-under-Lyne. Edward Reeder, 4, Roe Greave Road, Oswaldtwistle, near Blackburn. Henry Boothman, Secretary.
Spinners, Operative, Accrington	—	—	—	E. Thornton, 18, Garbett Street, Accrington.	E. Thornton, Secretary.
Spinners' Provincial Association, Bolton and District Operative Cotton	—	—	—	William Wood, 77, St. George's Road, Bolton.	George Illingworth, 35, Warrington Road, Leigh. James Jerstice, 15, Blackstone Road, Chorley. Fred Sewell, 42, Beach Street, Bolton. William Wood, Secretary.
Spinners' Amalgamation, Operative Cotton, Rochdale Branch	—	—	—	Albert Holland, Spinners' Offices, Nelson Street, Rochdale.	Alfred Holland, Secretary.
Warehousemen, Amalgamated Society of Textile	—	—	—	Edward Strong, 428, Audley Range, Blackburn.	Thomas McCall, 97, Leeds Road, Nelson. Edward Strong, Secretary.
Weavers' Association, Amalgamated	—	—	—	Joseph Cross, J.P., Ewbank Chambers, 19, St. James Street, Accrington.	J. W. Ogden, J.P., "Kings Lynn," Bury Old Road, Heywood Cephas Speak, J.P., Weavers' Office, 77, St. George's Road, Bolton. Councillor Luke Bates, Weavers' Office, 1, Clayton Street, Blackburn. J. J. Rigby, Weavers' Office, Charlotte Street, Burnley. Richard Whittle, 93, Station Road, Croston, Preston. Charles Harker, 110, Smith Street, Nelson. Herbert Hartley, 5, Young Street, Blackburn. James Hindle, J.P., 19, St. James Street, Accrington. Joseph Cross, J.P., Secretary.
Weavers' Ashton-under-Lyne and District Power Loom	—	—	—	Samuel T. Goggins, J.P., 197, Old Street, Ashton-under-Lyne.	Mrs. Elizabeth Bromley, 8, Diamond Street, Hurst, Ashton-under-Lyne.

Weavers', Winders' and Beamers' Association, Bacup	—	—	—	Robert Green, 91, Market Street, Bacup, Lancs.	Thomas Johnson, 3, Cromwell Street, Rockcliffe, Bacup.
Weavers' Association, Blackburn	—	—	—	Luke Bates, 1, Clayton Street, Blackburn.	Thomas O'Brien, 50, Joseph Street, Blackburn. James Brown, 19, Thompson Street, Blackburn.
Weavers' and Winders' Association, Bolton and District	—	—	—	Cephas Speak, 77, St. George's Road, Bolton.	Daniel Parry, 30, Wynne Street Bolton. John Gornall, 8, Arkwright Street, Horwich.
Weavers', Winders' and Beamers', Burnley and District Association	—	—	—	James Hindle, Weavers' Institute, Burnley.	Josiah Leeming, Weavers' Institute, Burnley. F. Porter, ,, ,, ,, W. M. Eastwood, ,, ,, ,, J. L. Johnson, ,, ,, ,, T. R. Shuttleworth, ,, ,, ,,
Weavers' and Winders' Association, Bury, Radcliffe and District	—	—	—	Ben Hargreaves, Textile Operatives' Hall, Manchester Road, Bury, Lancashire.	Thomas Smith, 19, Spring Lane, Radcliffe, near Manchester. Fred Holt, 50, Taylor Street, Bury.
Weavers' Association, Chorley and District	—	—	—	Thomas West, 1, Clifford Street, Chorley, Lancs.	Miss Nellie Crook, 47, Gilfibrand Walk, Chorley, Lancs. Miss Hester Wilcock, 34, Cunliffe Street, Chorley.
Weavers, Winders and Warpers, Church and Oswaldtwistle	—	—	—	J. T. Wolstenholme, J.P., Weavers' Institute, Lock Street, Oswaldtwistle, near Accrington.	Arthur Suter, 79, New Lane, Oswaldtwistle, near Accrington.
Weavers', Winders' and Beamers' Association, Colne and District	—	—	—	W. H. Boocock, Weavers' Offices, Colne.	E. Heys, 41, Earl Street, Colne. W. H. Boocock, Secretary.
Weavers', Winders' and Warpers' Association, Darwen	—	—	—	Joseph K. Bailey, Weavers' Institute, The Green, Darwen.	Robert Yates, Weavers' Institute, The Green, Darwen. Joseph K. Bailey, Secretary.
Weavers' Association (Haslingden)	—	—	—	George Whittam, Union Street, Haslingden.	George Whittam, Secretary.
Weavers' Association, Great Harwood	—	—	—	W. Hesmondhalgh, 8, Police Street, Great Harwood.	Albert Charnley, 2, Grimshaw Street, Great Harwood. Herbert Hocking, 31, St. Edmund Street, Great Harwood.
Weavers', Winders' and Warpers' Association, Heywood and District	—	—	—	John W. Ogden, Weavers' Office, Trades Hall, Heywood.	Matthew Ingham, 2, Claybank Street, Heywood.
Weavers' Association, Hyde and District	—	—	—	William Pope, 27, George Street, Hyde, Cheshire.	John Phillips, 35, Wallbottom Lane, Newton, Hyde. Henry O'Connor, 21, George Street, Hyde. William Pope, Secretary.
Weavers' Association, Nelson and District	—	—	—	James Helm, Weavers' Institute, Pendle Street, Nelson.	John H. Husband, 270, Railway Street, Nelson, Lancs. Herbert Higgins, 86, Berkeley Street, Nelson, Lancs.

Names of Societies.	No. of Members.	No. of Votes.	Affiliation Fees. £ s. d.	Secretaries and Addresses.	Delegates and Addresses.
Weavers' and Winders' Association, Oldham and District	—	—	—	James Bell, J.P., Weavers' Institute, Bartlam Place, Oldham.	John Henry Broadbent, 75, Cranbrook Street, Oldham. Ernest Fielden, "Claremont," Grasscroft, Greenfield, near Oldham.
Weavers', Winders' and Warpers' Association, Padiham and District	—	—	—	David Russell, Weavers' Institute, Sowerby Street, Padiham.	John William Shackleton, 13, Dryden Street, Padiham. David Russell, Secretary.
Weavers, Winders and Beamers, Rochdale.	—	—	—	James H. Holden, Cloth Hall, Rochdale.	Joseph Nuttall, Grove House, Todmorden Road, Littleborough. Samuel Pickersgill, 41, Victoria Street, Littleborough.
Weavers', Winders and Beamers' Association, Rossendale	—	—	—	John Farron, 245, Bacup Road, Cloughfold.	Emily Hindle, 1048, Burnley Road, Lumb, Rossendale, Lancs.
Weavers', Winders', Warpers' and Reelers' Association, Stockport and District	—	—	—	J. Philip Riding, Weavers' Office, Stockport.	J. Philip Riding, Secretary.
Weavers' and Winders' Association, Todmorden and District	—	—	—	W. J. Tout, J.P., M.P., Weavers' Institute, Burnley Road, Todmorden.	Herbert Shaw, 8, Windsor Place, Hebden Bridge. W. J. Tout, J.P., M.P., Secretary.
Textile Workers, National Union of	50000	50	625 0 0	A. Shaw, J.P., 84, Godwin Street, Bradford.	Councillor J. W. Flanagan, 23, Washington Street, Bradford. A. Gardiner, 128, Eldon Road, Marsh, Huddersfield. Miss A. Burns, 19, Cornwall Place, Manningham, Bradford. D. Doherty, 79, Devonshire Street, Accrington.
Textile Workers and Kindred Trades, Amalgamated Society of	8000	8	100 0 0	W. Bromfield, M.P., "Foxlowe," Market Place, Leek, Staffs.	Lucius Kidd, 4, Nunn Street, Leek, Staffs. Samuel Dean, 245, Hurdsfield Road, Macclesfield.
Transport and General Workers' Union	100000	100	1250 0 0	Ernest Bevin, 3, Central Buildings, Westminster, London, S.W.1.	S. Hirst, 3, Central Buildings, Westminster, S.W.1. J. Wignall, M.P., ,, ,, ,, ,, J. Sexton, M.P., ,, ,, ,, ,, Ben Tillett, M.P., ,, ,, ,, ,, A. Smith, ,, ,, ,, ,, J. Cliff, ,, ,, ,, ,, W. Devenay, ,, ,, ,, ,, Miss Mary Carlin, ,, ,, ,, ,, F. Stillwell, ,, ,, ,, ,, C. Carter, ,, ,, ,, ,,

A. Murray, 8, Ferry Craig Road, Swansea.
A. Gardner, 2, St. Michael's Square, Southampton.
E. Fox, 701, Barking Road, Plaistow, London, E.13.
J. Blyth, 19, St. Mary Church Street, Rotherhithe, S.E.16.
J. G. Ware, 99, St. Mary's Road, Southampton.
J. Williams, 60, College Street, St. Augustine's, Bristol.
W. J. Farthing, 21, Blacklands, Bridgwater.
W. Rudd, 31, Alice Street, Newport (Mon.).
C. Watson, 24, Hampden Street, Heywood, Lancs.
R. Hill, 166, Barry Road, Cadoxton, Barry.
P. Murphy, 6, Cambridge Place, Shakespeare Road, Ladywood, Birmingham.
J. Kilcommins, 36, Haydock Street, Bolton.
J. Dyson, 62, Fir Street, Cadishead.
A. Cumming, 149, Lumley Street, Grangemouth.
R. Abbott, 36, Bridge Street, West Middlesbrough.
J. F. Neale, 78, Sutherland Terrace, Harehills, Leeds.
H. Dye, 3, Eldon Grove, Granville Street, Hull.
—. Buckley, c/o G. F. Gillespie, 47, Parnell Square, Dublin.
G. Shaw, 211a, Broad Street, Birmingham.
J. T. Scoulding, 28, City Road, London, E.C.1.
M. McGuire, 6, Merton Street, Tidal Basin, London, E.
H. Kershaw, 16, Chellow Street, Bradford.

Names of Societies.	No. of Members.	No. of Votes.	Affiliation Fees. £ s. d.	Secretaries and Addresses.	Delegates and Addresses.
Transport and General Workers' Union—(*continued*).	—	—	—	—	J. Garmston, Transport Hall, Tailors Court, Broad Street, Bristol. R. Skinner, c/o T. and G.W.U., Clifton House, 41, Islington, Liverpool. J. R. Aspinall, c/o T. and G.W.U., Clifton House, 41, Islington, Liverpool. J. W. Williams, 42a, High Street, Wrexham. Ernest Bevin, Secretary.
Transport and General Workers' Union, North of England Commercial Section	6000	6	75 0 0	Arthur Haines, J.P., Spinners' Hall, 77, St. George's Road, Bolton.	John William Walker, J.P., 107, Manchester Road, Bury. John Driver, 2, Carr Hall Farm, Rawtenstall.
Typographical Association	23121	24	289 0 3	H. Skinner, Beechwood, Oak Drive, Fallowfield, Manchester.	J. D. French, "Beechwood," Oak Drive, Fallowfield, Manchester. T. Dove, 5, College Street, Sheffield. A. J. Llewellyn, c/o Mr. Duckett, 60, Doughty Street, London, W.C.1. J. Major, 6, Caxton Hall, Chapel Street, Salford, Manchester. Rt. Hon. F. O. Roberts, J.P., M.P., 61, Collingwood Road, Northampton. H. Skinner, Secretary.
Upholsterers' Amalgamated Union	6063	7	75 15 9	E. Wilsdon, 24, South Villas, London, N.W.1.	E. Wilsdon, Secretary.
Vehicle Builders, National Union of	21000	21	262 10 0	James Nicholson, Philos Chambers, 195, Oxford Road, Manchester.	Tom Groves, M.P., 155, Leytonstone Road, Stratford, London, E.15. Harry Halliwell, 280, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.
Warpdressers, Twisters, and Kindred Trades Association (Leeds and District)	352	..	4 8 0	A. Kelk, 5, Vicarage Terrace, Kirkstall, Leeds.	—
Warptwisters' Society, Yorkshire	1054	..	13 3 6	T. Murgatroyd, Textile Hall, Westgate, Bradford.	—
Willeyers' and Fettlers' Union, Leeds	259	..	3 4 9	A. Sixsmith, Trades Hall, Leeds.	—
Wood Cutting Machinists, Amalgamated Society of	3200	..	40 0 0	R. J. Wentworth, 32, Milton Street, Chorlton-on-Medlock, Manchester.	—
Woodworkers, Amalgamated Society of	95063	96	1188 5 9	A. G. Cameron, 131, Wilmslow Road, Withington, Manchester.	J. Strain, 178, Dumbarton Road, Partick, Glasgow. F. W. Lindley, 92, Heeley Bank Road, Sheffield. S. D. McKelvey, 97, Roe Green, Worsley, Manchester.

Woolsorters, National Union of	...	1000	...	1	...	12	10	0	...	T. Grundy, 40, Horton Lane, Bradford.
Wool Yarn and Warehouse Workers' Union	...	1750	...	2	...	21	17	6	...	F. Egan, 11 and 12, Eldon Place, Manningham Lane, Bradford.
Workers' Union	...	32000	...	32	...	400	0	0	...	Charles Duncan, M.P., "Highfield," Golders Green Road, London, N.W.11.

...	S. Bedford, 33, Silverdale Road, West Bowling, Bradford.	Willesden, London, N.W.10. A. W. Hunt, 240, Newport Road, Cardiff. J. Kennedy, 19, Hillview Avenue, Ballyhaclemore, Belfast.
...	W. Whitworth, 87, Fitzgerald Street, Bradford, Yorks.	A. G. Cameron, Secretary.
...	J. Beard, "Highfield," Golders Green Road, London, Hendon, N.W.11.	F. Egan, Secretary. W. M. Adamson, M.P., House of Commons, Westminster, London, S.W.1. A E. Ellery, 20, Berkeley Street, Gloucester. T. B. Hasdel, 1, Kennel Cottages, Victoria Drive, Eastbourne. A. Howarth, 3, New Road, Woolwich, London, S.E.18. J. Duff, 243, Newtownards Road, Belfast. H. A. Hind, 12, St. Alkmunds Churchyard, Derby. W. F. Hobbs, 7, Priestfield Road, Gillingham, Kent. C. Maher, 87, Chapman Street, Oldham Road, Manchester. J. Evans, 6, Bedhampton Road, North End, Portsmouth. T. Handforth, 82, Oxford Street, Stirchley, Birmingham. H. W. Brewin, 7, Congreve Buildings, Station Street, Burton. H. Barrett, 172, Pink Bank Lane, Longsight, Manchester. F. Blackburn, 38, Dale Street, Batley Carr, Batley, Yorks. J. Lord, 120, Golfdrum Street, Dunfermline, Fife. A. A. Peeling, 22, St. John's Road, Plumstead, London, S.E.18. S. Duff, 13, Skipper Street, Belfast. W. T. Kelly, 68, Denman Road, Peckham, S.E.

Names of Societies.	*No. of Members.*	*No. of Votes.*	*Affiliation Fees.* £ s. d.	*Secretaries and Addresses.*	*Delegates and Addresses.*
Workers' Union—(*continued*)	... —	... — ...	— ...	—	G. H. Oliver, M.P., House of Commons, S.W.1. G. Dallas, J.P., 15, Dartmouth Street, Great Tothill Street, London, S.W.1. Miss E. Stewart, 69, Ingram Street, Glasgow. Charles Duncan, M.P., Secretary.
Workers, National Union of General	235283	...236 ..2941	0 9 ...	W. Thorne, J.P., M.P., 28, Tavistock Square, London, W.C.1.	Rt. Hon. J. R. Clynes, M.P., 28, Tavistock Square, London, W.C.1 Jack Jones, M.P., ,, ,, W. Sherwood, ,, ,, Miss M. J. Symons, ,, ,, Miss E. Weaver, ,, ,, E.Marshall, Pig Hill, Warrington. C. Dukes, M.P., 52, Chapel Street, Salford, Manchester. Councillor H. Hatton, 17, Eyre Street, Chesterfield. Councillor F. Marshall, 124, Industry Road, Darnall, Sheffield. T. J. Finn, 12, Oxford Street, Newcastle-on-Tyne. W. Thorpe, 12, Oxford Street, Newcastle-on-Tyne. Councillor J. H. Wills, 145, Bromford Lane, West Bromwich. Councillor E. Pardoe, 134, Yardley Road, Little Bromwich, Birmingham. T. Leary, 79, Great George Street, Leeds. Alderman Frank Fountaine, 79, Great George Street, Leeds. M. Anderson, Newstead House, St. James's Street, Nottingham. W. Adkin, Newstead House, St. James's Street, Nottingham. George Lansbury, M.P., 39, Bow Road, London, E.3. W. McConnell, 68, Threefield Lane, Southampton. J. D. Wilkie, Union Road, Stenhousemuir. J. Addison, 141, Bath Street, Glasgow.

R. M. Evans, 64, St. Helens Avenue, Swansea.
W. E. Copeland, 8, Pendrill Street, Beverley Road, Hull.
F. P. Bellamy, 15, Ruskin Green, St. Giles, Lincoln.
W. Thorne, J.P., M.P., Secretary.

SOCIALIST SOCIETIES, &c.

Fabian Society	...	1782	...	2	...	22	5	6	F. W. Galton, 25, Tothill Street, Westminster, London, S.W.1.	Miss A. Susan Lawrence, M.P., L.C.C., 16a, John Street, Adelphi, London, W.C.2. Rt. Hon. Sidney Webb, M.P., 41, Grosvenor Road, London, S.W.1.
Herald League	...	360	...	1	...	4	10	0	G. Belt, 2, Carmelite Street, London, E.C.4.	G. Belt, Secretary.
Independent Labour Party	...	30000	...	30	...	375	0	0	A. Fenner Brockway, 14, Great George Street, London, S.W.1.	Rt. Hon. J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., 10, Downing Street, London, S.W.1. Mrs. Agnes Dollan, 52, Albert Drive, Glasgow. Clifford Allen, 70, Overstrand Mansions, Battersea, London, S.W. C. Roden Buxton, 6, Erskine Hill, Golders Green, London, N.W. Rt. Hon. John Wheatley, M.P., House of Commons, Westminster, London, S.W.1. Rt. Hon. F. W. Jowett, M.P., 10, Grantham Terrace, Bradford. J. Maxton, M.P., House of Commons, Westminster, London, S.W.1. R. C. Wallhead, M.P., Valley Road, Welwyn Garden City. Bailie P. J. Dollan, 52, Albert Drive, Glasgow. Ben Riley, 28, Westfield Avenue, Huddersfield. Fred Longden, c/o 14, Gt. George Street, S.W.1. Councillor P. F. Pollard, 70, Northgate Street, Colchester. E. E. Hunter, 14, Gt. George Street, London, S.W.1.

Names of Societies.	*No. of Members.*	*No. of Votes.*	*Affiliation Fees.* £ s. d.	*Secretaries and Addresses.*	*Delegates and Addresses.*
Independent Labour Party —(*continued*).	... —	... — ...	— ...	—	W. H. Ayles, M.P., Kingsley Hall, Old Market Street, Bristol. Councillor H. Davies, c/o 14, Gt. George Street, London, S.W.1 Councillor E. Sandham, c/o 14, Gt. George Street, London, S.W.1. Bailie David Hardie, M.P., 14, Gt. George Street, London, S.W.1. Councillor J. Clydesdale, c/o 14, Gt. George Street, London, S.W.1. F. Perriman, 88, Rutland Street, Leicester. H. Palmer, Hardie Hall, Norwich. E. Bywater, 41, Blenheim Road, Gloucester. S. Southcote, 14, Gt. George Street, London, S.W.1. John Scurr, M.P., 15, Woodstock Road, London, E.14. H. N. Brailsford, 24-27, High Holborn, London, W.C.2. J. H. Hudson, M.P., 5, Laburnham Avenue, Folly Lane, Swinton, Manchester. Francis Johnson, 14, Gt. George Street, London, S.W.1. John Arnott, 14, Upper Fountain Street, Leeds. Skene McKay, 28, Thurlow Road, Hampstead, N.W.3. J T. Abbott, Room 46, 120, Portland Street, Manchester. A. Fenner Brockway, Secretary.
Jewish Socialist Labour Party (Poale Zion)	... 1500	... 2	... 18 15 0	... I. Olshan, 27, Sandy's Row, Bishopsgate, London, E.1.	... Bertram Jacobs, 11, Cleveland Square, London, W.2. I. Olshan, Secretary.
Social Democratic Federation	... 2000	... 2	... 25 0 0	... T. Kennedy, M.P., 4-12, Palmer Street, London, S.W.1.	... George Moore Bell, 25, Eglinton Hill, Woolwich, London, S.E.18. E. J. Pay, 95, Totteridge Road, High Wycombe, Bucks.
Teachers' Labour League	... 120	... 1	... 1 10 0	... E. P. Bell, 60, Lady Somerset Road, London, N.W.5.	... E. W. Wilton, 7, Clovelly Gardens, Upper Tulse Hill, London, S.W.12.

LOCAL LABOUR PARTIES AND TRADES COUNCILS.

KEY TO INDEX LETTERS REPRESENTING PARTY ORGANISING DISTRICTS.

A. North-Eastern District.
B. North-Western District.
C. Midlands District.
D. Southern and Home Counties District.
E. London District.
F. South-Western District.
G. Eastern District
H. Wales.
J. Scotland.
K. Universities.

KEY TO NATURE OF CONSTITUENCY.

(C.D.) County Divisions 292
(S.B.) Single-Membered Boroughs 86
(D.M.B.) Double-Membered Boroughs (12 with 2 Members each) 24
(D.B.) Divided Boroughs ... ... } 189
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Total Number of Seats 602

Constituencies and Index Nos.		*Local Parties or Councils.*	*Affiliation Fees.* £ s. d.	*No. of Votes.*	*Secretaries and Addresses.*	*Delegates and Addresses.*
Bedford.						
D1. Bedford	(C.D.) ...	Bedford D.L.P.	... 1 10 0	...	P. J. Whitney, 22, Trinity Road, Bedford. ...	
D2. Mid-Bedford	(C.D.) ...	Mid-Bedford D.L.P.	...	...	G. F. H. Manser, 5, Saffron Road, Biggleswade, Bedford. ...	
D3. Luton	(C.D.) ...	Luton D.L.P.	...	...	W. Twort, 29, Cumberland Street, Luton. ...	
Berks.						
D4. Reading	(S.B.) ..	Reading T.C. & L.P.	... 3 10 0	... 2 ...	A. Lockwood, Trade Union Club, 56, Minster Street, Reading. ...	Councillor Mrs. Jenkins, J.P., 16, Charles Street, Reading.
D5. Abingdon	(C.D.) ...	North Berks (Abingdon). D.L.P.				A. Lockwood, Secretary.
D6. Newbury	(C.D.) ...	Newbury D.L.P.	...	...	G. T. Bew, St. Hilda, Westcott Road, Wokingham, Berks. ...	
D7. Windsor	(C.D.) ...	Windsor D.L.P.	... 1 10 0*	... 1 ...	E. Maxwell, 10, Alexandra Road, Windsor. ...	
Bucks.						
D8. Aylesbury	(C.D.) ...	Mid-Bucks (Aylesbury) D.L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1 ...	F. Standring, 24, Prebendal Avenue, Southcourt, Aylesbury. ...	Capt. W. G. Hall, Apple Tree Cottage, Bledlow, Bucks.
D9. Buckingham	(C.D.) ...	Buckingham D.L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1 ...	A. Wells, 38, Albert Street, Bletchley, Bucks. ...	R. W. Turner, Secretary.
D10. Wycombe	(C.D.) ..	South Buckingham (Wycombe) D.L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 2 ...	A. C. Talbot, Lane End, High Wycombe. ...	Mrs. F. E. Boyd Dawson, "Highway," Hazlemere, High Wycombe.

* Payment for 1924.

Constituencies and Index Nos.		*Local Parties or Councils.*	*Affiliation Fees.* £ s. d.	*No. of Votes.*	*Secretaries and Addresses*	*Delegates and Addresses.*
Cambridge.						
G11. Cambridge	(S.B.)	Cambridge (Borough) T.C. & L.P.	1 10 0	1	J. J. Overton, 209, Milton Road, Cambridge.	E. G. M. A. Smith, 44, Huntingdon Road, Cambridge.
G12. Cambridge	(C.D.)	Cambridge T.C. & D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	T. C. Edis, Foxton, Royston, Herts.	H. Gilliland, Cottenham, Cambs.
Cheshire.						
B13/14. Birkenhead	(D.B.)	Birkenhead T.C. & L.P.	3 0 0	2	A. J. Hammond, 36, Hamilton Street, Birkenhead.	
B13. Birkenhead E	(B.D.)					
B14. Birkenhead W	(B.D.)					
B15. Stockport	(D.M.B.)	Stockport T.C. & L.P.	3 0 0	2	S. J. Donoghue, Central Hall, Hillgate, Stockport.	E. Lavender, 140, Shaw Road, Stockport.
B16. Wallasey	(S.B.)	Wallasey D.L.P.	2 10 0	1	Geo. Simpson, 65, Mostyn Street, Wallasey, Cheshire.	George Simpson, Secretary.
B17. Altrincham	(C.D.)	Altrincham D.L.P.	1 10 0		G. Littlewood, 18, Rostherne Street, Altrincham.	
B18. City of Chester	(C.D.)	Chester T.C. & L.P.	2 0 0		H. Earlam, 11, William Street, Hoole, Chester.	Councillor W. H. Ebrey, 21, Henry Street, Chester.
B19. Crewe	(C.D.)	Crewe D.L.P. & T.C.			Coun. T. Kelsall, 5, Martha Terrace, Crewe.	
B20. Eddisbury	(C.D.)	Eddisbury D.L.P.			G. W. Bebbington, Queen Street, Bunbury, Tarporley.	
B21. Knutsford	(C.D.)	Knutsford D.L.P.			E. Sheldon, 51, Chapel Street, Hazel Grove, Stockport.	
B22. Macclesfield	(C.D.)	Macclesfield D.L.P.			W. Griffiths, 52, Duke Street, Macclesfield.	
B23. Northwich	(C.D.)	Northwich D.L.P.			F. Parker, 16, Applemarket Street, Northwich, Cheshire.	
B24. Stalybridge & Hyde	(C.D.)	Stalybridge & Hyde D.L.P.			Tom Fox, 3, Hoviley Brow, Hyde, Cheshire.	
B25. Wirral	(C.D.)	Wirral D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	A. W. Eaton, 247, New Chester Road, New Ferry, Cheshire.	
Cornwall.						
F26. Bodmin	(C.D.)	Bodmin D.L.P.			C. F. Turner, Newliston, Barn Street, Liskeard, Cornwall.	
F27. Camborne	(C.D.)	Camborne D.L.P. & T.C.	1 10 0	1	J. Oxnam, Illogan Highway, Redruth, Cornwall.	W. E. Robertson, Station Road, Praze, Crowan, Cornwall.
F28. Northern	(C.D.)	Northern Cornwall D.L.P	1 10 0		J. H. Brown, Tor View Terrace, Delabole, Cornwall.	
F29. Penryn and Falmouth	(C.D.)	Penryn & Falmouth D.L.P.	1 10 0		L. Champion, Bank Cottages, Probus, Cornwall.	

										H. Trembath, 16, Bay View Terrace, Penzance.		Mrs. Bertrand Russell, Carn Voel, Treen, Penzance.
Cumberland.												
B31. Carlisle	(S.B.)	...	Carlisle T.C. & L.P.	...	1	10	0	... 1	...	J. W. Smith, 57, Greystone Road, Carlisle.	...	
B32. Northern	(C.D.)	...	Northern Cumberland D.L.P.	...					...	J. M. Trimble, Wetheral Pasture, near Carlisle.	...	
B33. Penrith and Cockermouth	(C.D.)	...	Penrith & Cockermouth D.L.P.	...					...	R. Robertson, 5, Arthur Terrace, Penrith.	...	
B33A. Penrith and Cockermouth	C.D.	...	Penrith T.C.	...					...	T. Hodgson, 57, Arthur Terrace, Penrith.	...	
B34. Whitehaven	(C.D.)	...	Whitehaven D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	...	W. J. Lowery, The Crescent, Thornhill, Egremont.	...	
B35. Workington	(C.D.)	...	Workington D.L.P.	...	2	10	0	... 1	...	Coun. W. J. Irving, Eden House, Corporation Road, Workington.	...	William John Irving, Secretary.
Derby.												
C36. Derby	(D.M.B.)	...	Derby L.P. & T.C.	...	6	10	6	... 2	...	J. Cobb, 108, Stanley Street, Derby.	...	John Cobb, Secretary.
C37. Belper	(C.D.)	...	Belper D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	... 1	...	C. H. Bishop, 32, Priory Road, Alfreton.	...	Charles H. Bishop, Secretary.
C38. Chesterfield	(C.D.)	...	Chesterfield D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	...	Joseph Lynch, Miners' Offices, Chesterfield.	...	
C39. Clay Cross	(C.D.)	...	Clay Cross D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	... 1	...	Fred Haynes, 68, Brooke Street, Tibshelf, near Alfreton, Derby.	...	Sam Sales, Wingfield Road, Tupton, nr. Chesterfield.
C40. High Peak	(C.D.)	...	High Peak D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	... 1	...	G. H. Bradbury, Bryn-y-Mor, Sheffield Road, Glossop.	...	Walton Newbold, 6, Grange Road, Buxton.
C41. Ilkeston	(C.D.)	...	Ilkeston D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	... 1	...	G. Draycott, 64, Mosley Street, Ripley, Derby.	...	Leonard Shipley, 74a, Station Road, Langley Mill, near Notts.
C42. North Eastern	(C.D.)	...	Derbyshire (N.E.) D.L.P.	...				...	...	B. Howells, 11, Ralph Road, Lowgates, Staveley, near Chesterfield.	...	
C43. Southern	(C.D.)	...	Derbyshire (S.) D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	... 1	...	L. Straw, 101, Oxford Street, Church Gresley, near Burton-on-Trent.	...	Councillor A. Goodere, "Clovelly," 38, Nightingale Road, Derby.
C44. Western	(C.D.)	...	Derbyshire (W.) D.L.P.	..	1	10	0	...	...	G. L. Bridge, Lynholme, Lime Tree Hill, Matlock.	...	
Devon.												
F45. Exeter	(S.B.)	...	Exeter D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	... 1	...	A. H. Hemming, 31, Ladysmith Road, Heavitree.	...	Mr. Allen, "Redvers," Alphington Road, St. Thomas, Exeter.
F46/48. Plymouth	(D.B.)	...	Plymouth Borough L.P.	..					...	B. H. Chowen, 30, Westwell Street, Plymouth.	...	
F46. Plymouth, Drake	(B.D.)	...	Drake D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	...	W. A. Miller, Plymouth Chambers, Drake Circus, Plymouth.	...	
F47. Plymouth and Devonport	(B.D.)	...	Devonport D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	...	R. P. James, 35, Craigmore Avenue, Stoke, Devonport.	...	
F48. Plymouth, Sutton	(B.D.)	...	Sutton D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	... 1	...	A. H. Gregory, 12, Treville Street, Plymouth.	...	Mr. Wright, 1, Elliot Terrace, Plymouth.
F49. Barnstaple	(C.D.)	...	Barnstaple D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	...	J. Ellery, 22, Trinity Street, Barnstaple.	...	
F50. Honiton	(C.D.)	...	Honiton D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	...	W. Heal, 8, Meadow Street, Exmouth.	...	

Constituencies and Index Nos.		*Local Parties or Councils.*	*Affiliation Fees.* £ s. d.	*No. of Votes.*	*Secretaries and Addresses.*	*Delegates and Addresses.*
Devon (*continued*).						
F51. South Molton	(C.D.)	South Molton D.L.P.			F. Hobbs, 41, North Street, South Molton.	
F52. Tavistock	(C.D.)	Tavistock D.L.P.	1 10 0*	1	J. E. Pursey, Kurma, Tavistock, Devon.	W. T. Goode, M.A., The Shack, Dolvin Road, Tavistock, Devon.
F53. Tiverton	(C.D.)	Tiverton D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	F. Martin, 11, Alexandra Terrace, Tiverton.	
F54. Torquay	(C.D.)	Torquay D.L.P.	2 17 0		S. Young, 57, Princes Road, Ellacombe, Torquay.	
F55. Totnes	(C.D.)	Totnes D.L.P.	2 0 0		J. H. Down, 28, Forde Road, Newton Abbott.	
Dorset.						
F56. Eastern	(C.D.)	Dorset (East) D.L.P.	2 0 0	1	L. J. Peacock, Beaulieu Cottage, Beresford Road, Parkstone, Dorset.	L. J. Peacock, Secretary.
F57. Northern	(C.D.)					
F58. Southern	(C.D.)	Dorset (South) D.L.P.			T. H. Winzar, 28, Newstead Road, Weymouth.	
F59. Western	(C.D.)	Dorset (West) D.L.P.	1 10 0		F. Ferrett, 17, Dagmar Road, Dorchester, Dorset.	
Durham.						
A60. Darlington	(S.B.)	Darlington D.L.P.			H. J. Williams, 35, Coniston Street, Darlington.	
A61. Gateshead	(S.B.)	Gateshead L.P. & T.C.	2 0 0	1	Hugh H. Flynn, 4, Grasmere Street, Gateshead-on-Tyne.	William Flynn, 4, Grasmere Street, Gateshead-on-Tyne, Co. Durham.
A62. Hartlepool	(S.B.)	Hartlepool D.L.P.	1 10 0		W. E. Richardson, 49, Whitby Street, West Hartlepool.	
A63. South Shields	(S.B.)	South Shields T.C. & L.P.	1 10 0	1	H. Donnelly, 99, Collingwood Street, South Shields.	Henry Donnelly, Secretary.
A64. Stockton-on-Tees	(S.B.)	Stockton & Thornaby T.C.	3 3 4	1	A. J. Thatcher, 103, High Street, Stockton-on-Tees.	F. F. Riley, 43, Cromwell Road, South Kensington, London, S.W.7.
A65. Sunderland	(D.M.B.)	Sunderland T.C. & L.P.	1 10 0		Geo. Sanders, 18, Ravensworth Street, Sunderland.	
A66. Barnard Castle	(C.D.)	Barnard Castle D.L.P.	2 0 0	1	J. Hobbs, 2, The Grove, Burnhope, Durham.	Alfred Cheek, 5, The Fold, Quebec, Durham.
A67. Bishop Auckland	(C.D.)	Bishop Auckland D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	H. Leedale, 3, Croft Terrace, Coundon, Bishop Auckland.	Ben C. Spoor, M.P., 7, Eton Road, London, N.W.3.
A68. Blaydon	(C.D.)	Blaydon D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	J. Gilliland, Second Avenue, Chester-le-Street.	Councillor John Bell, 62, Forth Street, Chopwell, Co. Durham.
A69. Chester-le-Street	(C.D.)	Chester-le-Street D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	J. Gilliland, Second Avenue, Chester-le-Street.	Councillor L. Martin, 4, West Street, Newfield, Pelton Fell, Co. Durham. Mrs. A. G. M. Begg, Usworth Rectory, New Washington, C. Durham.

* Payment for 1924.

											ley S.O.		
A71. Durham	(C.D.)	...	Durham D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	R. Shotton, 17, South View, Auton Stile, Bear Park, Durham.	...	James Hesler, 22, Sutton Street, Durham.
A72. Houghton-le-Spring	(C.D.)	...	Houghton-le-Spring D.L.P.	...	2	6	8	...	1	...	H. Bainbridge, 34, Mount Road West, Sunderland.	...	H. Bainbridge, Secretary.
A73. Jarrow	(C.D.)	...	Jarrow D.L.P.	...	1	19	0	...		...	C. Toberty, 6, Browns Place, Felling-on-Tyne, Co. Durham.	...	
A74. Seaham	(C.D.)	...	Seaham D.L.P.	...	1	13	4	...		...	G. W. Bloomfield, Olive House, Seaside Lane, Easington Colliery, Co. Durham.	..	
A75. Sedgefield	(C.D.)	...	Sedgefield D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	J. W. Foster, Fern House, Chilton Lane, Ferryhill, Co. Durham.	...	James Williams, 3, East Plantation Row, Trimdon Grange, Co. Durham.
A76. Spennymoor	(C.D.)	...	Spennymoor D.L.P.	...	2	0	0	...	1	...	Coun. J. Cape, "Avons House," Stanley Crook, Durham.	...	Councillor Alexandra Pinnington, 11, Alexander Terrace, Wheathotton, Crooks, Durham.
Essex.													
G77/78. East Ham	(D.B.)	...	East Ham T.C. & L.P.	...	2	0	0	...	2	...	A. G. Everitt, 31, Little Ilford Lane, Manor Park, E.12.	...	A. G. Everitt, Secretary.
G77. East Ham, N.	(B.D.)	...	North East Ham D.L.P.	..	2	0	0	...	1	...	W. Stewart Rainbird, Labour Hall, Katherine Road, E.6.	...	Albert Allwright, 47, Rectory Road, Manor Park, London, E.12.
G78. East Ham, S.	(B.D.)	...	South East Ham D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...		...	E. F. Markey, Labour Hall, Katherine Road, E. Ham, E.6.	...	Alderman F. Webster, 57, Aintree Avenue, East Ham, E.6.
G79. Ilford	(S.B.)	...	Ilford L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	R. T. Holness, 56, Windsor Road, Ilford.	...	D. Chater, Ley Street Farm, Ley Street, Ilford, Essex.
G80/81. Leyton	(D.B.)	...	Leyton (Borough) L.P.	....						...	G. J. Packman, 11, Westdown Road, Leyton, E.15.	...	
G80. Leyton, East	(B.D.)	...	East Leyton D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	A. G. Serpell, 603, High Road, Leytonstone, E.11.	...	Mr. Flowers, 60, Beechcroft Road, Leytonstone, London, E.11.
G81. Leyton, West	(B.D.)	...	West Leyton D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	A. Moore, 34, Balmoral Road, Leyton, E.10.	...	Mrs. A. E. Hardy, 33, Cheltenham Road, Leyton, London, E.10.
G82. Southend-on-Sea	(S.B.)	...	Southend-on-Sea T.C. & L.P.	...	1	10	0	...		...	H. B. Dunlop, 162, Bournemouth Road, Southend-on-Sea.	..	
G83/84. Walthamstow	(D.B.)	...	Walthamstow (Central) L.P.	...				...	1	...	W. H. Jacob, 342, Hoe Street, Walthamstow, E17.	...	V. L. McEntee, M.P., 64, Ulverston Road, Walthamstow. P. Friedbury, 38, Blackhorse Road, Walthamstow. P. J. Quinn, 5, Tavistock Avenue, Walthamstow.
G83. Walthamstow, East	(B.D.)	...	Walthamstow (East) D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	Fred. Hawkins, 342, Hoe Street, E.17.	...	
G84. Walthamstow, West	(B.D.)	...	Walthamstow (West) D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	W. H. Jacob, 342, Hoe Street, E.17.	...	
G85/88. West Ham	(D.B.)	...	West Ham T.C. & B.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	W. T. Nichols, 433, Barking Road, Plaistow, E.13.	...	J. Foster, 108, Argyle Road, Victoria Docks, London, E.16

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Essex (*continued*).						
G85. West Ham, Plaistow	(B.D.)	Plaistow D.L.P.	1 10 0		W. T. Nichols, 433, Barking Road, Plaistow, E.13.	Coun. D. Hall, 24, Haigh Road. London, E.13.
G86. West Ham, Silvertown	(B.D.)	Silvertown D.L.P.	1 10 0		C. Seaton, 53, Cundy Road, Custom House, London, E.16.	— Seaton, 53, Cundy Road, London, E.15.
G87. West Ham, Stratford	(B.D.)	Stratford D.L.P.	1 10 0		H. D. Clark, 130, Maryland Road, Stratford New Town, London, E.15.	
G88. West Ham, Upton	(B.D.)	Upton D.L.P.			S. G. Barnes, 128, Neville Road, Forest Gate, E.7.	
G89. Chelmsford	(C.D.)	Chelmsford D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	W. H. Phillips, 76, Lower Anchor Street, Chelmsford.	F. W. Paul, 56, Swiss Avenue, Chelmsford.
G90. Colchester	(C.D.)	Colchester D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	P. F. Pollard, Labour Club, Eld Lane, Colchester.	Miss Levy, 114, North Station Road, Colchester.
G91. Epping	(C.D.)	Epping (West Essex) D.L.P.	1 10 0		C. H. Perry, 52, Ainslie Wood Road, Chingford, E.4.	B. A. Hulme, 110, Walpole Road, South Woodford, London, E.18.
G92. Harwich	(C.D.)	Harwich D.L.P.	1 10 0*		J. W. Littlewood, 7, Austins Lane, Harwich.	
G93. Maldon	(C.D.)	Maldon D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	W. Burrows, 80, High Street, Witham, Essex.	W. W. Burrows, Secretary.
G94. Romford	(C.D.)	Romford D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	E. A. Mitchell, 63, Howard Road, Upminster, Romford.	W. Podmore, "Normanville," Ashton Gardens, Chadwell Heath, Essex.
G95. SaffronWalden	(C.D.)	Saffron Walden D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	R. Bishop, 23, The Causeway, Dunmow, Essex.	Rev. R. Norwood, The Vicarage, Wimbish, S. Walden, Essex.
G96. South-Eastern	(C.D.)	Essex (South East) D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	W. C. Farrow, Labour Hall, Orsett Road, Grays, Essex.	A. W. Lloyd, C.C., 7, Landwick Cottages, Great Wakering, Essex. T. M. Read Andrews, Pear Tree Corner, Bulphan, Essex.
Gloucester.						
F97/101. Bristol	(D.B.)	Bristol T.C. & L.P.	1 10 0	1	E. H. Parker, 11, High Street, Bristol.	Fred. Berriman, 19, Hall Street, Bedminster Down, Bristol.
F97. Bristol, Cent.	(B.D.)	Bristol (Cent.) D.L.P.	1 10 0		E. Luke, 58, Kingsdown Parade, Cotham, Bristol.	
F98. Bristol, E.	(B.D.)	Bristol (East) D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	H. E. Rogers, 84, Church Road, Redfield.	Councillor George Shallord, Printer, etc., Nag's Head Road, St. George, Bristol.
F99. Bristol, N.	(B.D.)	Bristol (North) D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	Arthur R. Terrell, 4, Warwick Road, Eastville, Bristol.	
F100. Bristol, S.	(B.D.)	Bristol (South) L.P.			W. B. Gilvear, 9, Warden Road, Southville, Bristol.	
F101. Bristol, W.	(B.D.)	Bristol (West) L.P.	1 10 0		R. Barker, 12e, Cotham Road, Bristol.	
C102. Cheltenham	(S.B.)	Cheltenham L.P.	1 10 0	1	A. T. Quelch, 12, Fairfield Road, Cheltenham.	
C103. Gloucester	(S.B.)	Gloucester L.P. & T.C.	1 10 0	1	J. E. Curtis, Ruskin Hall, Eastgate Street, Glos.	M. Philips Price, Seetgrove, Tuffley, Gloucester.

* Payment for 1924.

C104. Cirencester & Tewkesbury	(C.D.)	...	Cirencester and Tewkesbury D.L.P.	2	0	0	...	1	...	F. Coopey, 3, Abbey Terrace, Tewkesbury, Glos.	...	
C105. Forest of Dean	(C.D.)	...	Forest of Dean D.L.P.	1	10	0	...	1	...	C. W. Luker, "Glenville," Whitecroft, near Lydney, Glos.	...	C. W. Luker, Secretary.
C106. Stroud	(C.D.)	...	Stroud or Mid-Gloucester D.L.P.	1	10	0	...		...	Arthur H. Williams, Whitminster Lane, Frampton-on-Severn, Stonehouse, Glos.	...	Arthur H. Williams, Secretary.
C107. Thornbury	(C.D.)	...	Thornbury D.L.P.	1	10	0	...	1	...	J. R. Edwards, Roadway View, Staple Hill, Bristol.	...	J. H. Alpass, C.C., 46, Whiteladies Road, Clifton, Bristol.
Hants.												
D108. Bournemouth	(S.B.)	...	Bournemouth L.P.	1	10	0	...		...	F. Jeans, 8, Cardigan Road, Winton, Bournemouth.	...	
D109/111. Portsmouth	(D.B)	...	Portsmouth Borough T.C. & L.P.	1	10	0	...	1	...	G. W. Post, 3, Blendworth Road, Milton, Portsmouth.	...	R. S. Ball, 39, Lincoln Road, Fratton, Portsmouth.
D109. Portsmouth Central	(B.D.)	...	Portsmouth (Central) D.L.P.	1	10	0	...		...	H. S. Lee, 95, Lincoln Road, Portsmouth.	...	
D110. Portsmouth, N.	(B.D)	...	Portsmouth (Northern) D.L.P.						...	F. Bartlett, 88, Drayton Road, North End, Portsmouth.	...	
D111. Portsmouth, S.	(B.D)	...	Portsmouth (Southern) D.L.P.	1	10	0	...		...	L. C. Gauntlett, 143, Henderson Road, Eastney, Portsmouth.	...	
D112. Southampton	(D.M.B)	...	Southampton T.C. & L.P.	3	0	0	...	2	...	T. Lewis, 22, St. Mary's Street, Southampton.	...	Mrs. E. Palmer, J.P., 12, Shakespeare Avenue, Southampton.
D113. Aldershot	(C.D.)	...	Aldershot D.L.P.	1	10	0	...		...	Harry Lloyd, 59, St. George's Road, Aldershot.	...	
D114. Basingstoke	(C.D.)	...	Basingstoke D.L.P.	1	10	0	...		...	E. F. Bailey, 13, Millway Road, Andover.	...	
D115. Fareham	(C.D.)	...	Fareham (South Hants) D.L.P.						...	C. Wilkinson, "Stranraer," Catisfield, Fareham.	...	
D116. New Forest & Christchurch	(C.D.)	...	New Forest & Christchurch D.L.P.						...	F. Frecknall, 3, Salisbury Road, Fordingbridge, Hants.	...	
D117. Petersfield	(C.D.)	...	Petersfield (East Hants) D.L.P.	4	6	0	...	2	...	G. C. Bagley, Lymington, Four Marks, Alton, Hants.	...	Major Leigh Aman, Rowlands Castle, Hants. Mrs. Leigh Aman, Rowlands Castle, Hants.
D118. Winchester	(C.D.)	...	Winchester D.L.P.	1	10	0	...		...	T. Johnson, 76, Chamberlayne Road, Eastleigh.	...	
Hereford.												
C119. Hereford	(C.D.)	...	Herefordshire D.L.P.	2	0	0	...		...	Mrs. Ada Baker, 45, Chandos Street, Hereford.	...	
C120. Leominster	(C.D.)											
Herts.												
D121. Hemel Hempstead	(C.D.)	...	Hemel Hempstead D.L.P.	1	10	0	...		...	A. Ellis, "Silverdale," Queen's Road, Berkhamsted.	...	
D122. Hertford	(C.D.)	...	Hertford T.C. & D.L.P.						...	T. Schooling, 19, Hertford Road, Enfield Wash, Middlesex.	...	

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Herts (*continued*).						
D123. Hitchin	(C.D.)	Hitchin (North Herts) D.L.P.	1 10 0		Mrs. Pease, 225, Ichnield Way, Letchworth.	Mrs. E. Squire, 106, Rusby Mead, Letchworth.
D124. St. Albans	(C.D.)	St. Albans D.L.P.	6 14 10	1	Miss F. M. Henderson, "Lyndhurst," Ravenscroft Park, Barnet, Herts.	Miss F. M. Henderson, Secretary.
D125. Watford	(C.D.)	Watford D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	Marshall G. Cooper, 128, Harwoods Road, Watford.	Marshall Cooper, Secretary.
Hunts.						
G126. Huntingdon	(C.D.)	Hunts D.L.P.			W. Bonnett, 35, Ermine Street, Huntingdon.	
Isle of Ely.						
G127. Isle of Ely	(C.D.)	Isle of Ely D.L.P.	3 14 11		E. Smith, 66, New Park, March, Cambs.	
Isle of Wight.						
D128. Isle of Wight	(C.D.)	Isle of Wight D.L.P.			L. Hobbs, Thetford, High Park Road, Ryde.	
Kent.						
D129. Bromley	(S.B.)	Bromley D.L.P.	2 5 0	1	Nigel A. E. Adams, 51, Albert Road, Penge, London, S.E.20.	H. J. Wallington, Temple Grange, Hayne Road, Beckenham, Kent.
D130. Hythe	(S.B.)	Hythe L.P. & Folkestone T. & L.C.	1 10 0	1	Mrs. E. A. Rose, 36, North Street, Folkestone.	Councillor W. Moncrieff, Guildhall, Hall Street, Folkestone.
D131/132. Rochester	(D.B.)	Rochester Borough L.P.	1 10 0	1	H. A. Shellock, 64, Rainham Road, Chatham, Kent.	Robert P. Edwards, J.P., 119, Thorold Road, Chatham, Kent.
D131. Rochester, Chatham	(B.D.)	Chatham T. & L.C.	1 10 0		E. G. Brown, 263, High Street, Chatham.	
D132. Rochester, Gillingham	(B.D.)	Rochester, Gillingham, D.L.P			F. W. Davis, 159, Livingstone Road, Gillingham, Kent.	
D133. Ashford	(C.D.)	Ashford & District L.P.	1 13 6	1	H. Williams, 134, Cudworth Road, South Willesborough, Kent.	
D134. Canterbury	(C.D.)	Canterbury D.L.P.				
D135. Chislehurst	(C.D.)	Chislehurst D.L.P. & T.C.			O. S. Bailey, Newlands Shaw, New Barn, Longfield, Kent.	
D136. Dartford	(C.D.)	Dartford D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	Robert Cross, 16, Lowfields Street, Dartford.	Mrs. Peacock, 7, Farm Place, Crayford. Robert Cross, Secretary.
D137. Dover	(C.D.)	Dover D.L.P.	1 10 0		C. Watts, 17, Salisbury Road, Dover.	
D138. Faversham	(C.D.)	Faversham D.L.P.	1 10 0		A. E. Castle, 3, Albany Street, Sittingbourne.	
D139. Gravesend	(C.D.)	Gravesend D.L.P.	2 10 0	2	W. H. Hunt, L.P. Offices, 29, Cutmore Street, Gravesend.	Miss K. M. Horrigan, 29, Catmore Street, Gravesend. W. H. Hunt, Secretary.
D140. Isle of Thanet	(C.D.)	Isle of Thanet D.L.P.	1 10 0		F. Hayward, 22, St. Luke's Avenue, Ramsgate.	M. Jacobs, 65, Ethelbert Road, Margate.

D141. Maidstone	(C.D.)	...	Maidstone D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	2	...	C. L. Tovey, 26, Stone Street, Maidstone.	...	Jack Allen, 26, Stone Street, Maidstone, Kent. Mrs. D. M. Mackie, J.P., 62, Bower Mount Road, Maidstone, Kent.
D142. Sevenoaks	(C.D.)	...	Sevenoaks D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...		...	F. G. Dore, Rutland Villa, West Malling.	...	
D143. Tonbridge	(C.D.)	...	Tonbridge D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...		...	F. E. Gowen, 68, Hectorage Road, Tonbridge.	...	
Lancashire.													
B144. Accrington	(S.B.)	...	Accrington T.C. & L.P.	1	10	0	...	1		...	W. Howson, 19, Warner Street, Accrington.	...	Wm. Howson, Secretary.
B145. Ashton-under-Lyne	(S.B.)	...	Ashton-under-Lyne & Dukinfield T.C.	...	1	10	0	...		...	J. Wolstencroft, Jnr., 61, Park Street, Ashton-under-Lyne.	...	
B146. Barrow-in-Furness	(S.B.)	...	Barrow L.P. & T.C.	...	2	0	0	...	1	...	B. Longstaffe, The Old Municipal Offices, Market Street, Barrow-in-Furness.	...	Councillor Bram Longstaffe, Secretary.
B147. Blackburn	(D.M.B.)	...	Blackburn L.P.	...	3	0	0	...		...	G. B. Eddie, 20, Mincing Lane, Blackburn.	...	Councillor John Charnley, 87, Byrom Street, Blackburn.
B148. Blackpool	(S.B.)	...	Blackpool L.P.	...	1	10	0	...		...	W. Rawcliffe, 8, Johnson Road, Marton, Blackpool.	...	
B149. Bolton	(D.M.B.)	...	Bolton L.P.	...	3	0	0	...	2	...	H. Eastwood, Spinners' Hall, St. George's Road, Bolton. Lancs.	...	Herbert Eastwood, Secretary.
B150. Bootle	(S.B.)	...	Bootle T.C. & L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	J. Haworth, 4, Pembroke Road, Bootle.	...	J. Haworth, Secretary.
B151. Burnley	(S.B.)	...	Burnley T.C.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	J. W. Gradwell, 1, Yorke Street, Burnley.	...	Councillor J. W. Gradwell, Secretary.
B152. Bury	(S.B.)	...	Bury L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	F. H. Edwards, Peter Street, Moorgate, Bury, Lancs.	...	Councillor Thomas Birch, J.P., 29, Openshaw Street, Bury, Lancs.
B153. Eccles	(S.B.)	...	Eccles L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	W. M. Rogerson, 6, Mayfield Avenue, Walkden, Manchester.	...	W. M. Rogerson, Secretary.
B154. Leigh	(S.B.)	...	Leigh & District T. & L.C.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	J. W. Bibby, New Platt Street, Leigh.	...	Thomas J. Brown, J.P., 393, Leigh Road, Hindley Green, Lancs.
B155/165. Liverpool	(D.B.)	...	Liverpool T.C. & L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	W. H. Barton, 7, Spekeland Buildings, Canning Place, Liverpool.	...	W. H. Barton, Secretary.
B155. Liverpool, East Toxteth	(B.D.)	...	East Toxteth D.L.P.	...						...	J. H. Higgins, 3, Bickerton Street, Lark Lane, Liverpool.	...	
B156. Liverpool, Edge Hill	(B.D.)	...	Edge Hill D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	A. Griffin, Hayes Hall, 70, Sheil Road, Kensington, Liverpool.	...	Jack Hayes, M.P., Hayes Hall, 70, Sheil Road, Kensington, Liverpool.
B157. Liverpool, Everton	(B.D.)	...	Everton D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	W. H. Chester, 30, Rice Lane, Walton, Liverpool.	...	
B158. Liverpool, Exchange	(B.D.)												
B159. Liverpool, Fairfield	(B.D.)	...	Fairfield D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	J. Sullivan, 1, Church Road, Stanley, Liverpool.	...	George Porter, 8, Selkirk Road, Old Swan, Liverpool.
B160. Liverpool, Kirkdale	(B.D.)	...	Kirkdale D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...		...	S. Part, 33, Juliet Street, Liverpool.	...	
B161. Liverpool, Scotland	(B.D.)	...	Liverpool (Scotland) D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...		...	J. McChrystal, 173, Great Howard Street, Liverpool.	...	

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Lancashire (*continued*).						
B162. Liverpool, Walton	(B.D.)	Walton D.L.P.	1 10 0		E. Tupman, 14, Signal Works Road, Fazakerley, Liverpool.	
B163. Liverpool, Wavertree	(B.D.)	Wavertree D.L.P.	1 10 0		G. Williams, 27, Nook Rise, Garden City, Wavertree.	
B164. Liverpool, West Derby	(B.D.)	West Derby D.L.P.	1 10 0		W. G. Cox, 7, Alison Place, West Derby, Liverpool.	
B165. Liverpool, West Toxteth	(B.D.)	West Toxteth D.L.P.	1 10 0		A. Demain, 16, Pengwern Street, Liverpool.	
B166/175a. Manchester.	(D.B.)	Manchester (Borough) L.P.	1 10 0	1	J. F. Kilgarry, 4, Hibbert Place, Gunson Street, Ancoats, Manchester.	Charles Priestley, 6, Cardigan Street, Phillips Pk. Rd., Beswick, Manchester
B166/175b Manchester	(D.B.)	Manchester & Salford T.C.	1 10 0	1	Councillor W. Mellor, 3, Clarence Street, Albert Square, Manchester.	Councillor W. Mellor, J.P., Secretary.
B166. Manchester & Ardwick	(B.D.)	Ardwick Local L.P.	1 10 0	1	T. M. Larrad, 13, Ashton Old Road, Ardwick, Manchester.	Thomas Swan, 121, Hillkirk Street, Ardwick, Manchester.
B167. Manchester, Blackley	(B.D.)	Blackley D.L.P.	1 10 0		J. E. Cashmore, 16, Kingsley Place, Moston.	
B168. Manchester, Clayton	(B.D.)	Clayton L.P.			F. Staddon, 38, Park Street, Clayton, Manchester.	
B169. Manchester, Exchange	(B.D.)	Exchange D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	A. Mellor, 20, Temple Square, Cheetham, Manchester.	Arthur Mellor, Secretary.
B170. Manchester, Gorton	(B.D.)	Gorton U.T.C.	1 13 4	1	Wm. Davey, 63, Central Road, Gorton, Manchester.	J. Cossey, 25, Sherborne Street, Gorton, Manchester.
B171. Manchester, Hulme	(B.D.)	Hulme D.L.P.	1 10 0		L. Corcoran, 295, Stretford Road, Hulme.	E. J. Alford, 295, Stretford Road, Hulme, Manchester.
B172. Manchester, Moss Side	(B.D.)	Moss Side D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	Miss R. Graham, 251, Upper Brook Street, Manchester.	Rose Graham, Secretary.
B173. Manchester, Platting	(B.D.)	Platting D.L.P.			F. Winstanly, 51, Waverley Road, Moston.	
B174. Manchester, Rusholme	(B.D.)	Rusholme L.P.	1 10 0	1	James Compton, 48, Whitby Road, Fallowfield, Manchester.	William Paul, 77, Cannan Street, Manchester.
B175. Manchester, Withington	(B.D.)	Withington L.P.	1 10 0	1	Eveleen G. Cameron, The Grange, Withington, Manchester.	Eveleen G. Cameron, Secretary.
B176. Nelson and Colne	(S.B.)	Nelson & Colne L.P.	2 10 0	1	W. Throup, 56, Railway Street, Nelson.	William Throup, Secretary.
B177. Oldham	(D.M.B.)	Oldham & District T. & L.C.	3 10 0	2	Alderman Isaac Crabtree, 151, Union Street, Oldham.	Alderman Isaac Crabtree, J.P., Secretary.
B178. Preston	(D.M.B.)	Preston L.P. & T.C.	3 0 0		W. E. Morris, Labour Institute, Lancaster Road, Preston.	
B179. Rochdale	(S.B.)	Rochdale L.P. & T.C.	3 0 0		C. Crowder, 2a, The Walk, Rochdale.	
B180. Rossendale	(S.B.)	Rossendale D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	Jas. Hindle, The "Crescent," Lumb-in-Rossendale, Manchester.	James Hindle, Secretary.

B181. St. Helens	(S.B.)	...	St. Helens T. & L.C.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	R. Waring, Windle Labour Club, Dentons Green Lane, St. Helens, Lancs.	...	Councillor T. H. Boscow, 6, Junction Lane, St. Helens.
B182/184. Salford	(D.B.)	...	Salford (Borough) L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	J. Openshaw, 207, Langworthy Road, Pendleton, Manchester.	...	James Openshaw, Secretary.
B182. Salford, N.	(B.D.)	...	Salford (North) L.P.	...	1	10	0	...		...	C. Bramall, 17, Clarence Street, Lower Broughton, Salford.	...	
B183. Salford, S.	(B.D.)	...	Salford (South) D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...		...	T. Walsh, 10, Rock Street, Salford.	...	
B184. Salford, W.	(B.D.)	...	Salford (West) L.P.	...	1	10	0	...		...	T. Dawson, 21, Eades Street, Pendleton.	...	
B185. Southport	(S.B.)	...	Southport T.C. & L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	E. Rimmer, 13, Warren Road, Southport.	...	A. Yates, 30, Queen's Road, Southport.
B186. Warrington	(S.B.)	...	Warrington T.C. & L.P.	..	2	10	0	...		...	David Plinston, 27, Willis Street, Warrington.	...	
B187. Wigan	(S.B.)	...	Wigan & District T.C. & L.P.	...	1	10	0	...		...	R. Lewis, 29, King Street, Wigan.	...	
B188. Chorley	(C.D.)	...	Chorley D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...		...	W. Herron, Bolton Road, Duxberry, Chorley.	...	W. Herron, Secretary.
B189. Clitheroe	(C.D.)	...	Clitheroe D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	2	...	F. Constantine, 36, Burnley Road, Padiham, Lancs.	...	Mrs. E. A. Constantine, 18, Cemetery road, Padiham, Lancs. Fred Constantine, Secretary.
B189a. Clitheroe	(C.D.)	...	Gt. Harwood T.C.	...	1	10	0	...		...	J. Dickinson, 2, Mount Street, Great Harwood.	...	
B190. Darwen	(C.D.)	...	Darwen D.T. & L.C.	...	2	0	0	...		...	Andrew Fleming, 7, Lorne Street, Darwen.	...	
B191. Farnworth	(C.D.)	...	Farnworth D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	Richard Matthews, 12, Barrett Avenue, Kearsley, Farnworth, S.O.	...	R. Matthews, Secretary.
B192. Fylde	(C.D.)	...	Fylde D.L.P.							...	C. Saer, "The Hut," Fleetwood.	...	
B193. Heywood & Radcliffe	(C.D.)	...	Heywood & Radcliffe D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	E. J. Hookway, 15-17, Stand Lane, Radcliffe.	...	Dr. Isaac Flack, Willowbank, James Street, Radcliffe, Lancs.
B194. Ince	(C.D.)	...	Ince D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...		...	R. T. Phillips, 3, Church Street, Hindley.	...	
B195. Lancaster	(C.D.)	...	Lancaster D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...		...	Arthur Knowles, 56, Wingate Lane Road, Lancaster.	...	
B196. Lonsdale	(C.D.)	...	Lonsdale (N.) D.L.P.	...						...	J. Chapman, 1, Hamilton Terrace, Dalton-in-Furness.	...	
B197. Middleton & Prestwich	(C.D.)	...	Middleton & Prestwich D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...		...	J. Atkinson, 7, Rochdale Road, Middleton.	...	
B198. Mossley	(C.D.)	...	Mossley D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...		...	J. W. Ashworth, 4, Stanford Road, Mossley.	...	
B199. Newton	(C.D.)	...	Newton D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	2	...	W. Speakman, Park Road, Newton-le-Willows.	...	Mrs. Crouchley, Market Street, Lorlestown. William Speakman, Secretary.
B200. Ormskirk	(C.D.)	...	Ormskirk D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...		...	John T. Braithwaite, 1, Queen Street, Ormskirk, near Rochdale.	...	
B201. Royton	(C.D.)	...	Royton D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	J. C. Hughes, 4, Entwistle Street, Milnrow.	...	W. A. Firth, J.P., Glenthorne, Buckley Hill, Milnrow.
B202. Stretford	(C.D.)	...	Stretford D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...		...	J. Nicholl, 42, Stamford Street, Old Trafford, Manchester.	...	

Constituencies and Index Nos.		*Local Parties or Councils.*	*Affiliation Fees.* £ s. d.	*No. of Votes.*	*Secretaries and Addresses.*	*Delegates and Addresses.*
Lancashire (*continued*).						
B203. Waterloo	(C.D.)	Waterloo D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	G. Forden, 23, Schubert Street, Seaforth, near Liverpool.	George Forden, Secretary.
B204. Westhoughton	(C.D.)	Westhoughton D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	W. A. Spofforth, 9, Market Street, Westhoughton, Lancs.	William Arthur Spofforth, Secretary.
B205. Widnes	(C.D.)	Widnes D.L.P.	1 10 0		P. Hanley, 3, Gladstone Street, Widnes.	
Leicester.						
C206/208. Leicester	(D.B.)	Leicester (Boro') L.P.	1 10 0	2	W. Howard, 88, Rutland Street, Leicester.	Miss Mackintosh, 19, High Street, Leicester. W. Howard, Secretary.
C206. Leicester, E.	(B.D.)	Leicester (East) L.P.	1 10 0			
C207. Leicester, S.	(B.D.)	Leicester (South) L.P.	1 10 0		M. Mackintosh, Weymouth House, Freeman Road, Leicester.	
C208. Leicester, W.	(B.D.)	Leicester (West) L.P.	1 10 0		W. Howard, 88, Rutland Street, Leicester.	
C209. Bosworth	(C.D.)	Bosworth D.L.P.	1 10 0		J. T. Baxter, 218, North Street, Hugglescote, near Leicester.	
C210. Harborough	(C.D.)	Harborough D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	T. Rowland Hill, 14, Granley Street, Leicester.	T. Rowland Hill, Secretary.
C211. Loughborough	(C.D.)	Loughborough & District L.P.	1 10 0		G. Lowe, Tanners Lane, Hathern, Loughborough.	
C212. Melton	(C.D.)	Melton Mowbray D.L.P.				
Lincoln and Rutland.						
G213. Grimsby	(S.B.)	Grimsby D.L.P. & T.C.	1 10 0		S. Bonsell, 61, Kent Street, Grimsby.	
G214. Lincoln	(S.B.)	Lincoln T.C. & L.P.	1 10 0	1	T. W. Jessop, 15, Oakfield Street, Lincoln.	Thos. William Jessop, Secretary.
G215. Holland with Boston	(C.D.)	Holland with Boston D.L.P.	1 10 0		H. N. St. Dunstan White, Labour Agent's Office, Sheep Market, Spalding.	
G216. Kesteven, Grantham	(C.D.)	Grantham D.L.P.	1 10 0		M. W. Moore, Claypole, Newark-on-Trent.	
G217. Kesteven, Rutland & Stamford	(C.D.)	Rutland & Stamford D.L.P.	1 10 0		H. Wade, 4, Newtown, Stamford.	
G218. Lindsey, Brigg	(C.D.)	Brigg D.L.P.			M. R. Barnes, L.P. Offices, Highfield House, Scunthorpe.	
G219. Lindsey, Gainsborough	(C.D.)	Gainsborough & West Lindsey D.L.P.	1 10 0		J. W. Martin, Labour Hall, Market Street, Gainsborough.	
G220. Lindsey, Horncastle	(C.D.)	Horncastle D.L.P.			S. Stennett, "Ringstead," Lumley Avenue, Skegness.	
G221. Lindsey, Louth	(C.D.)	Louth D.L.P.	1 10 0		A. Simons, 16a, Eastgate, Louth.	

London.

E222/282a. London, County of		...	London L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	Herbert Morrison, L.C.C., 12, Tavistock Place, Russell Square, London, W.C.1.	... Herbert Morrison, L.C.C., Secretary. ... Miss Lilian Dawson, 11, Tufton Street, London, S.W.1.
E222/282b. London, County of		...	London T.C.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	D. Carmichael, 7, Staple Inn Buildings, Holborn, London, W.C.	... Duncan Carmichael, Secretary.
E222/223. Battersea	(D.B.)	...	Battersea T.C. & L.P.	...	3	0	0	...	2	...	Councillor C. E. Mason, 455, Battersea Park Road, London, S.W.11.	... Mrs. E. M. Raynor, 9, Leathwaite Road, Lavender Hill, London, S.W.11. W. F. Andrews, 137, Battersea Park Road, London, S.W.8.
E222. Battersea, N.	(B.D.)											
E223. Battersea, S.	(B.D.)											
E224/225. Bermondsey	(D.B.)	...	Bermondsey and Rotherhithe T.C. & L.P.		1	10	0	...	1	...	Alderman Alfred Broughton, 57, Upper Grange Road, Bermondsey, S.E.1.	... George White, 52, Clements Road, London, S.E.16
E224. Bermondsey, West	(B.D.)	...	Bermondsey (West) L.P..		1	10	0	...	1	...	J. A. W. Douglas, 57, Upper Grange Road, Bermondsey, London, S.E.	... Councillor Mrs. Salter, 5, Storks Road, Rotherhithe, London, S.E.16.
E225. Bermondsey, Rotherhithe	(B.D.)	...	Rotherhithe L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	H. C. Balman, 61, Delaford Road, Rotherhithe, S.E.16.	... Mr. Wayne, 12, Westlake Road, London, S.E.16.
E226/227. Bethnal Green	(D.B.)	...	Bethnal Green Borough L.P. & T.C.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	J. J. Vaughan, 123, Old Ford Road, Bethnal Green, London, E.	... J. J. Vaughan, Secretary.
E226. Bethnal Green, North-East	(B.D.)	...	Bethnal Green (North-East) D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	H. E. Tate, 36, Vyner Street, Bethnal Green, London, E.2.	... Walter Windsor, M.P., 11, Willoughby Road, Hampstead, London, N.W.3.
E227. Bethnal Green, South-West	(B.D.)	...	Bethnal Green (South-West) D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	Councillor A. H. Gillison, Labour Office, 243, Bethnal Green Road, London, E.	... Councillor J. Valentine, 3, Moore House, Bethnal Green Estate, London, E.2.
E228/231. Camberwell	(D.B)	...	Camberwell T.C. and Borough L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	A. Creech Jones, 79, Red Post Hill, London, S.E.24.	... A. Creech Jones, Secretary.
E228. Camberwell, N.	(B.D.)	...	Camberwell (North) D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	Chas. E. Hammerton, 356, Old Kent Road, London, S.E.15.	... C. A. G. Manning, L.C.C., 356, Old Kent Road, London, S.E.1.
E229. Camberwell, North-West	(B.D.)	...	Camberwell (North-West) D.L.P.		1	10	0	...	1	...	W. W. Champness, 74, Church Street, London, S.E.5.	... W. W. Champness, Secretary.
E230. Camberwell, Dulwich	(B.D.)	...	Dulwich D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	Miss W. Stephenson, 22, Tyson Road, Forest Hill, London, S.E.23.	... G. W. Silversides, 4, Casino Avenue, Herne Hill, London, S.E. 24.
E231. Camberwell, Peckham	(B.D.)	...	Peckham D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	F. Marsh, 25, Rosenthorpe Road, Nunhead, London, S.E.15.	... W. Pitt, 75, Peckham Rye, London, S.E.15.
E232. Chelsea	(S.B.)	...	Chelsea T.C. & L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	W. E. Franklin, 18f, Lewis Buildings, London, S.W.3.	... Miss Stella Browne, 16, King's Mansions, Chelsea, London, S.W.3.
E233. City of London	(D.M.B.)											
E234. Deptford	(S.B.)	...	Deptford L.P.	...	4	3	4	...	1	...	W. H. Green, 435, New Cross Road, London, S.E.14.	... Alderman W. H. Green, J.P., Secretary
E235. Finsbury	(S.B.)	...	Finsbury L.P. & T.C.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	A. J. Frost, 107, Lever Street, E.C.1.	... A. J. Frost, Secretary.
E236/237. Fulham	(D.B.)	...	Fulham Borough L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	Ald. R. M. Gentry, 20 Harbord Street, London, S.W.6.	... R. M. Gentry, 20, Harbord Street, Fulham, London, S.W.6.

Constituencies and Index Nos.	*Local Parties or Councils.*	*Affiliation Fees.* £ s. d.	*No. of Votes.*	*Secretaries and Addresses.*	*Delegates and Addresses.*
London (*continued*).					
E236. Fulham, East (B.D.)	Fulham (East) L.P.	1 10 0		J. M. Browning, 49, Cassidy Road, Fulham, London, S.W.	
E237. Fulham, West (B.D.)	Fulham (West) L.P.	1 10 0		W. Banfield, 3, Rosedew Road, London, W.6.	
E238. Greenwich (S.B.)	Greenwich L.P.	2 0 0	1	J. H. Round, 10, Blackheath Hill, London, S.E.10.	J. H. Round, Secretary.
E239/241. Hackney (D.B.)	Hackney (Borough) L.P.		1	E. A. Little, 80, Downs Park Road, Hackney Downs, London, E.	G. H. Lee, 138, Elderfield Road, Clapton, E.5.
E239. Hackney, Cen. (B.D.)	Hackney (Central) L.P.	1 10 0		H. W. Butler, 5, Dalston Lane, Hackney, London, E.	H. W. Butler, Secretary.
E240. Hackney, N. (B.D.)	Hackney (North) L.P.	1 10 0	1	— Capell, 9, Southwold Road, London, E.5.	Mrs. M. Mylles, 14, Warwick Road, Clapton, London, E.5.
E241. Hackney, S. (B.D.)	Hackney (South) L.P.	1 10 0	1	H. J. Mead, 56, Halidon Street, London, E.9.	A. R. Palmer, 53, Halidon Street, London, E.9.
E242/243. Hammersmith (D.B.)	Hammersmith T.C. & L.P.	3 0 0		Wilfred Turney, 154, Goldhawk Road, London, W.12.	Mrs. Stevens, 154, Goldhawk Road, London, W.12
E242. Hammersmith, N. (B.D.)	Hammersmith (North) L.P.			Mrs. W. Turney, 154, Goldhawk Road, London, W.12.	
E243. Hammersmith, S. (B.D.)	Hammersmith (South) D.L.P.			F. Brader, 154, Goldhawk Road, London, W. 12.	
E244. Hampstead (S.B.)	Hampstead L.P.	1 10 0	1	F. J. Taylor, 210, Belsize Road, W. Hampstead, London, N.W.	Councillor Mrs. E. Maddox, 54, Mill Lane, W. Hampstead, London, N.W.6.
E245. Holborn (S.B.)	Holborn L.P.	1 10 0	1	W. H. Guest, 27, Laney Buildings, Bourne Estate, London, W.C.	A. E. Hunter, 5, Thackeray Buildings, Herbrand Street, London, W.C.
E246/249. Islington (D.B.)	Islington (Borough) L.P.	1 10 0		H. G. Coleman, 295, Upper Street, Islington, London, N.	Councillor E. H. King, 3, Northampton Square, London, E.C.1.
E246. Islington, E. (B.D.)	Islington (East) L.P.	1 10 0	1	W. Miles, 16, Highbury Grove, London, N.5.	Dr. Ethel Bentham, J.P., 61, Lansdown Road, Holland Park, London, W.11.
E247. Islington, N. (B.D.)	Islington (North) L.P.	4 0 0	1	F. Potter, 403, Hornsey Road, London, N.19.	A. B. Bishop, 403, Hornsey Road, Upper Holloway, London, N.19.
E248. Islington, S. (B.D.)	Islington (South) D.L.P.	1 10 0		H. G. Coleman, 295, Upper Street, Islington, London, N.1.	F. H. Peet, 255, Liverpool Road, London, N.1.
E249. Islington, W. (B.D.)	Islington (West) L.P.	1 10 0	1	H. J. Rowe, 1, Twyford Street, Islington, London, N.1.	W. Finnimore, 428, Camden Road, London, N.7.
E250/251. Kensington (D.B)					
E250. Kensington, N. (B.D)	Kensington (North) L.P. & T.C.	1 10 0	1	W. D. Little, 216, Kensington Park Road, W.11.	W. Pettitt, 71, St. Quintin's Avenue, N. Kensington, London, W.10.
E251. Kensington, S. (B.D.)	Kensington (South) L.P.	1 10 0	1	J. A. Sparks, The Labour College, 13, Penywern Road, Earls Court, London,	J. A. Sparks, Secretary.

E252/255. Lambeth	(D.B.)	...	Lambeth (Borough) L.P. & T.C.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	W. H. A. Porter, 34, Chester Street, London, S.E.11.	...	Sidney Stranks, 263, Kennington Road, London, S.E.11.
E252. Lambeth, Brixton	(B.D.)	...	Brixton (Lambeth) L.P	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	E. A. Allen, 14, Hilda Road, Brixton, London, S.W.	...	Ernest A. Allen, Secretary.
E253. Lambeth, Kennington	(B.D.)	...	Kennington (Lambeth) L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	F. Beechay, 145, Wandsworth Road, S.W.8.	...	A. Taunton, 32, Thorne Road, London, S.W.8.
E254. Lambeth, N.	(B.D.)	...	Lambeth (North) L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	A. Deady, 24, Wincott Street, Kennington Road, London, S.E.11.	...	F. P. Corrigan, 263, Kennington Road, London, S.E.11.
E255. Lambeth, Norwood	(B.D.)	...	Norwood L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	G. A. Tremain, 7, Mount Villas, W. Norwood, London, S.E.	...	George Anstey, 333, Milkwood Road, Herne Hill, London, S.E.
E256/257. Lewisham	(D.B.)	...	Lewisham (Borough) T.C. & L.P.	...						...	W. F. Howard, 159, Davenport Road, Catford, London, S.E.	...	J. J. Jones, 41, Rhyme Road, Lewisham, London, S.E.13.
E256. Lewisham, E.	(B.D.)	...	Lewisham (East) D.L.P..		3	0	0	...	1	...	W. Spikes, 44, Lee Park, Blackheath, London, S.E.3.	...	J. J. Kitson, 130, Brookdale Road, Catford, London, S.E.6.
E257. Lewisham, W.	(B.D.)	...	Lewisham (West) L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	H. W. Eldridge, 80, Malham Road, Forest Hill, S.E.	...	R. Stines, 17, Upper Croft Road, Forest Hill, London, S.E.23.
E258/259. Paddington	(D.B.)	...	Paddington (Borough) L.P.	...	3	0	0	...	2	...	L. G. Paul, 77, Third Avenue, Queen's Park, London, W.10.	...	J. R. Byrne, 23, Braden Street, Paddington, London, W.9. S. E. Dallas, 80, Ledbury Road, Bayswater, London, W.2.
E258. Paddington, N.	(B.D.)												
E259. Paddington, S.	(B.D.)												
E260/261. Poplar	(D.B.)	...	Poplar T.C. & Borough L.P.	...	1	10	0	...		...	D. S. Davies, 217, Abbott Road, Poplar, London, E.14.	...	
E260. Poplar, Bow & Bromley	(B.D.)	...	Poplar, Bow & Bromley D.L.P.		1	10	0	...	1	...	T. J. Blacketer, 38, Campbell Road, London, E.3.	...	J. Fisher, 56, Jodrell Road, Bow, London, E.3.
E261. Poplar, S.	(B.D.)	...	Poplar (South) L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	2	...	G. J. Cressall, 15, Marquarie Way, Millwall, London, E.14.	...	Councillor Mrs. J. A. March, 2, Plimsoll Street, Poplar. Councillor G. J. Cressall, Secretary.
E262. St. Marylebone	(S.B.)	...	St. Marylebone L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	C. S. Millard, The Bungalow, 8, Abercorn Place.	...	E. J. Watson, 6, Balcombe Street, London, N.W.1.
E263/265. St. Pancras	(D.B)	...	St. Pancras (Borough) L.P. & T. C.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	R. Clarke Danton, 67, Camden Road, N.W.1.	...	S. Saklatvala, 2, St. Albans Villas, Highgate Road, London, N.W.
E263. St. Pancras, N.	(B.D)	...	St. Pancras (North) L.P.		1	10	0	...	1	...	W. T. Bacon, 35, Fortess Road, London, N.W.5.	...	William Thomas Bacon, Secretary.
E264. St. Pancras, South-East	(B.D.)	...	St. Pancras (South-East) L.P.		2	10	0	...	1	...	H. Dawson Large, 65, Chalton Street, London, N.W.1.	...	Mrs. M. M. Dollar, 9, Derby Buildings, Britannia Street, London, W.C.1.
E265. St. Pancras, South-West	(B.D.)	...	St. Pancras (South-West) L.P.		1	10	0	...	1	...	A. M. Rosenberg, 67, Camden Road, London, N.W.1.	...	S. E. Sharpe, 35, Victoria Road, St. Pancras, London, N.W.1.
E266. Shoreditch	(S.B.)	...	Shoreditch T.C. & L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	Mrs. D. Thurtle, Thurtle House, 180, Kingsland Road, London, E.2.	...	Ernest Thurtle, M.P., 36, Temple Fortune Hill, London, N.W.11.
E267. Southwark, C.	(B.D.)	...	Southwark T.C. and Borough L.P.	...						...	David Hayes, 132, Aylesbury Road, Walworth, London, S.E.17.	...	David Hayes, Secretary.
E267/269. Southwark	(D.B.)	...	Southwark T.C. and (Central) L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	F. Roberts, 124, Walworth Road, London, S.E.17.	...	Frank Roberts, 124, Walworth Road, London, S.E.17

Constituencies and Index Nos.		*Local Parties or Councils.*	*Affiliation Fees.* £	s.	d.	*No. of Votes.*	*Secretaries and Addresses.*	*Delegates and Addresses.*
London (*continued*).								
E268. Southwark, N.	(B.D.) ...	Southwark (North) D.L.P.	... 1	10	0	... ...	L. J. Styles, 16, Bennett Street, Blackfriars, London, S.E.	...
E269. Southwark, South-East	(B.D.) ...	Southwark (South-East) D.L.P.	1	10	0	... 1 ...	Chas. New, 1a, Browning Street, Walworth, S.E.17.	... Charles New, Secretary.
E270/272. Stepney	(D.B.) ...	Stepney (Borough) T.C. & L.P.	... 1	10	0	... 1 ...	Harry Black, 49, Harford Street, Stepney, London, E.1.	... Michael Prooth, 14, Beaumont Square, Mile End, London, E.1.
E270. Stepney, Limehouse	(B.D.) ...	Limehouse D.L.P.	... 1	10	0	... 1 ...	S. H. Simons, B.Sc., 36, St. Paul's Road, London, E.3.	... H. Miller, 48, Brightlingsea Buildings, London, E.14.
E271. Stepney, Mile End	(B.D.) ...	Mile End L.P.	... 1	10	0	.. ...	A. Kershaw, 3, Grafton Street, London, E.1.	... A. Conn, 7, Dunk Street, London, E.1.
E272. Stepney, Whitechapel	(B.D.) ...	Whitechapel and St. George's L.P.	... 3	0	0	.. ...	T. Sullivan, 1, New Tower Buildings, High Street, Wapping.	... Harry Black, 33, Royal Mint Street, London, E.1.
E273. Stoke Newington	(S.B.) ...	Stoke Newington L.P.	 1	10	0	... 1 ...	C. R. Goodchild, 1, Statham Grove, Clissold Park, N.16.	... E. Corking, 37, Imperial Avenue, London, N.16.
E274/278. Wandsworth	(D.B.) ...	Wandsworth (Borough) L.P. & T.C.	... 1	10	0	... 3 ...	E. H. Northcott, 181, Garratt Lane, Earlsfield, London, S.W.	... F. Tanner, 79, Amesbury Avenue, Streatham, London, S.W.16. Mrs. M. Arran, 88, Church Lane, Tooting, London, S.W.17. Arnold Stephens, 32, Fairmile Avenue, Streatham, London, S.W.16.
E274. Wandsworth, Balham and Tooting	(B.D.) ...	Balham & Tooting D.L.P.	... 1	10	0	... ...	Cyril A. Dee, 70, Mantilla Road, Tooting, London, S.W.	...
E275. Wandsworth, Central	(B.D.) ...	Wandsworth (Central) D.L.P.	... 1	10	0	.. ...	E. E. Fry, 1, Swaby Road, Wandsworth, London, S.W.18.	...
E276. Wandsworth, Clapham	(B.D.) ...	Clapham D.L.P.	... 1	10	0	... 1 ...	R. McGregor Reid, 166, Stonhouse Street, Clapham, London, S.W.4.	... Dr. W. MacGregor-Reid, 57, Cavendish Road, London, S.W.15.
E277. Wandsworth, Putney and Southfields	(B.D.) ...	Putney, Southfields & Roehampton L.P.	... 1	10	0	... 1 ...	Albert J. Hoare, 8, Jeptha Road, West Hill, Wandsworth, London, S.W.18.	... George Wyver, 29, Fawe Park Road, Putney, London, S.W.15.
E278. Wandsworth, Streatham	(B.D.) ...	Streatham L.P.	... 1	10	0	... ...	A. T. Moss, 10, Eastwood Street, Streatham, London, S.W.	...
E279/280. Westminster	(D.B.) ...	Westminster L.P.	... 3	0	0	.. ...	Miss M. H. Thomson, 95, Belgrave Road, London, S.W.1.	...
E279. Westminster, St. George's	(B.D.) ...							
E280. Westminster Abbey	(B.D.) ...							
E281/282a. Woolwich	(D.B) ...	Woolwich (Borough) L.P.	...10	0	0	... 2 ...	Councillor W. Barefoot, J.P., 3, New Road, Woolwich, London, S.E.18.	... Councillor Miss Mabel Crout, 3, New Road, Woolwich, London, S.E.18. Councillor W. Barefoot, Secretary.
E281/282b. Woolwich	(D.B) ...	Woolwich and District T. & L.C.	... 1	10	0	... 1 ...	John Adams, 72, Kinreachey Gardens, London, S.E.7.	... J. A. Cousins, 99, Albert Road, London, E.16.

E281. Woolwich, E. (B.D.) ...
E282. Woolwich, W. (B.D.) ...

Middlesex.

D283. Ealing	(S.B.)	...	Ealing L.P. & T.C.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	S. Sherman, 34, St. James Avenue, W. Ealing, London, W.13.	... J. E. Robinson, 150, Felix Road, West Ealing, London, W.13.
D284. Edmonton	(S.B.)	...	Edmonton L.P.	...	3	0	0	...	1	...	W. T. Harris, 344, Fore Street, Edmonton, London, N.9.	... Councillor G. W. Perry, 7, Haselbury Road, Edmonton, London, N.18.
D285. Hornsey.	(S.B.)	...	Hornsey L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	J. Newrick, 62, Glasslyn Road, Hornsey, London, N.8.	... James Arnold Newrick, Secretary.
D286/287. Tottenham	(D.B.)	...	Tottenham T.C. and Borough L.P.	...	3	0	0	...	1	...	A. J. Lynch, 626, Green Lanes, Harringay, London, N.8.	... H. W. Melleney, 103, Durbar Road, White Hart Lane, London, N.17.
D286. Tottenham, N.	(D.B.)	...	Tottenham (N.) D.L.P.	...	3	0	0	...	2	...	R. Burns, 22, Bruce Castle Road, London, N.17.	... A. E. Jay, 172, Tower Gardens Road, London, N.17.
D287. Tottenham, S.	(D.B.)	...	Tottenham (South) D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	A. J. Lynch, 626, Green Lanes, Harringay, London, N.8.	... Mrs. J. D. Lynch, 626, Green Lanes, London, N.8.
D288/289. Willesden	(D.B.)	...	Willesden (Borough) L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	A. E. Nunn, 375, High Road, London, N.W.10.	... P. Bond, 2, Langler Road, Willesden, London, N.W.10.
D288. Willesden, E.	(D.B.)	...	Willesden (East) D.L.P.		1	10	0	...		...	G. FitzGibbon, 186, Cambridge Road, Kilburn, London, N.W.6.	... C. W. Spiller, 13, Dewsbury Road, Willesden, N.W.10.
D289. Willesden, W.	(B.D.)	...	Willesden (West) L.P.	...	3	0	0	...	1	...	C. H. Gardiner, Trades and Labour Hall, 375, High Road, Willesden, London, N.W.	... A. G. Burbage, 2, West Ella Road, Willesden, London, N.W.10.
D290. Acton	(C.D.)	...	Acton D.L.P.	...	2	0	0	...		...	R. Spencer, 14, Temple Road, Acton Green, London, W.4.	... A. R. Northcott, 92, St. Alban's Avenue, London, W.4.
D291. Brentford & Chiswick	(C.D.)	...	Brentford D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	E. Hall, 16, Fraser Street, Chiswick, London, W.4.	... W. Haywood, 122, Elsenham Street, Southfields.
D292. Enfield	(C.D.)	...	Enfield T.C. & L.P.	...	3	3	0	...		...	G. H. Howgate, 66, Silver Street, Enfield.	... G. H. Howgate, Secretary.
D293. Finchley	(C.D.)	...	Finchley D.L.P. & T.C.		1	10	0	...		...	J. R. Leslie, "Colwyn," Sylvester Road, E. Finchley, London.	... Mrs. H. J. Baker, 88, Hertford Road, East Finchley, London, N.2.
D294. Harrow	(C.D.)	...	Harrow D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...		...	G. E. Spiller, 25, Elthorne Park Road, Hanwell, London, W.7.	...
D295. Hendon	(C.D.)	...	Hendon D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	R. Wise, 38, York Road, Hendon, London, N.W.9.	... Mrs. M. E. Cunningham, 40, Ravenhurst Avenue, Hendon, London, N.W.4.
D296. Spelthorne.	(C.D.)	...	Spelthorne D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...		...	G. E. Harding, 48, Royal Road, Teddington.	...
D297. Twickenham.	(C.D.)	...	Twickenham D.L.P.	...						...	F. J. Pateman, 148, Wellington Road, South Hounslow.	...
D298. Uxbridge	(C.D.)	...	Uxbridge D.L.P.	...	2	17	2	...	2	...	F. Gardner, 115, West End Road, Southall.	... Mrs. Spink, West Drayton Common, Yiewsley, Middlesex. F. Gardner, Secretary.
D299. Wood Green	(C.D.)	...	Wood Green Divisional L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	F. Corbett, 2, Durnsford Road, New Southgate, N.11.	... Frank Corbett, Secretary.

Constituencies and Index Nos.		Local Parties or Councils.	Affiliation Fees. £ s. d.	No. of Votes.	Secretaries and Addresses.	Delegates and Addresses.
Norfolk.						
G300. Gt. Yarmouth	(S.B.)	Great Yarmouth L.P. & T.C.	1 10 0		J. F. Watts, 36, Coronation Road, Southtown, Great Yarmouth.	
G301. Norwich	(D.M.B.)	Norwich L.P. & T.C.	3 0 0	2	G. F. Johnson, 16, Pelham Road, Norwich.	Mrs. A. Johnson, 16, Pelham Road, Norwich.
G302. Eastern	(C.D.)	Norfolk (East) D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	S. C. Horton, Wykeham Cott., Salhouse, near Norwich.	C. A. O'Donnell, The White Cottage, Upton, near Acle, Norfolk.
G303. King's Lynn	(C.D.)	King's Lynn D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	R. G. Errington, 2, St. James' Street, King's Lynn.	Capt. John Stevenson, Common Room Gray's Inn, London, W.C.2.
G304. Northern	(C.D.)	Norfolk (North) D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	S. J. Gee, 37, Bernard Road, Cromer, Norfolk.	William A. Pask, Red Lion Street, Aylsham, Norfolk.
G305. Southern	(C.D.)	Norfolk (South) D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	Councillor E. G. Gooch, J.P., Rydal Mount, Norwich Road, Wymondham.	Robert A. Watson, Labour Institute, Wymondham, Norfolk.
G306. South West	(C.D.)	Norfolk (South West) D.L.P.	1 10 0		E. C. Williams, 120, South End, East Dereham, Norfolk.	W. B. Taylor, Old Brewery House, Watton, Norfolk.
Northampton.						
C307. Northampton	(S.B.)	Northampton L.P.	2 0 0	1	B. T. Spencer, 71, Hervey Street, Northampton.	Councillor J. Gribble, J.P., 41, Collingwood Road, Northampton.
C308. Daventry	(C.D.)	Daventry (South Northants) D.L.P.	2 0 0		G. N. Hughes, 3, Fife Street, St. James, Northampton.	
C309. Kettering	(C.D.)	Kettering D.L.P.	1 10 0		J. E. Chapman, Trade Union Offices, Club Street, Kettering.	
C310a. Peterborough	(C.D.)	Peterborough D.L.P.	1 10 0		J. Mansfield, 9, Harris Street, Peterborough.	
C310b. Peterborough	(C.D.)	Peterborough T. & L.C.	1 10 0		F. Martin, 27, West Parade, Peterborough.	
C311. Wellingborough	(C.D)	Wellingborough D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	L. P. Poole, 29, Church Street, Wellingborough.	Lionel P. Poole, Secretary.
Northumberland.						
A312. Morpeth	(S.B.)	Morpeth D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	Jas. Routledge, 37, South Row, Bedlington Colliery, Northumberland.	Henry Floyd, 3, Duke Street, Ashington, Northumberland.
A313/316. Newcastle	(D.B.)	Newcastle (Borough) L.P.	3 0 0	1	W. Grainger, 29, Rosebery Crescent, Newcastle-on-Tyne.	W. Coxon, 5, Byron Street, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
A313. Newcastle, C.	(B.D.)	Newcastle (Central) D.L.P.	3 15 0		W. C. Percival, I.L.P. Hall, 36, Diana Street, Newcastle-on-Tyne.	
A314. Newcastle, E.	(B.D.)	Newcastle (East) D.L.P.	1 10 0		W. Locke, 199, Shields Road, Heaton.	
A315. Newcastle, N.	(B.D.)	Newcastle (North) D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	F. W. Topping, 7, Ebor Street, Heaton, Newcastle-on-Tyne.	Walter Grainger, 29, Rosebery Crescent, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
A316. Newcastle, W.	(B.D.)	Newcastle (West) L.P.	1 10 0		Wm. Taylor, 19, Ladykirk Road, Newcastle-on-Tyne.	

A317. Tynemouth	(S.B.)	Tynemouth L.P.	1	10	0	1	M. Judson, 20, Sibthorpe Street, N. Shields.	J. Stuart Barr, 170, Bensham Road, Gateshead-on-Tyne.
A318. Wallsend-on-Tyne	(S.B.)	Wallsend & District L.P.	4	17	0		H. G. Wills, 84, George Road, Wallsend-on-Tyne.	
A319. Berwick-on-Tweed	(C.D.)	Berwick D.L.P. & T.C.	1	10	0		A. J. Elliott, 7, High Street, Amble, Northumberland.	
A320. Hexham	(C.D.)	Hexham D.L.P.	1	10	0		J. Peel, 10, Tulip Street, Prudhoe, Hexham.	
A321. Wansbeck	(C.D.)	Wansbeck D.L.P.	1	10	0	1	Councillor Ralph Allan, J.P., Bates Cottages, Seaton Delaval, Northumberland.	John Lees, 63, Gainsbro' Grove, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
Nottingham.								
C322/325. Nottingham	(D.B.)	Nottingham (Borough) L.P.					Robert Bury, "Hardie House," 15, Hanley Street, Nottingham.	
C322. Nottingham, C.	(B.D.)	Nottingham (Central) L.P.	1	10	0*	1	A. S. Cook, 27, Raglan Street, Nottingham.	W. H. Coultate, 24, Shakespeare Street, Nottingham.
C323. Nottingham, E.	(B.D.)	Nottingham (East) L.P.	1	10	0		R. Bury, Hardie House, 15, Hanley Street, Nottingham.	
C324. Nottingham, S.	(B.D.)	Nottingham (South) D.L.P.	2	10	0	1	H. C. Alcock, 38, Lyndhurst Road, Colwick Road, Nottingham.	Mrs. Martin, 58, Teversal Avenue, Lenton, Nottingham.
C325. Nottingham, W.	(B.D.)	Nottingham (West) D.L.P.					Geo. Goodall, General Workers' Office, Newstead House, St. James Street, Nottingham.	
C326. Bassetlaw	(C.D.)	Bassetlaw D.L.P.	1	10	0		W. Raynor, J.P., 159, Kilton Road, Worksop	
C327. Broxtowe	(C.D.)	Broxtowe D.L.P.	1	10	0	2	H. G. Hall, 126, Portland Road, Hucknall, Notts.	M. Holland, Portland Road, Selston, Notts. Mrs. H. Pugh, Holly Road, Watnall, Notts.
C328. Mansfield	(C.D.)	Mansfield D.L.P.	3	0	0	1	Councillor J. G. Pratt, 57, Harrington Street, Mansfield.	H. Paling, Pennine View, Fulwood, Sutton-in-Ashfield.
C329. Newark	(C.D.)	Newark D.L.P.	1	10	0		F. W. Watson, Labour Rooms, Market Place, Newark, Notts.	
C330. Rushcliffe	(C.D.)	Rushcliffe D.L.P.	2	0	0	1	J. Tilford, 3, Birley Street, Stapleford, Notts.	J. O. Whitwham, 5, Emerys Road, Gedling, Notts.
Oxford.								
D331. Oxford	(S.B.)	Oxford D.L.P.	1	10	0	1	Mrs. J. C. Sheringham, St. Michaels, Eynsham, near Oxford.	Mrs. J. C. Sheringham, Secretary.
D332. Banbury	(C.D.)	Banbury D.L.P.	1	10	0	1	J. Middleton, 1, Foundry Street, Banbury.	Rev. R. V Holt, 12, Queen Street, Banbury, Oxon.
D333. Henley	(C.D.)	Henley D.L.P.					J. H. Burke, Drayton Street, Leonard, via Wallingford, Oxford.	

* Payment for 1924.

Constituencies and Index Nos.		Local Parties or Councils.	Affiliation Fees. £ s. d.	No. of Votes.	Secretaries and Addresses.	Delegates and Addresses.
Salop.						
C334. Ludlow	(C.D.)	Ludlow D.L.P.	1 15 0		A. W. Packer, "The Hollies," Gravel Hill, Ludlow, Salop.	
C335. Oswestry	(C.D.)	Oswestry D.L.P.	1 10 0		A. Thomas, Memorial Hall, Oswestry, Salop.	Albert Thomas, Secretary.
C336. Shrewsbury	(C.D.)	Shrewsbury D.L.P.	1 10 0		E. B. Blake, 19, Albert Street, Shrewsbury.	
C337. The Wrekin	(C.D.)	Wrekin D.L.P.	3 0 0		Frank Organ, Labour Party Offices, Station Road, Wellington, Salop.	
Somerset.						
F338. Bath	(S.B.)	Bath L. & C.R.A.	2 0 0		E. C. Ashman, 23, Green Park, Bath.	
F339. Bridgwater	(C.D.)	Bridgwater D.L.P.	2 10 0	1	W. J. Farthing, 21, Blacklands, Bridgwater.	J. M. Boltz, 29, Friarn Street, Bridgwater.
F340a. Frome	(C.D.)	Frome D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	Oliver Lewis, Gwynfa, Timsbury, Bath.	Oliver Lewis, Secretary.
F340b. Frome	(C.D.)	Radstock T. & L.C.	1 10 0		E. E. Richardson, 7, Northfield, Radstock.	
F341. Taunton	(C.D.)	Taunton D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	H. T. Oaten, 64, Wood Street, Taunton.	J. Hogg, 8, Clifford Terrace, Wellington, Som.
F342. Wells	(C.D.)	Wells D.L.P.	3 0 0		D. E. Mullins, Ansford Farm, Castle Cary, Bath.	
F343. Weston-super-Mare	(C.D.)	Weston-super-Mare D.L.P.	1 10 0		W. Jacob, 72, Milton Road, Weston-super-Mare.	
F344. Yeovil	(C.D.)	Yeovil D.L.P.	1 10 0		A. E. Little, 140, Michael's Avenue, Yeovil.	
Stafford.						
C345. Dudley	(S.B.)	Dudley L.P.	1 10 0		J. H. Molyneux, 15, Haig Road, Dudley.	
C346. Newcastle-under-Lyme	(S.B.)	Newcastle-under-Lyne D.L.P.			B. Simms, 12, Elliot Street, Newcastle-under-Lyme, Staffs.	
C347. Smethwick	(S.B.)	Smethwick T. & L.C.	1 10 0		R. A. Baker, 262, High Street, Smethwick.	
C348/350. Stoke-on-Trent	(D.B.)	Stoke-on-Trent (Borough) L.R.C.	1 10 0	1	G. H. Meir, 7, Cope's Avenue, Tunstall, Stoke-on-Trent.	G. H. Meir, Secretary.
C348. Stoke-on-Trent, Burslem	(B.D.)	Burslem & Tunstall L.P.	1 10 0	1	E. T. Bird, 4, Lyndhurst Street, Tunstall.	Andrew MacLaren, 31, Ryfold Road, Wimbledon, London, S.W.19.
C349. Stoke-on-Trent, Hanley	(B.D.)	Hanley Local L.P.	1 10 0	1	F. J. Kettle, The Croft, Scholar Green, Stoke-on-Trent.	Fred J. Kettle, Secretary.
C350. Stoke-on-Trent, Stoke	(B.D.)	Stoke Local L.P.	1 10 0		J. R. Riley, 5, Allenby Sq., Trent Vale, Stoke-on-Trent.	
C351. Walsall	(S.B.)	Walsall L.R.C.	1 10 0		J. Taylor, 54, Borneo Street, Walsall.	
C352. Wednesbury	(S.B.)	Wednesbury D.L.P.	1 10 0		B. W. Griffiths, 13, Vicarage Road, Wednesbury.	Leonard Whitehouse, 35, Foley Street, Wednesbury.

			& L.P.								wich.		
C354/356. Wolverhampton	(D.B.)	...	Wolverhampton B.L.P.	...				...		...	C. Hill, 45, North Road, Wolverhampton.	...	
C354. Bilston	(B.D.)	...	Bilston D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...		...	A. E. Moss, 29, The Quadrant, Sedgley, near Dudley.	...	
C355. Wolverhampton, East	(B.D.)	...	Wolverhampton (East) L.P.	...	1	10	0	...		...	H. W. Bridgen, 97, North Road, Wolverhampton.	...	
C356. Wolverhampton, West	(B.D.)	...	Wolverhampton (West) L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	C. W. Hill, 45, North Road, Wolverhampton.	...	D. Davies, 35, Queen Square, Wolverhampton.
C357. Burton	(C.D.)	...	Burton-on-Trent D.L.P.		1	10	0	...	1	...	J. E. Silcock, 80, Spring Terrace Road, Stapenhill, Burton-on-Trent.	...	Frederick Thoresby, 404, Anglesey Road, Burton-on-Trent.
C358. Cannock	(C.D.)	...	Cannock D.L.P.	...	2	10	0	...	1	...	A. Broadhurst, 19, Fourth Avenue, Council Houses, Brownhills, Walsall, Staffs.	...	A. Broadhurst, Secretary.
C359. Kingswinford	(C.D.)	...	Kingswinford D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...		...	P. Cox, Workers' Institute, Cradley Heath, Staffs.	...	
C360a. Leek	(C.D.)	...	Leek D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	Ernest Rigby, 120, High Street, Newchapel, Stoke-on-Trent.	...	Ernest Rigby, J.P., Secretary.
C360b. Leek	(C.D.)	...	Leek T. & L.C.	...	1	10	0	...		...	T. Birch, Foxlowe, Market Place, Leek.	...	
C361. Lichfield	(C.D.)	...	Lichfield D.L.P.	...				...		...	H. Riley, Daw End Road, Rushall, near Walsall.	...	
C362. Stafford	(C.D.)	...	Stafford T.C. & L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	G. Hindle, Co-op. Hall, Wolverhampton Road, Stafford.	...	W. T. Scott, 54, Parrin Lane, Morton, Eccles, Lancs.
C363. Stone	(C.D.)	...	Stone D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	...	E. Slynn, 39, Station Road, Stone, Staffs.	...	Rt. Hon. Col. J. C. Wedgwood, M.P., The Oaks, Moddershall, near Stone, Staffs.
Suffolk.													
G364. Ipswich	(S.B.)	...	Ipswich T.C. & L.P.	...	2	0	0	...	1	...	A. Victor Smith, 35, Silent Street, Ipswich.	...	A. Vic. Smith, Secretary.
G365. Suffolk, E., Eye	(C.D)	...	Eye D.L.P.	...	1	12	8	...		...	W. H. Amy, Station House, Eye, Suffolk.	...	
G366. Suffolk, East, Lowestoft	(C.D.)	...	Lowestoft D.L.P.	...				...		...	C. J. E. Crowe, 25, May Road, Lowestoft.	...	
G367. Suffolk, East, Woodbridge	(C.D.)	...	Woodbridge D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...		...	C. W. Whatmough, Domus Parva, Garrison Lane, Felixstowe.	...	
G368. Suffolk, West, Bury St. Edmunds	(C.D.)	...	Bury St. Edmunds D.L.P.					...		...	V. W. Gibbs, 20, Risbey, Gate Street, Bury St. Edmunds.	...	
G369. Suffolk, West, Sudbury	(C.D.)	...	Sudbury D.L.P.	...				...		...	B. J. Gummow, near the Church, Chilton, Suffolk.	...	
Surrey													
D370/371. Croydon	(D.B.)	...		...				...	2	...	H. S. Redgrove, Ruskin House, Wellesley Road, Croydon.	...	Councillor Gilbert A. Foan, 41, Lower Addiscombe Road, Croydon, Surrey. H. Stanley Redgrove, Secretary.
D370. Croydon, N.	(B.D.)	...	Croydon (North) L.P.	...	1	10	0	...					
D371. Croydon, S.	(B.D.)	...	Croydon (South) L.P.	...	1	10	0	...					

Constituencies and Index Nos.		*Local Parties or Councils.*	*Affiliation Fees.* £ s. d.	*No. of Votes.*	*Secretaries and Addresses.*	*Delegates and Addresses.*
Surrey (*continued*).						
D372. Kingston-on-Thames	(S.B.)	Kingston-on-Thames D.L.P.	1 10 0		H. Marston, 120, Canbury Park Road, Kingston-on-Thames.	
D373. Richmond	(S.B.)	Richmond D.L.P. & T.C.	1 10 0	1	D. E. Fisher, 12, Lower Richmond Road, Mortlake, S.W.	C. J. Moody, 10, Trinity Cottages, Richmond, Surrey .
D374. Wimbledon, Merton and Morden	(S.B.)	Wimbledon, Merton and Morden L.P.	1 10 0	1	C. H. Reynolds, 105, Merton Road, Wimbledon.	Mark Starr, 100, Grosvenor Road, Westminster, London, S.W.1.
D375. Chertsey	(C.D.)	Chertsey D.L.P.			Mrs. F. R. Toon, St. Julians Bungalow, New Haw, Addlestone, Surrey.	
D376. Eastern	(C.D.)	Surrey (East) D.L.P.	1 10 0		Jos. P. Hart, 21, Godstone Road, Whyteleafe.	S. J. Wilson Price, "Corbiere," 107, Downs Court Road, Purley.
D377. Epsom	(C.D.)	Epsom D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	Ernest Miller, 123, Horton Hill, Epsom.	Ernest Miller, 123, Horton Hill, Epsom, Surrey.
D378. Farnham	(C.D.)	Farnham D.L.P.	2 15 6	1	G. A. Harris, 4, Lavender Road, Woking, Surrey.	Miss Hetty Cowan, "Clonmore," Maybury Road, Woking, Surrey.
D379. Guildford	(C.D.)	Guildford D.L.P.	2 0 0	1	R. C. Denew, 15, The Oval, Guildford Park, Guildford, Surrey.	Jas. Godfrey, "Thaxted," Ridgemount, Guildford Park, Guildford.
D380. Mitcham	(C.D.)	Mitcham D.L.P.	1 10 0		G. Bennett, 13, Mount Road, Mitcham.	W. Hollett, 34, Marchmont Road, Wallington.
D381. Reigate	(C.D.)	Reigate D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	H. B. Whitmore, 2, Quarry Cotts., Reigate Hill.	William Graham, Downs View, Three Bridges Road, Crawley, Sussex.
Sussex, East.						
D382. Brighton	(D.M.B.)	Brighton & Hove L.P.	3 0 0	2	J. H. Tullett, Labour Club, 93, London Road, Brighton.	Councillor Alban Gordon, 23, Compton Avenue, Brighton. Councillor G. Canter, 75, Stanford Road, Brighton.
D383. Hastings		Hastings T. & L.C.	1 10 0	1	A. T. White, 11, Ashburnham Road, Hastings.	W. J. Miller, 17, Edgar Road, Clive Vale, Hastings.
D383a. Hastings	(S.B.)	Hastings D.L.P.	2 10 0	1	Geo. Burr, 9, Coburg Place, Hastings.	Councillor George Burr, Secretary.
D384. Eastbourne	(C.D.)	Eastbourne D.L.P.	1 10 0		C. Lawrence, 11, Neville Road, Eastbourne.	
D385. East Grinstead	(C.D.)	East Grinstead D.L.P.	2 10 0	1	J. Morgan, Elm Grove Farm, Streat, Plumpton, Sussex.	John Morgan, Elm Grove, Streat, Plumpton, Sussex.
D386. Lewes	(C.D.)	Lewes D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	Mrs. M. Chettle, South Street, Ditchling, near Hassocks, Sussex.	R. A. Wheeler, Rosalind, Rottingdean, Sussex.
D387. Rye	(C.D.)					
Sussex, West.						
D388. Chichester	(C.D.)	Chichester D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	G. Dexter, 84, Grove Road, Chichester.	Lieut.-Commander R. Hope, 38, Bannister Road, Onslow Village, Guildford.
D389. Horsham and Worthing	(C.D.)	Horsham & Worthing D.L.P.	1 10 0	2	Mrs. E. R. Stanlake, Walden, Broadwater Road, Worthing.	Ernest Stanford, 55, Ifield Road, Crawley, Sussex. Mrs. E. R. Stanlake, Secretary.

Warwick.

C390/406 Birmingham (DB)	...	Birmingham (Borough) L.P.	...			...	1	...	F. W. Rudland, 262, Corporation Street, Birmingham.	...	F. W. Rudland, Secretary.
C390. Birmingham, Aston	(B.D.)	... Aston L.P.	...	1	10 0	...	1	...	A. E. Jordan, Ruskin Hall, Victoria Road, Birmingham.	...	Allan Young, Court Chambers, 180, Corporation Street, Birmingham.
C391. Birmingham, Deritend	(B.D.)	... Deritend L.P.	...			...		...	E. W. Podesta, 147, Bradford Street, Birmingham.	...	
C392. Birmingham, Duddeston	(B.D.)	... Duddeston & Nechells L.P.	...	1	10 0*	...		...	E. Sibley, 55, Cathcart Street, Vauxhall, Birmingham.	...	
C393. Birmingham, Edgbaston	(B.D.)	... Edgbaston L.P.	...	1	10 0	...		...	S. L. Treleaven, 63, Grant Street, Edgbaston, Birmingham.	...	
C394. Birmingham, Erdington	(B.D.)	... Erdington L.P.	...	1	10 0	...		...	D. Gledhall, 3, Brockley Place, Eliot Street, Nechells.	...	
C395. Birmingham, Handsworth	(B.D.)	... Birmingham (Handsworth) D.L.P.	...					...	H. J. Betts, 31, Astley Road, Handsworth, Birmingham.	...	
C396. Birmingham, King's Norton	(B.D.)	... King's Norton D.L.P.	...	1	10 0	...	1	...	Geo. Horwill, 275, Maryvale Road, Bournville, Birmingham.	...	Jesse Hammond, 96, Middleton Hall Road, King's Norton, Birmingham.
C397 Birmingham, Ladywood	(B.D.)	... Birmingham (Ladywood) D.L.P.	...					...	E. Bevan, 401, Monument Road, Birmingham.	...	
C398. Birmingham, Moseley	(B.D.)	... Birmingham (Moseley) D.L.P.	...	1	10 0	...		...	F. W. Adams, 120, Oxford Road, Acocks Green, Birmingham.	...	
C399. Birmingham, Sparkbrook	(B.D.)	... Sparkbrook L.P.	...	1	10 0	...	1	...	G. Sutton, 42, White Road, Sparkbrook, Birmingham.	...	Richard Seeley, Woodfield Road, Balsall Heath, Birmingham.
C400. Birmingham, West	(B.D.)	... Birmingham (West) D.L.P.	...			...		...	J. Kelly, 79, Heaton Street, Birmingham.		
C401. Birmingham, Yardley	(B.D.)	... Yardley L.P.	...	3	5 0	...	1	...	S. Powell, 198, Banks Road, Small Heath, Birmingham.	...	S. Powell, Secretary.
C402. Coventry	(S.B.)	... Coventry L.P.	...	1	10 0	...		...	George E. Hodgkinson, 28, Much Park Street, Coventry.	...	
C403. Nuneaton	(C.D.)	... Nuneaton D.L.P.	...	3	7 0	...		...	Walter Lewis, Labour Club, Harefield Road, Nuneaton.	...	Walter Lewis, Secretary.
C404. Rugby	(C.D.)	... Rugby D.L.P.	...	2	0 0	...		...	R. W. Bodycote, 4, Pendred Road, Croop Hill, New Bilton, Rugby.	...	
C405. Tamworth	(C.D.)	... Tamworth D.L.P.	...	1	10 0	...		...	G. Scriven, c/o Mr. Hodges, Mill Lane, Solihull, Birmingham.	...	
C406. Warwick & Leamington	(C.D.)	... Warwick & Leamington D.L.P.	1	10	0	...		...	J. T. Duffield, 13, Barrack Street, Warwick,	...	
Westmorland.											
B407. Westmorland	(C.D.)	... Westmorland D.L.P.	...					...	C. E. Phizackerley, 64, Kirkland, Kendal.	...	
Wilts.											
F408. Chippenham	(C.D.)	... Chippenham D.L.P.	...	1	10 0	...		...	W. S. Tucker, 2, St. Paul's Street, Chippenham.	...	
F409. Devizes	(C.D.)	... Devizes D.L.P.	...			...		...	...	...	

* Payment for 1924.

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Wilts (*continued*).						
F410. Salisbury	(C.D.)	Salisbury D.L.P.	1 10 0		A. H. Dettmar, 40, Castle Street, Salisbury.	
F411. Swindon	(C.D.)	Swindon D.L.P.	5 0 0	1	W. R. Robins, 38, Florence Street, Swindon.	J. J. Stonier, 93, Commercial Road, Swindon.
F412. Westbury	(C.D.)	Westbury D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	F. G. James, 13, Sambourne Road, Warminster.	Fred. G. James, Secretary.
Worcester.						
C413. Worcester	(S.B.)	Worcester L.P.	2 0 0		W. Bond, Langherne Road, St. John's, Worcester.	
C414. Bewdley	(C.D.)	Bewdley D.L.P.	1 10 0		F. E. Rammell, Hillview, The Common, Malvern, Worcester.	
C415. Evesham	(C.D.)	Evesham T.C. & L.P.	1 10 0		W. Fielding, Rynal House, Evesham.	
C416. Kidderminster	(C.D.)	Kidderminster D.L.P.			J. T. Guest, 63, East Street, Kidderminster.	
C417. Stourbridge	(C.D.)	Stourbridge D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	S. T. Melsom, 20, Perrott Street, Oldbury, Birmingham.	Wilfred Wellcock, "Tarley House," Bleakhouse Road, Warley, Birmingham.
Yorkshire.						
A418. Barnsley	(S.B.)	Barnsley & District T.C. & L.P.	1 10 0		E. Sheerien, 26, Cope Street, Barnsley.	
A419a. Batley & Morley	(S.B.)	Batley, Morley & Ossett L.P.	1 10 0		F. Baines, Textile Hall, Bank Chambers, Batley.	
A419b. Batley & Morley	(S.B.)	Morley T.C. & L.P.	1 10 0		B. Simpson, 4, Cardigan Avenue, Morley, near Leeds.	
A420/423a. Bradford	(D.B.)	Bradford L.P.	1 10 0	1	T. Ashworth, 1, Peckover Street, Church Bank, Bradford.	Tom Ashworth, Secretary.
A420/423b. Bradford	(D.B.)	Bradford T. & L.C.	1 10 0	1	W. Barber, Trades Hall, 90, Sunbridge Road, Bradford.	Councillor James Harrison, 103, Maperton Road, Bradford.
A420. Bradford, C.	(B.D.)					
A421. Bradford, E.	(B.D.)	Bradford (East) L.P.	1 10 0			
A422. Bradford, N.	(B.D.)	Bradford (North) L.P.	1 10 0		A. M. Emsley, 19, Cornwall Place, Manningham Lane, Bradford.	
A423. Bradford, S.	(B.D.)	Bradford (South) L.P.	1 10 0			
A424a. Dewsbury	(S.B.)	Dewsbury L.P.	1 10 0		Mr. Swallow, Labour Rooms, Market Street, Dewsbury.	
A424b. Dewsbury	(S.B.)	Dewsbury & District T. & L.C.			J. Mayman, 7, Cromwell Street, Dewsbury.	
A425. Halifax	(S.B.)	Halifax D.L.P.	1 10 0		F. Austin Leach, 36, Reservoir Road, Pellon, Halifax.	
A426. Huddersfield	(S.B.)	Huddersfield T.C. & L.P.	1 10 0	1	G. A. Boothroyd, 1, Imperial Arcade, Huddersfield.	Wilfred Whiteley, 12, Church Avenue, Crosland Moor, Huddersfield.

on-Hull										Edinburgh Street, Hull.		
A427. Kingston-on Hull, Central	(B.D.	...	Hull (Central) L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	...	Mrs. F. Ward, 23, Cadogan Street, Boulevard, Hull.	...	
A428. Kingston-on-Hull, East	(B.D.)	...	Hull (East) D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	...	H. Gateshill, 6, Assinder Grove, Wyke Street, Hull.	...	
A429. Kingston-on-Hull, North-West	(B.D.)	...	Hull (North-West) L.P.	..	1	10	0	...	...	A. Bradfield, 2, Kirkdale Gardens, Exmouth Street, Hull.	...	
A430. Kingston-on-Hull, South-West	(B.D.)	...	Hull (South-West) L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	...	C. Banks, 14, Selby Street West, Hull.	...	
A431/436a. Leeds	(D.B.)	...	Leeds (Borough) L.P.	...	1	10	0	... 1	...	Councillor W. J. Armstrong, 14, Upper Fountaine Street, Leeds.	...	Councillor W. J. Armstrong, Secretary.
A431/436b. Leeds	(D.B.)	...	Leeds T. & L.C.	...	1	10	0	... 1	...	J. Brotherton, 12, Camden Street, Beeston Hill, Leeds.	...	John Brotherton, Secretary.
A431. Leeds, Central	(B.D.)	...	Leeds (Central) D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	...	W. Withey, 14, Upper Fountaine Street, Leeds.	...	
A432. Leeds, North	(B.D.)	...	Leeds (North) D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	...	F. Hutson, 130, Hyde Park Road, Leeds.	...	
A433. Leeds, N.E.	(B.D.)	...	Leeds (North-East) D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	...	S. Craven, 60, Bankside Street, Roundhay Road, Leeds.	...	
A434. Leeds, South	(B.D.)	...	Leeds (South) D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	...	J. Wade, 10, Langthorpe Place, Leeds.	...	
A435. Leeds, S.E.	(B.D.)	...	Leeds (South-East) D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	...	Ben Ainsworth, 31, Welbech Road, York Road, Leeds.	...	
A436. Leeds, West	(B.D.)	...	Leeds (West) D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	...	A. Godfrey, 27, Highfield Crescent, Oldfield Lane, Leeds.	...	
A437/438. Middlesbrough	(D.B.)	...	Middlesbrough (Borough) L.P.	...	3	0	0	...	...	J. Beilby, 233, Linthorpe Road, Middlesbrough.	...	Councillor Miss E. Wilkinson, M.A., 21, Matfield Road, Fallowfield, Manchester.
A437. Middlesbrough, E.	(B.D.)	...										
A438. Middlesbrough, W.	(B.D.)	...										
A439. Rotherham	(S.B.)	...	Rotherham L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	...	G. E. Caine, 14, Norfolk Street, Rotherham.	...	
A440/446. Sheffield	(D.B.)	...	Sheffield Fed. T. & L.C.	..	1	10	0	... 1	...	C. H. Miller, 63, Blonk Street, Sheffield.	...	G. Fletcher, 67, Crimicar Lane, Fulwood, Sheffield.
A440. Sheffield, Attercliffe	(B.D.)	...	Attercliffe L.P.	...	5	10	0	... 1	...	W. Hancock, 3 Block, 157, Attercliffe Road, Sheffield.	...	Mrs. A. Hague, 81, Thames Road, Darnall, Sheffield.
A441. Sheffield, Brightside	(B.D.)	...	Brightside L.P.	...	1	15	0	...	...	A. T. Furniss, 133, Carlisle Street, Sheffield.	...	
A442. Sheffield, C.	(B.D.)	...	Sheffield (Central) D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	... 1	...	Arthur Pashley, 17/5, Hodgson Street, Sheffield.	...	John Gillon, 119, Lancing Road, Sheffield.
A443. Sheffield, Ecclesall	(B.D.)	...	Ecclesall L.P.	...	1	10	0	... 1	...	F. Cook, 57, Empire Road, Sheffield.	...	W. Gavigan, 26, Glen Road, Sheffield.
A444. Sheffield, Hallam	(B.D.)	...	Hallam L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	...	F. Dearman, 70, Slinn Street, Sheffield.	...	

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Yorkshire (*continued*).					
A445. Sheffield, Hillsborough (B.D.)	Hillsborough L.P.	...	...	C. G. Byrd, 12, Carr Road, Walkley, Sheffield.	
A446. Sheffield, Park (B.D.)	Park D.L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1	Miss Lilian Varley, 4, Stainton Road, Endcliffe.	Councillor E. G. Rowlinson, Park Labour Club, South Street, Sheffield.
A447. Wakefield (S.B.)	Wakefield L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1	J. P. Butterworth, 1, Burkhill Street, Sandal, Wakefield.	J. P. Butterworth, Secretary.
A448. York (S.B.)	York L.P.	... 6 13 4	... 2	William Green, 2, Railway Street, York.	Rev. George S. Woods, 33, St. Saviour's Gate, York.
A449. East Riding, Buckrose (C.D.)	East Riding (Buckrose) D.L.P.	...	...	Mrs. L. Parker, 80, St. John Street, Bridlington, Yorks.	
A450. East Riding, Holderness (C.D.)	East Riding (Holderness) D.L.P.	...	...	G. A Smelt, 21, Princes Street, Withernsea, E. Yorkshire.	
A451. East Riding, Howdenshire (C.D.)	East Riding (Howdenshire) D.L.P.	... 1 10 0*	...	A. E. Curtis, 27, Westbourne Grove, Hessle, Yorks.	
A452. North Riding, Cleveland (C.D.)	Cleveland D.L.P.	... 1 10 0	...	J. Worthy, 17, Ruby Street, Saltburn-by-Sea, East Yorkshire.	
A453. North Riding, Richmond (C.D.)					
A454. North Riding, Scarborough & Whitby (C.D.)	Scarborough & Whitby D.L.P.	... 1 10 0	...	J. Dennis, 164, Victoria Road, Scarborough.	
A455. North Riding, Thirsk & Malton (C.D.)	Thirsk & Malton D.L.P.				
A456. West Riding, Barkston Ash (C.D.)	Barkston Ash D.L.P.	... 1 10 0	...	W. Moore, Burleigh House, Cawood, near Selby, Yorks.	
A457. West Riding, Colne Valley (C.D.)	Colne Valley D.L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1	S. Eastwood, 53, Wood Top, Slaithwaite, near Huddersfield.	Nelson Gartside, 8, Moorland Terrace, Delph, near Oldham.
A458. West Riding, Doncaster (C.D.)	Doncaster D.L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1	H. F. Heaviside, 3, Sunny Bar, Doncaster.	Herbert F. Heaviside, J.P., Secretary.
A459. West Riding, Don Valley (C.D.)	Don Valley D.L.P.	... 2 0 0	... 1	J. T. Rowan, 1a, Swinton Road, Mexborough, near Rotherham.	John T. Rowan, Secretary.
A460. West Riding, Elland (C.D.)	Elland D.L.P.	... 1 10 0	...	J. Lawson, 44, Bradford Road, Brighouse.	Alderman D. Hardaker, J.P., 119, Bradford Road, Brighouse, Yorks.
A461. West Riding, Hemsworth (C.D.)	Hemsworth D.L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1	G. A. Griffiths, 267, South View, Royston, near Barnsley.	George A. Griffiths, Secretary.
A462. West Riding, Keighley (C.D.)	Keighley T.C. & L.P.	... 1 10 0	...	W. Bland, 140, Devonshire Street, Keighley.	
A463. West Riding, Normanton (C.D.)	Normanton D.L.P.	... 1 10 0	... 1	Councillor M. Bairstow, 11, Lumley Mount, Whetwood Mere, Castleford.	Joseph Rodgers, 10, Ackworth Road, Purston, near Pontefract.
A464. West Riding, Penistone (C.D.)	Penistone D.L.P.	... 1 10 0	...	J. Hibbert, Bilham Road, Clayton West, near Huddersfield.	

* Payment for 1924.

			Pontefract							Street, Tanshelf, Pontefract.
A466.	West Riding, Pudsey & Otley	(C.D.)	... Pudsey & Otley D.L.P.	... 2	0	0	... 1	... W. E. Dickinson, 21, Eddison Street, Farsley, near Leeds.	...	R. Smith, 7, Richmond Terrace, Otley.
A467.	West Riding Ripon	(C.D.)	... Ripon D.L.P.	... 1	10	0	...	... E. Clay, 27, Woodlands Avenue, Harrogate, Yorks	...	
A468.	West Riding, Rother Valley	(C.D.)	... Rother Valley D.L.P.	... 1	10	0	..	... W. A. Bates, 59, Lordens Hill, Dinnington, near Rotherham.	...	
A469.	West Riding, Rothwell	(C.D.)	... Rothwell D.L.P.	... 2	0	0	... 1	... Councillor W. H. Heald, "Highfield," Bradford Road, East Ardsley, near Wakefield.	...	Councillor W. Dyson, J.P., Oldweston Cottage, Leeds Road, Outwood, near Wakefield.
A470.	West Riding, Shipley	(C.D.)	... Shipley D.L.P.	... 1	10	0	... 1	... Walter Hill, Woolcombers' Hall, Dale Street, Shipley.	...	Geo. Hewitt, 116, High Street, Yeadon, near Leeds.
A471.	West Riding, Skipton	(C.D.)	... Skipton D.L.P.	... 1	10	0	... 1	... H. Atkinson, Bleach House, Bentham, near Lancaster.	...	O. G. Willey, 39, St. John Street, York.
A472.	West Riding, Sowerby	(C.D.)	... Sowerby D.L.P.	... 1	10	0	... 1	... M. Crossley, Labour Party Offices, Bridge End, Halifax Road, Todmorden.	...	G. Stansfield, New Delight Cottages, Cornholme, Todmorden, Yorks.
A473.	West Riding, Spen Valley	(C.D.)	... Spen Valley D.L.P.	... 2	0	0	...	... Councillor J. Bryan, 1, Market Street, Cleckheaton, Yorks.	...	Miss S. Myers, 37, Brewery Lane, Thornhill Lees, Dewsbury.
A474.	West Riding, Wentworth	(C.D.)	... Wentworth D.L.P.	... 3	0	0	... 1	... T. Phipps, Forest House, Dodworth, near Barnsley.	..J.	L. Joyce, Pheasant Hotel, Platts Common, near Barnsley, Yorkshire.
WALES.										
Anglesey.										
H475.	Anglesey	(C.D.)	... Anglesey D.L.P.	... 1	10	0	... 1	... A. Williams, Oakleigh, Llangefni, Anglesey.	...	William Edwards, Hologwn, Gaerwen, Anglesey.
Brecon and Radnor.										
H476.	Brecon and Radnor	(C.D.)	... Breconshire & Radnorshire D.L.P.	... 1	10	0	..	... T. R. Jones, C.C., 244, King Street, Brynmawr.	...	
Cardigan.										
H477.	Cardigan	(C.D.)	... Cardigan D.L.P.	...				... D. S. Jones, Y Garth, Capel, Bangor, Cardigan.	...	
Carmarthen.										
H478.	Carmarthen	(C.D.)	... Carmarthen D.L.P.	... 1	10	0	... 1	... Edgar Evans, Angorfa, Carway, Kidwelly, Carmarthen.	...	Edgar Evans, Secretary.
H479.	Llanelly	(C.D.)	... Llanelly & District D.L.P.	... 1	10	0	..	... D. Jones, 3, Cae Cotton Terrace, Swansea Road, Llanelly.	...	J. Griffiths, Labour Office, 30, Stepney Street, Llanelly.
Carnarvon.										
H480.	Carnarvon	(S.B.)	... Carnarvon D.L.P.	...				... Coun. A. Vaughan Humphreys, "Haddef," 31, Trinity Street, Llandudno.	...	
H481.	Carnarvon	(C.D.)	... Carnarvon L.P.	... 5	0	0	..	... J. E. Thomas, Bodgwilym, Penygroes, Carnarvon.	...	

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Denbigh.						
H482. Denbigh	(C.D.)	Denbigh D.L.P.			Evan Jones, B.A., Bronderw, Llanrwst, Denbighshire.	
H483. Wrexham	(C.D.)	Wrexham T.C. & D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	H. Edwards, J.P., 4, Osborne Grove, Mold Road, Wrexham.	John Thomas Edwards, Brynhyfnyd, Ponkey, Wrexham.
Flint.						
H484. Flint	(C.D.)	Flintshire D.L.P.	5 5 0	1	Capt. F. Webster, Little Mancott, Hawarden, near Chester.	R. O. Roberts, 11, Brighton Road, Rhyl.
Glamorgan.						
H485/487. Cardiff	(D.B.)	Cardiff T. & L.C.	1 10 0		E. Allan Robson, 49, Charles Street, Cardiff.	
H485. Cardiff, Cent.	(B.D.)	Cardiff (Central) D.L.P	1 10 0			R. E. Phillips, 386, Cowbridge Road, Cardiff.
H486. Cardiff, East	(B.D.)	Cardiff (East) D.L.P.	1 10 0			H. Collins, 10, Blanche Street, Cardiff.
H487. Cardiff, South	(B.D.)	Cardiff (South) D.L.P.	1 10 0			M. Zeitlin, 4, Constellation Street, Cardiff.
H488/489. Merthyr Tydvil	(D.B.)					
H488. Merthyr Tydvil, Aberdare.	(B.D.)	Aberdare L.P.	2 0 0		E. Stonelake, 36, Herbert Street, Aberdare.	
H489. Merthyr Tydvil	(B.D.)	Merthyr L.P.	2 0 0	1	J. Jones, 46, Brynglas, Penydaren, Merthyr Tydfil.	J. Jones, Secretary.
H490/491. Rhondda	(D.B.)	Rhondda (Borough) L.P.			Gwyn Hughes, 32, Brynhyfryd, Tylorstown, Rhondda.	
H490. Rhondda, E.	(B.D.)	Rhondda (East) D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	Tom Llewellyn, Sunnybank, Aldergrove, Porth.	Arthur Horner, 93, Edward Street, Mardy, Rhondda.
H491. Rhondda, W.	(B.D.)	Rhondda (West) D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	Sidney Cadogan, 2, Ardwyn Terrace, Gelli, Pentre, Rhondda.	D. Lewis, 45, Stuart Street, Beorchy, Rhondda.
H492/493. Swansea	(D.B.)	Swansea L.A. (comprising East & West Divisions)	3 10 0	2	J. G. Davies, 50, Terrace Road, Swansea.	D. J. Davies, 37, Brynmill Terrace, Swansea.
H492. Swansea, East	(B.D.)					J. G. Davies, Secretary.
H493. Swansea, West	(B.D.)					
H494. Aberavon	(C.D.)	Aberavon D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	Councillor J. A. Brown, 7, Penrhyn Street, Tarbach, Port Talbot.	Councillor Joseph A. Brown, Secretary.
H495. Caerphilly	(C.D.)	Caerphilly D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	Claude Denscombe, 8, St. Fagans Street, Caerphilly, Glam.	C. Denscombe, Secretary.
H496. Gower	(C.D.)	Gower D.L.P.			W. J. Jones, Birch Grove, Llansamlet, Swansea.	
H497. Llandaff & Barry	(C.D.)	Llandaff & Barry L.P.	1 10 0	1	L. Finch, 147, Woodland Road, Barry.	L. G. Finch, Secretary.
H498. Neath	(C.D.)	Neath D.L.P.	1 10 0		Meth. Jones, 9, Gower Street, Port Talbot.	
H499. Ogmore	(C.D.)	Ogmore D.L.P.	1 10 0		D. J. Thomas, Westfield, Caeda Crescent, Ogmore Vale, Glam.	

										Evan Morgan, 28, Giffellion Road, Trehafod.	Councillor Griff Maddocks, Duffryn Ave., Rhydfelin, Treforest, near Pontypridd.
Merioneth.											
H501. Merioneth	(C.D.)	Merioneth D.L.P.	1	10	0					D. O. Jones, 10, Benar View, Blaenau Festiniog.	
Monmouth.											
H502a. Newport	(S.B.)	Newport (Mon.) D.L.P.	1	10	0		1			W. B. Lewcock, 84, Stow Hill, Newport, Mon.	W. B. Lewcock, Secretary.
H502b. Newport	(S.B.)	Newport (Mon.) T.C.	1	10	0					F. H. Heath, 39, London Street, Maindee, Newport, Mon.	
H503. Abertillery	(C.D.)	Abertillery D.L.P.	1	10	0					L. Tredwin, 13, Strathview, Pentwynmaur, Newbridge, Mon.	William Harris, "Arfryn," Bryn Road, Pontllanfraith, Mon.
H504. Bedwellty	(C.D.)	Bedwellty D.L.P	1	10	0					Councillor J. J. Keans, C.C., Woodlands Terrace, Argoed, Mon.	
H505. Ebbw Vale	(C.D.)	Ebbw Vale D.L.P.								J. J. Powell, Park View, Tredegar, Mon.	
H506. Monmouth	(C.D.)	Monmouth D.L.P.	1	10	0					T. H. Edwards, "Rosewood," Bassaleg, Mon.	
H507. Pontypool	(C.D.)	Pontypool D.L.P.	1	10	0		1			H. D. Bowden, 17, Osborne Road, Pontypool.	H. D. Bowden, Secretary.
Montgomery.											
H508. Montgomery	(C.D.)	Montgomeryshire D.L.P.								J. I. Morris, 1, Stone Street, Newtown, Montgomery.	
Pembroke.											
H509. Pembroke	(C.D.)	Pembroke (County) L.P.	1	10	0					J. Husband, 2, Clement Road, Goodwick, Pembroke.	
SCOTLAND.											
Aberdeen and Kincardine.											
J510/511. Aberdeen	(D.B.)	Aberdeen T. & L.C.	3	0	0					J. Balfour, 47, Belmont Street, Aberdeen.	
J510. Aberdeen, N.	(B.D.)										
J511. Aberdeen, S.	(B.D.)										
J512. Aberdeen and Kincardine, Central	(C.D.)	Aberdeen (Central) D.L.P.	1	10	0					Wm. Ross, 3, Charlotte Square, Bucksburn, Aberdeenshire.	
J513. Aberdeen and Kincardine, Eastern	(C.D.)	Aberdeen (Eastern) D.L.P.	1	10	0					Geo. Durward, Manse Terrace, Turriff, Aberdeen.	
J514. Aberdeen and Kincardine, Western	(C.D.)										
Argyll.											
J515. Argyll	(C.D.)										
Ayr and Bute.											
J516. Ayr Burghs	(S.B.)	Ayr Burghs D.L.P.								R. Blane, 102, Prestwick Road, Ayr.	J. M. Airlie, 11, Bonnington Grove, Edinburgh.
J517. Bute and North Ayr	(C.D.)	Bute and North Ayr D.L.P.	1	10	0		1			J. Torrance, 51, Sharon Street, Dalry, Ayrshire.	Hugh Munro, 3, Parkend Road, Kilbirnie, Ayrshire.

Constituencies and Index Nos		*Local Parties or Councils.*	*Affiliation Fees.* £ s. d.	*No. of Votes.*	*Secretaries and Addresses.*	*Delegates and Addresses.*
Ayr and Bute (*continued*).						
J518a. Kilmarnock	(C.D.)	Kilmarnock D.L.P.	1 10 0		John Pollock, 11, Dean Lane, Kilmarnock.	
J518b. Kilmarnock	(C.D.)	Ayrshire T.C.				
J519. South Ayrshire	(C.D.)	South Ayr D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	Robert White, Drumsmudden, Ochiltree, Ayrshire.	Robert White, Secretary.
Banff.						
J520. Banff	(C.D.)	Banff D.L.P.			A. Paul, 2, Braco Street, Keith.	
Berwick and Haddington.						
J521. Berwick and Haddington	(C.D.)	Berwick & Haddington D.L.P.	1 10 0		T. Logan, 14, John Street, Tranent, East Lothian.	
Caithness and Sutherland.						
J522. Caithness and Sutherland	(C.D.)	Caithness & Sutherland D.L.P.			W. Nicholson, 4, Barbara Place, Wick.	
Dumbarton.						
J523. Dumbarton and Clydebank	(S.B.)	Dumbarton & Clydebank D.L.P.			Andrew Campbell, Muse House, Dumbarton.	
J524. Dumbarton	(C.D.)	Dumbartonshire D.L.P.	1 10 0		John Monaghan, 117, Townhead, Kirkintilloch.	W. H. P. Martin, M.P., "Braemar," Kirkintilloch.
Dumfries.						
J525. Dumfries	(C.D.)	Dumfries D.L.P. & T.C.			James Garrett, 56, Millburn Avenue, Dumfries.	
Fife.						
J526. Dunfermline Burghs	(S.B.)	Dunfermline Burghs L.P.	1 10 0		W. Watson, M.P., 341, Broad Street, Cowdenbeath, Fife.	
J527. Kirkcaldy	(S.B.)	Kirkcaldy Burghs D.L.P.	2 0 0		D. Pearson, 74, Dunniker Road, Kirkcaldy.	
J528. Eastern	(C.D.)	East Fife D.L.P.			Hugh T. Black, Annfield Cottage, Scoonie Road, Leven, Fife.	
J529. Western	(C.D.)	West Fife D.L.P.	1 10 0		W. Watson, M.P., 341, Broad Street, Cowdenbeath, Fife.	
Forfar.						
J530. Dundee	(D.M.B.)	Dundee L.P.	3 0 0	2	Albert Wallace, Labour Club, 48, Wellgate, Dundee.	James Hazel, 109, Clepington Road, Dundee.
J531. Montrose Burghs	(S.B)	Montrose Burghs D.L.P.	1 10 0		Frank Irons, 3, Rosebank, Arbroath.	
J532. Forfar	(C.D.)	Forfarshire D.L.P.	1 10 0		J. Bruce, 108, East High Street, Forfar.	
Galloway.						

J534. Inverness	(C.D.)	... Inverness D.L.P.	...			... D. MacDonald, 4, Roseberry Place, Inverness.	...			
J535. Ross & Cromarty	(C.D)	... Ross and Cromarty D.L.P.	...			... — McLeod, Tore School House, Kilearnan, By Inverness.	...			
J536. Western Isles	(C.D.)	... Western Isles D.L.P.	...			... J. C. Macaskill, 2, Garden Road, Stornoway, Isle of Lewis.	...			
Lanark.										
J537/551. Glasgow	(D.B.)	... Glasgow T. & L.C.	...	1	10 0	... 1	... Wm. Shaw, 95, Bath Street, Glasgow.	...	H. McNeil, c/o Young, 216, Berkeley Street, Glasgow.	
J537. Glasgow, Bridgeton	(B.D.)	... Bridgeton L.P.	...				... James Carmichael, 175, London Road, Glasgow.	..		
J538. Glasgow, Camlachie	(B.D.)	... Camlachie D.L.P.	...	1	10 0	...	... G. Wilson, 8, Lochiel Street, off Cubie Street, Glasgow.	...		
J539. Glasgow, Cathcart	(B.D.)	... Cathcart D.L.P.	...	1	10 0	..	... James W. Auld, 17, Battlefield Gardens, Langside, Glasgow.	...		
J540. Glasgow, Central	(B.D.)	... Glasgow (Central) D.L.P.	...				... P. F. White, 168, Graeme Street, Glasgow.	...		
J541. Glasgow, Gorbals	(B.D.)	... Gorbals D.L.P.	...	1	10 0	..	... Wm. Richardson, 358, Methieson Street, Glasgow.	...		
J542. Glasgow, Govan	(B.D.)	.. Govan D.L.P.	...	1	10 0	..	... James Smith, 73, Elderpark Street, Govan, Glasgow.	...		
J543. Glasgow, Hillhead	(B.D.)	... Hillhead D.L.P.	...	1	10 0	..	... H. A. Dunbar, 62, Anderson Street, Partick, Glasgow.	...		
J544. Glasgow, Kelvingrove	(B.D.)	... Kelvingrove D.L.P.	...	1	10 0*	...	... Wm. Coalter, 41, Dorset Street, Glasgow.	...	J. R. Campbell, 135, Stobcross Street, Anderston, Glasgow.	
J545. Glasgow Maryhill	(B.D.)	... Maryhill D.L.P.	...	1	10 0	... 1	... T. Hannan, 20, Campbell Street, Maryhill, Glasgow.	...	J. W. Muir, M.P.	
J546. Glasgow, Partick	(B.D.)	... Partick D.L.P.	...	1	10 0	..	... A. McOuat, 137, Marlborough Avenue, Broomhill, Glasgow.	...		
J547. Glasgow, Pollok	(B.D.)	... Pollok D.L.P.	...			..	... J. McGill, 28, Springhill Gardens, Shawlands, Glasgow.	...		
J548. Glasgow, St, Rollox	(B.D.)	... St. Rollox D.L.P.	...			..	... R. Gray Murray, 40, Grove Street, New City Road, Glasgow.	...		
J549. Glasgow, Shettleston	(B.D.)	... Shettleston D.L.P.	...	1	10 0	... 1	... J. Oliver, 600a, Shettleston Road, Glasgow.	...	L. G. Anderson, 722, London Road, Glasgow, E.	
J550. Glasgow, Springburn	(B.D.)	... Springburn L.P.	...	1	10 0	... 1	... Mrs. Clarkson, 57, Midton Street, Springburn.	...	W. Barrie, 826, Duke Street, Dennistoun, Glasgow.	
J551. Glasgow, Tradeston	(B.D.)	... Tradeston, D.L.P.	...	1	10 0	... 1	... Wm. Cumming, 140, Scotland Street, Glasgow.	...	J. D. Fulton, 95, Govan Road, Glasgow, S.S.	
J552. Bothwell	(C.D.)	... Bothwell D.T. & L.C.	....				... James Forwell, 12, Cadzow Drive, Mossend, Lanark.	..		

* Payment for 1924.

Constituencies and Index Nos.		*Local Parties or Councils.*	*Affiliation Fees.* £ s. d.	*No. of Votes.*	*Secretaries and Addresses.*	*Delegates and Addresses.*
Lanark (*continued*).						
J553. Coatbridge	(C.D.)	Coatbridge & Airdrie T.C. & L.P.			J. P. Boyd, 8, Wilson Street, Coatbridge, Lanark.	
J554. Hamilton	(C.D.)	Hamilton D.L.P.	1 10 0		Joseph Waugh, Kenilworth Crescent, Cochrane Street, Bellshill, Lanark.	Mrs. S. Waugh, Kenilworth Crescent, Bellshill.
J555. Lanark	(C.D.)	Lanarkshire (South) D.L.P.	1 10 0		J. J. Somerville, Newtown, Lesmahagow.	
J556. Motherwell	(C.D.)	Motherwell D.L.P.	1 10 0		W. Ballinger, 20, Quarryhall Street, Motherwell.	
J557. Northern	(C.D.)	North Lanark D.L.P.	1 10 0		Robt. Ingram, 35, Hill Street, Dykehead, Shotts, Lanark.	
J558. Rutherglen	(C.D.)	Rutherglen D.L.P.	1 10 0		E. Penman, 51, Farmcloan Road, Rutherglen.	
Linlithgow.						
J559. Linlithgow	(C.D.)	West Lothian D.L.P.	1 10 0		Peter Bell, 46, Stuart Terrace, Bathgate.	
Midlothian and Peebles.						
J560/564. Edinburgh	(D.B.)	Edinburgh & District T.C. & L.P.	1 10 0	1	P. Herd, 19, Royal Park Terrace, Edinburgh.	W. Fagan, 20, Spittal Street, Edinburgh.
J560. Edinburgh, Central	(B.D.)	Edinburgh (Central) D.L.P.	1 10 0		D. B. Mackay, 3, Upper Gray Street, Edinburgh.	
J561. Edinburgh, E.	(B.D.)	Edinburgh (E.) D.L.P.			O. H. Heathcote, 45, Henderson Road, Portobello, Edinburgh.	
J562. Edinburgh, N.	(B.D.)	Edinburgh (N.) D.L.P.	1 10 0		Mrs. Cheshire, 5, Rossie Place, Easter Road, Edinburgh.	
J563. Edinburgh, S.	(B.D.)	Edinburgh (S.) D.L.P.			Frank Smithies, 24, Argyle Place, Edinburgh.	
J564. Edinburgh, W.	(B.D.)	Edinburgh (West) D.L.P.	1 10 0	1	David W. Whiteman, 7, Wardlaw Place, Edinburgh.	Councillor Mrs. M. Millar, 185, Gorgie Road, Edinburgh.
J565. Leith	(S.B.)	Leith D.L.P.	1 10 0		John Smith, 67, North Fort Street, Leith.	
J566. Northern	(C.D.)	Midlothian (North) D.L.P.			R. Hood, Burnbank, Ratho Station, Midlothian.	
J567. Peebles and Southern	(C.D.)	Peebles & Southern Midlothian D.L.P.	1 10 0		J. Mackay, Janitor, High School House, Peebles.	
Moray and Nairn.						
J568. Moray & Nairn	(C.D.)	Moray & Nairn D.L.P.	1 10 0*		J. Legge, 24, Victoria Road, Elgin.	
Orkney and Zetland.						
J569. Orkney and Zetland	(C.D.)					

* Payment for 1924.

J571. Kinross and Western Perth	(C.D.)	...	Kinross and Western Perth D.L.P.	...				...		... A. McGregor, Valado Station, Kinross.	...		
Renfrew.													
J572. Greenock	(S.B.)	...	Greenock L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	... Geo. A. Stabb, 10, Mill Street, Greenock.	...	John Porter, 32, Arthur Street, Greenock.	
J573. Paisley	(S.B.)	...	Paisley D.L.P. & T.C.	...	1	10	0	...	1	... John Gormley, 20, Underwood Lane, Paisley.	...	Thomas Scallan, 281, Abercorn Street, Paisley.	
J574. Eastern	(C.D.)	...	Renfrewshire (East) D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	... John Easdon, 29, Barnes Street, Barrhead, Renfrewshire.	...		
J575. Western	(C.D.)	...	Renfrewshire (West) D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	..		... R. G. Cook, 84, Albert Road, Gourock.	...	R. Murray, 19, Arthurlie Street, Barrhead.	
Roxburgh and Selkirk.													
J576. Roxburgh and Selkirk	(C.D.)	...	Roxburgh & Selkirk D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...		... J. Buchan, 26, Ettrick Terrace, Selkirk.			
Stirling and Clackmannan.													
J577. Stirling and Falkirk	(S.B.)	...	Stirling, Falkirk and Grangemouth D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...		... J. Moore, 47, Firs Street, Falkirk.	...		
J578. Clackmannan and East Stirling	(C.D.)	...	Clackmannan & Stirling (East) D.L.P.	...	1	10	0	...		... R. Johnston, Church View, Denny Road, Larbert.	...		
J579. Clackmannan and West Stirling	(C.D.)	...	West Stirling L.P.	...	1	10	0	...		... M. Turner, Shirva, Twechar-by-Glasgow.	...		
Universities.													
K580. Cambridge	(U.)	...	Cambridge University L.P.	...	1	10	0	...	1	... Miss J. E. Norton, Merton House, Queen's Road, Cambridge.	...	Miss J. E. Norton, Secretary.	
K581. Cambridge	(U.)												
K582. Combined	(U.)	...	Seven Universities L.P.	..	1	10	0	...		... Miss I. Smith, 127, Metchley Lane, Harborne, Birmingham.	...	J. W. Thomas, 102, St. George's Square, London, S.W.1.	
K583. Combined	(U.)												
K584. London	(U.)	...	London University L.P.	..	1	10	0	...	1	... Dr. C. A. Smith, M.A., 10, Lascotts Road, N.23.	...	Miss Madeline Glasier, B.Sc. (Econ.), 50, St. George's Road, London, S.W.1.	
K585. Oxford	(U.)												
K586. Oxford	(U.)	...											
K587. Wales	(U.)	...	Wales University L.P.	....				...		... H. P. Davies, 8, Heol Croeserw, Cymmer, near Port Talbot.	...		
K588. Scotland	(U.)	...											
K589. Scotland	(U.)	...											
K590. Scotland	(U.)	...											
University Labour Federation		...	500	...	6	5	0	...	1	... W. Milne Bailey, 33, Eccleston Square, London, S.W.1.	...	C. R. de Gruchy, Heathfield Lodge, Wandsworth Common, London, S.W.	
Isle of Man		...	Manx L.P.	...	4	0	0	...		... J. H. Cowley, Railway Terrace, Douglas, I.O.M.	...		

THE 1924 ELECTION

At the election held on October 29, 1924, Labour put forward 514 candidates, of whom 151 were elected, representing a net loss of 42 seats as compared with the 193 seats in the previous Parliament. The number of Labour seats lost was 64, against which 22 were gained, as follows:—

	Majority.
Dr. A. Salter, Bermondsey (W.)	2,902
Hugh Dalton, Peckham	947
Harry Day, Southwark (Central)	1,382
B. Riley, Dewsbury	2,425
John Beckett, Gateshead	9,336
R. A. Taylor, Lincoln	39
A. MacLaren, Stoke-on-Trent (Burslem)	606
J. Baker, Bilston (Wolverhampton)	1,743
Dr. D. Shiels, Edinburgh (East)	3,115
E. R. Mitchell, Paisley	2,228
A. B. Lees-Smith, Keighley	5,183
R. Smith, Penistone	1,279
Rev. J. Barr, Motherwell	1,040
W. C. Robson, Elland	488
H. Murnin, Stirling and Falkirk	1,944
M. Connolly, East Newcastle	344
W. T. Kelly, Rochdale	137
J. Bromley, Barrow-in-Furness	710
R. Dennison, King's Norton	133
W. Hirst, South Bradford	2,333
Miss E. Wilkinson, Middlesbrough (East)	927
J. H. Palin, Newcastle-on-Tyne (West)	4,630

Despite the loss in seats sustained, the Labour vote was increased by over one million to 5,551,549.

The new list of Labour members, after the election, was as follows:—

Constituency.	*Name.*	*Society.*
CUMBERLAND:		
Workington	Mr. T. Cape, 91, Harrington Road, Workington, Cumberland.	M.F.G.B.
DERBYSHIRE:		
Derby	Rt. Hon. J. H. Thomas, Unity House, Euston Road, N.W.1.	N.U.R.
Clay Cross	Mr. C. Duncan, "Highfield," Golders Green Road, N.W.4.	W.U.
Ilkeston	Mr. G. Oliver, 37, Walbrook Road, Derby.	D.L.P.
North Eastern	Mr. Frank Lee, Tennyson Avenue, Chesterfield.	M.F.G.B.
DURHAM:		
Bishop Auckland	Rt. Hon. B. Spoor, 7, Eton Road, London, N.W.3.	I.L.P.
Blaydon	Mr. W. Whiteley, Auton Style, Bearpark, Co. Durham.	M.F.G.B.
Chester-le-Street	Mr. J. Lawson, 7,Woodside, Beamish, Co. Durham	M.F.G.B.
Consett	Rev. H. Dunnico, Tyne Villa, Wellesley Road, Ilford.	I.L.P.
Durham	Mr. J. Ritson, 58, Forster Street, Sunderland.	M.F.G.B.
Gateshead	Mr. J. Beckett, Norway House, Norway Place, E.14.	I.L.P.
Houghton-le-Spring	Mr. R. Richardson, Roseville, St. Aidan's Terrace, New Herrington, Philadelphia, Durham.	M.F.G.B.
Jarrow	Mr. R. J. Wilson, 4, Sidecliffe Road, Roker, Sunderland.	N.U.D.A.W.
Seaham	Rt. Hon. S. Webb, 41, Grosvenor Road, Westminster, S.W.1.	Fabian
Spennymoor	Mr. J. Batey, 27, The Avenue, Durham.	M.F.G.B

Constituency.	*Name.*	*Society.*
ESSEX : East Ham, S.	Mr. A. Barnes, 7, Lichfield Road, East Ham, E.6.	Co-op.
West Ham, Plaistow	Ald. W. Thorne, 28, Tavistock Square, W.C.1.	N.U.G.W.
West Ham, Silvertown	Councillor J. Jones, 28, Tavistock Square, W.C.1.	N.U.G.W.
West Ham, Stratford	Mr. T. Groves, 155, Leytonstone Road, E.15.	D.L.P.
GLOUCESTER : Bristol, E.	Mr. W. Baker, 1, Chestnut Grove, Balham, S.W.12.	U.P.U.W.
Forest of Dean	Mr. J. Wignall, 17, Fawnbrake Avenue, Herne Hill, S.E.24.	T. & G.W.U.
LANCASHIRE : Barrow-in-Furness	Mr. J. Bromley, 9, Arkwright Road, Hampstead, N.W.3.	A.S.L.E. & F.
Burnley	Rt. Hon. Arthur Henderson, 81, Carlisle Mansions, S.W.1.	Ironfounders
Leigh	Mr. J. Tinker, 30, Wolseley Road, St. Helens, Lancs.	M.F.G.B.
Liverpool, Edge Hill	Mr. J. H. Hayes, Vigilance House, 57, Clapton Common, E.5.	P. & P.O.
Liverpool, West Toxteth	Mr. J. Gibbins, 79, Mulgrave Street, Prince's Park, Liverpool.	D.L.P.
Manchester, Ardwick	Mr. T. Lowth, 17, Campdale Road, Tufnell Park, N.7.	N.U.R.
Manchester, Clayton	Mr. J. E. Sutton, 109, North Road, Clayton, Manchester.	M.F.G.B.
Manchester, Gorton	Mr. J. Compton, 48, Whitby Road, Fallowfield, Manchester.	N.U.V.W.
Manchester, Platting	Rt. Hon. J. R. Clynes, 41, St. John's Road, Putney, S.W.15.	N.U.G.W.
Nelson and Colne	Mr. A. Greenwood, 28, The Avenue, Surbiton, Surrey.	D.L.P.
Preston	Rt. Hon. T. Shaw, 12, Cardinal Mansions, Carlisle Place, S.W.1.	U.T.F.W.A.
St. Helens	Mr. J. Sexton, Holmfield, Tarbock Road, Huyton, Liverpool.	T. & G.W.U.
Wigan	Mr. J. A. Parkinson, Glenthorne, Orrell Mount, near Wigan.	M.F.G.B.
Farnworth	Mr. T. Greenall, 25, Charles Street, Swinton, Manchester.	M.F.G.B.
Ince	Rt. Hon. S. Walsh, 8, Swinley Road, Wigan.	M.F.G.B.
Newton	Mr. R. Young, 213, Barry Road, East Dulwich, S.E.22.	A.E.U.
Rochdale	Mr. W. T. Kelly, 53, Talfourd Road, Peckham, S.E.15.	W.U.
Westhoughton	Mr. R. J. Davies, "Maendy," 17, Alan Road, Withington, Manchester.	N.U.D.A.W.
LEICESTERSHIRE : Leicester, West	Mr. Pethick Lawrence, 11, Old Square, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.2.	I.L.P.
LINCOLN & RUTLAND : Lincoln	Mr. R. A. Taylor, Holmescroft, Boultham, Lincoln.	D.L.P.

Constituency.	*Name.*	*Society.*
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